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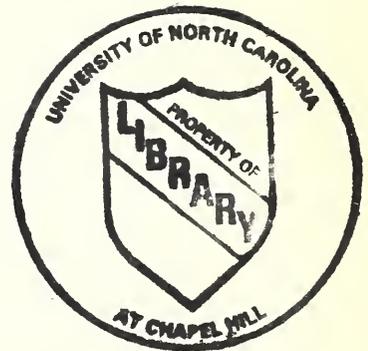
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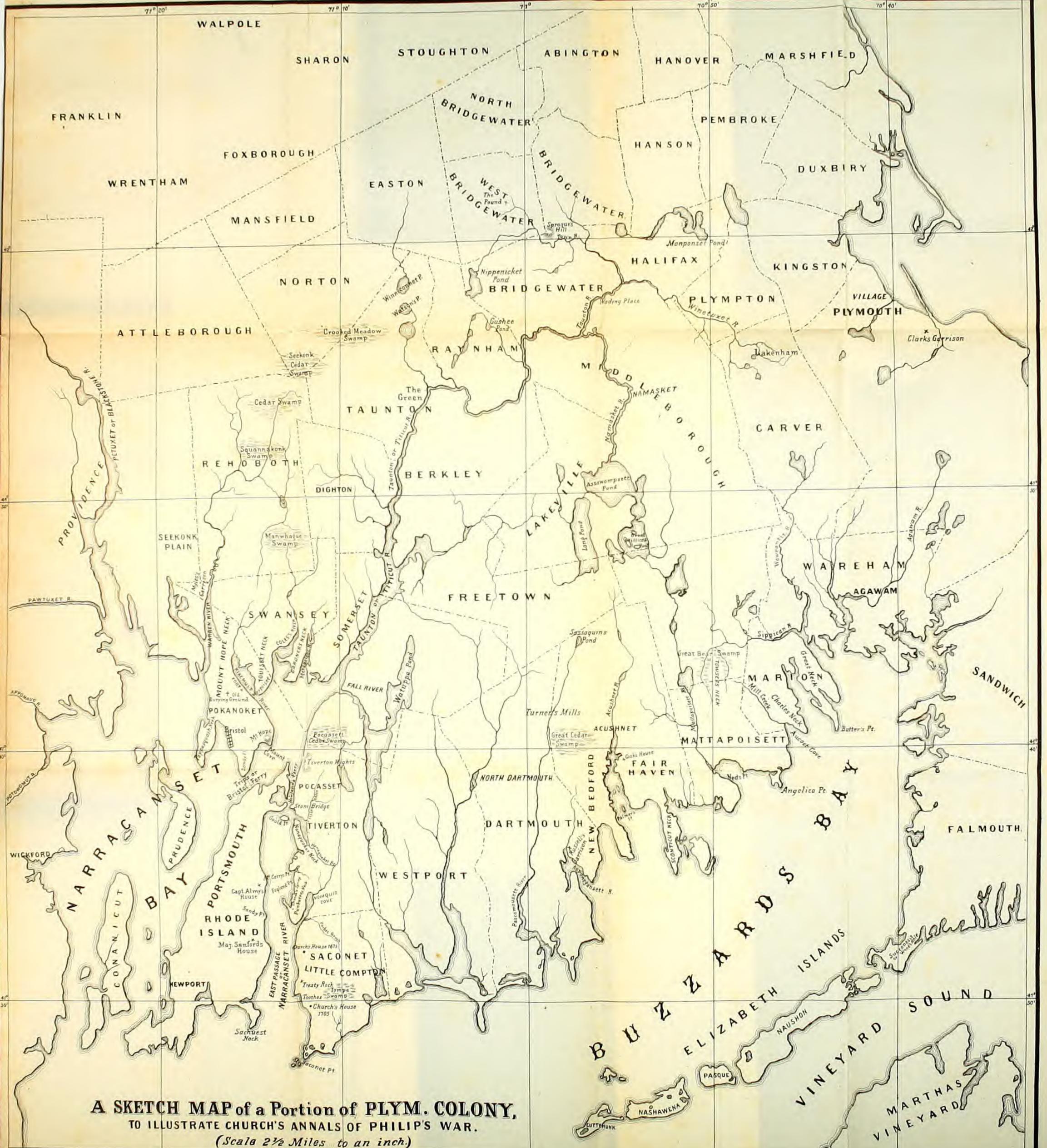


CHURCH'S PHILIP'S WAR

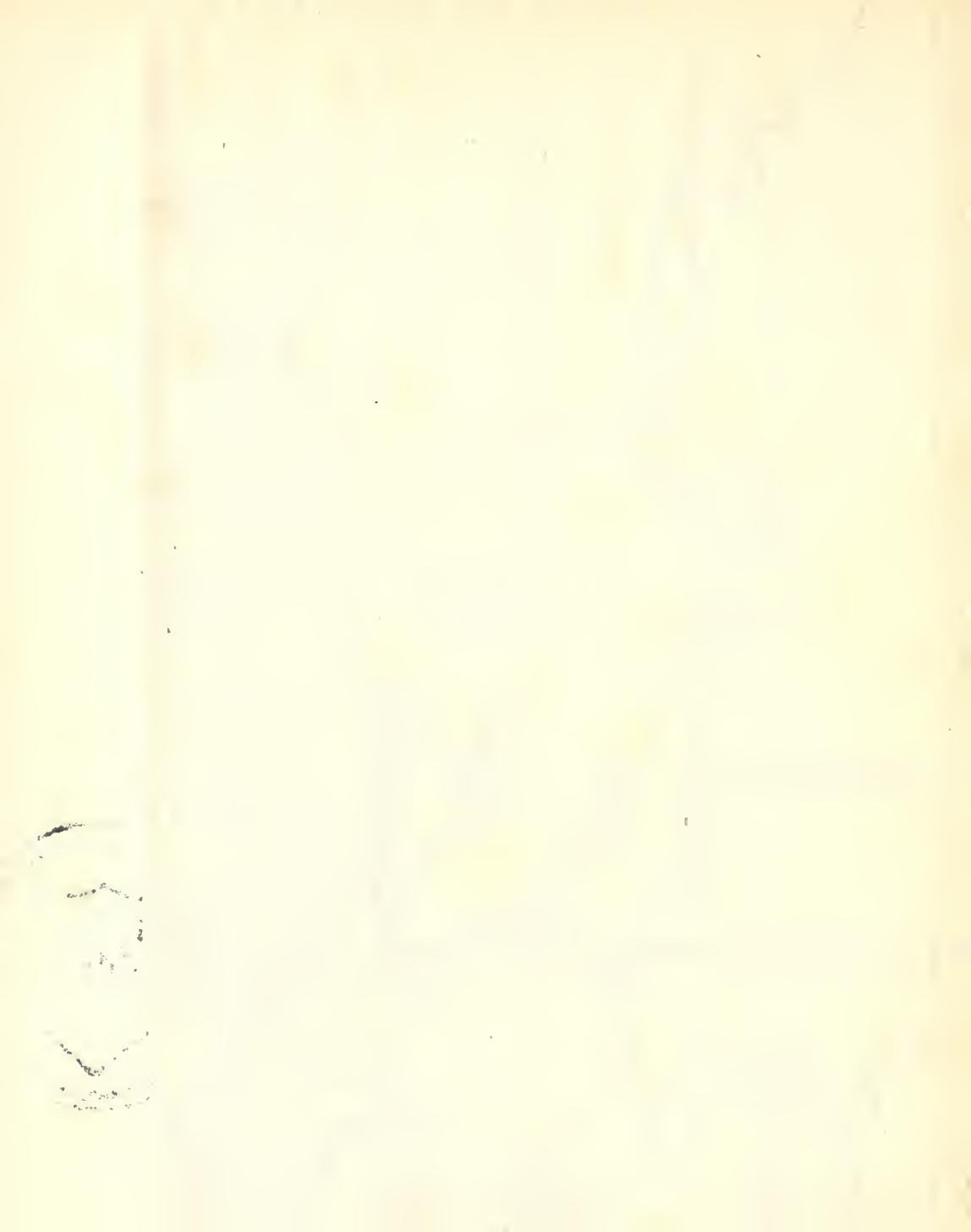
PART I







A SKETCH MAP of a Portion of PLYM. COLONY,
 TO ILLUSTRATE CHURCH'S ANNALS OF PHILIP'S WAR.
 (Scale 2½ Miles to an inch.)



1669
no. 2

The History

OF

2nd. 1/2
1847
25 FEB. 1853

KING PHILIP'S WAR

By *BENJAMIN CHURCH*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

By *HENRY MARTYN DEXTER*



Boston

JOHN KIMBALL WIGGIN

MDCCLXV

No.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1865, by

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EDITION

Two Hundred and Fifty Copies, Small Quarto
Thirty-five, Royal Quarto

Press of John Wilson and Son



TO

JOHN GORHAM PALFREY, D.D., LL.D.,

WHO ADDS THE MINUTE AND PATIENT ACCURACY OF THE ANTIQUARY TO THE
BROAD AND PHILOSOPHICAL INSIGHT OF THE HISTORIAN ;

AND WHO HAS, MORE FAITHFULLY THAN ANY OTHER WRITER, CONCEIVED
AND DEFINED THE REAL POSITION OCCUPIED BY THE
ABORIGINES OF NEW ENGLAND IN THE
CIVIL AND SOCIAL SCALE ;

This Edition of a homely but invaluable Tract,

HAVING LARGE REFERENCE TO THEM,

Is, by Permission, most respectfully Inscribed.





PREFATORY NOTE.



THE need of the literal reprint of so valuable a contribution to the history of New England as Church's "ENTERTAINING PASSAGES RELATING TO PHILIP'S WAR," has been widely felt; and the more, because the re-issue of 1772, from which all later editions have been copied, was defective in some important particulars affecting the use of the work as an historical authority. Two instances of this may be here particularized; viz., where (page 18) the words occurring on page 10, "and of the black Rocks to the Southward of them," offering an important hint of the exact locality of the "pease-field fight," were dropped out altogether; and where (page 30) the words occurring on page 17, "in about *a* Months time," were reprinted "in about *three* months' time," thus seeming to hint an expedition into the *Nipmuk* country in March, 1676, referred to by no other writer. The endeavor has accordingly been

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made to put the purchaser of this edition in possession of as exact a reproduction of the original of 1716, as it has been possible for modern antique types and skill to do; the minuteness of the imitation having been designed to be extended to every misprint, mispunctuation, and even inverted comma, — of which the word “discovered” (page 31, line 11 from the top), the word *Pl mouth* (page 140, line 8 from the bottom), and very many other seeming blunders of the printers of this edition, will be found to be only faithful illustrations.

In the Notes, the endeavor has been made to straighten the involved and crooked chronology from other sources; to identify the exact localities made for ever classic by their association with this rude warfare; to give some account, from contemporary records, of the various actors; and, generally, to shed all possible light upon the narrative.

Familiar with most of the country traversed over by the story, from a childhood that was fascinated by the graphic simplicity of Church's description of his campaigns, the Editor indulges the hope that he may have done something to aid future readers of these “Entertaining Passages” to comprehend them in their exactness of time and place and circumstance.

The original, from which this reprint is made, — now a very rare volume, — was printed in small quarto, pp. 120, in Boston, in 1716, by B. GREEN. A second edition,

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itself now becoming rare, was published fifty-six years after at Newport, R.I., in 1772, by SOLOMON SOUTHWICK, in small 8vo, pp. 199. It is made clear from the Diary* of Rev. EZRA STILES, D.D., (then Pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Newport), that he aided SOUTHWICK, and really edited the volume.

The following extracts bear upon the subject; viz,—

“1771. Dec. 18. Correcting the press for Col. Church’s Hist. of K. Philip’s War in 1675.

“1771. Dec. 19. Reviewing Col. Benj. Church’s History of K. Philip’s War, 1676, at the request of the printer; — adding English or present Names of places written in Indian names in the Original. Mr. Southwick is printing a Second Edition; first Edit. 1718 [*Sic*].

“1772. Apr. 9. Finished writing the Life of Col. Benjamin Church, to be affixed to the new Edition of his History of the Indian war, called K. Philip’s War, now printing. He was born 1639, and died at Little Compton, Janry. 171 $\frac{7}{8}$, *Æt.* 78.

“1772. Apr. 10. Inspecting the Press.”

Dr. STILES appended to the volume, also, an “Ode Heroica,” which [*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, xi. 155] was composed by BENJAMIN CHURCH of Boston, “Vendue-master,” son of the old Colonel’s son Edward, who was also a “Vendue-master,”—as that age styled the useful person whom we call an Auctioneer,—and was father of Dr. BENJAMIN, of sad Tory memory. He not only glori-

* This Diary is now in the Library of Yale College, of which Rev. Dr. STILES was President at the time of his death.

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fied his grandfather in a tongue unknown to the brave old warrior (although, as he wrote Dr. STILES, "almost too old for such juvenile attempts; being upwards of 67"), but furnished the Doctor with the materials for the biography of the Colonel.

The glorification was as follows:—

“ O D E H E R O I C A ,

“ [a Nepote Heroïs composita]

“ BIOGRAPHIAE PRAECEDENTI AFFIGENDA SIT.

“ **N**UNC permittite Nepos Lector, magnalia Avi ejus,
Et vitam ut breviter caneret, quoq; pauca loquendo,
Traduce de veteri, celebrata et, versibus, ex quo
Magnanimusq; Heros frondebat: deinde locoque:
Quo fuit intrepidus Phoenix, memorandum et ortus!
Agricola ecce Pater manuum gaudebat in omni
Tumve labore suo, nutritus frugibus Arvi!
Mater pauperibus curas, casusq; relaxans,
Omnibus afflictis passim mater fuit alma!
Numinis arbitriq; bono, sine murmure mentis,
Acquievère, suis contenti sortibus ambo —
Cordibus elatis, gratiq; fuère Parentes,
Filius ut talis mortalibus hisce daretur!
Qui patriaeq; suae perluxit gloria longè,
Donec erat victus truculentae mortis ab ictu!
Duxburiae dictum est, Genioq; fuisse beatum
Oppidum, et exultans, tanto quòd munere Martis
Distinctum fuerat! Vicinis majus ab illo!
Historicus suprà probiter canit arma virumq;
Quiq; erat in pugnâ multis, magnisq; periclis

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Expositus! Natos nemoris fuscove secutus
Armipotens; sylvas, Dumosq; arbustaq; densa
Pervolitans, nigros scloppo ejus perdidit Angues
Monstraq; quos natura parens crudelia dixit!
Victoriisq; suis pacem stabilivit in Orbis
Terrarum occasû — jam, jam sub vitibus omnis
Hic sedeat salvus — terrore absente Mavortis!
Mortuus est Heros! Nomen sed vivet in ævum —
Spiritus ascendit Coelos, Jesûq; triumphans;
Dum latet in tumulo corpus cum pulvere mixtum!

Sic cecinit Nepos BENJ. CHURCH, *Sen.*”

This edition was also adorned with what purported to be portraits, on copper, of Colonel CHURCH, and of King PHILIP, both from the graver of PAUL REVERE; of which more will be said in another place.

The third edition of this winsome narrative was edited, fifty-three years later, by Mr. SAMUEL GARDNER DRAKE, and was the first contribution of that since accomplished archæologist to this department of Aboriginal research; in which, without injustice to others, it may safely be said that he has no superior. Travelling through the Old Colony in the summer of 1824, he, for the first time, saw [*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, xvii. 202], and became possessor of, a copy of SOUTHWICK'S reprint; and, circulating proposals, he obtained nearly a thousand subscribers for a new issue. He published in 12mo (Boston: Howe and Norton, 14, State Street, 1825), pp. 304; prefixing eight pages of Index, and two pages of Introduction, and adding

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an Appendix of forty pages, comprising a brief sketch of the settlement of this country, of the Indian wars, &c., &c. It was mainly a reprint of Southwick's edition,—the editor having then never seen the original,—with the omission of the "Ode Heroica," and the addition of a few foot-notes. It was embellished with a fancy portrait of King PHILIP, decidedly more prepossessing in appearance, and quite as authentic in character, as that of PAUL REVERE of a half-century before.

The success of this effort was so marked as to induce Mr. DRAKE to prepare and issue a second edition (the fourth of the work), which he did, early in 1827, from stereotype plates; being among the first fruits of the stereotype press in Boston. This, also, was in 12mo, pp. 360. He added many more notes, and gave an Introduction of five pages, an Index of six pages, and an Appendix of sixty-eight pages, of the same general character as that of the previous edition, but rewritten and enlarged. The old head, purporting to be a likeness of CHURCH, was re-engraved for this issue, and other plates were added.

All the (nominally new) editions of this work, from that time to the present, have been re-issues of this last; the plates having long since passed out of Mr. DRAKE'S hands, and having been used by various publishers.

The present is, therefore, the fourth reprint (fifth edition) of these "Entertaining Passages," and the first

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from the original, — as well as the first which has not avowedly sought to amend the text.

The map has been adapted from the State map, by the Editor, with great care, from his own personal knowledge of the ground; and he believes it to be a thoroughly accurate guide to all those localities which it purports to point out.

The dates have been suffered to stand in Old Style, as written.

The Publisher has sought to produce this copy, so far as possible, in *fac-simile* of the original, as well as in literal exactness; and the headings, initial letters, &c., &c., have been accordingly engraved for that purpose.

It only remains, here, that just thanks be given to all who have aided the Editor in his labor: among whom he would gratefully mention the Hon. JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT, Secretary of State of Rhode Island; his Honor, Judge WILLIAM R. STAPLES, of Providence; General G. M. FESSENDEN, of Warren, R. I.; RICHARD SHERMAN, Esq., of Portsmouth, R. I.; Mr. HENRY M. TOMPKINS, the Town Clerk of Little Compton, R. I.; Hon. WILLIAMS LATHAM, of Bridgewater, Mass.; SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Mass.; Rev. JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY, Librarian of Harvard College; and Mr. GEORGE H. TABER, of Fairhaven, Mass. Two gen-

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tlemen deserve more special mention for the unwearied pains they have taken to aid the Editor in some portions of the work; viz., his friend and kinsman, Mr. FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, now Tutor in Yale College, to whom he owes the extracts from the Diary of Dr. STILES, the identification of the site of JOHN COOK'S house in Cushnet, and other kindred helps; and the Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, Secretary of State of Connecticut, to whose disinterested and indefatigable aid much of what may be thought to be of special value in the work will be largely due. The Editor knows nothing about the Indian tongue; and the reader is desired to take notice here, once for all, that for all the interesting and valuable suggestions having reference to that, which are scattered through the book, his thanks will be wholly due to the learning and generosity of that eminent *savan*.

It has not been found possible — without too great enlargement of the volume — to insert herein the Second Part of the original work, giving “a further account of the Actions in the more later Wars against the Common Enemy and *Indian* Rebels in the Eastern Parts, under the Command of the aforesaid Capt. *Benj. Church*,” which makes sixty-six of the solidest quarto pages. That is in preparation, and will follow as a separate issue.

H. M. D.

HILLSIDE, ROXBURY,
15th July, 1865.



INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR.



IN his preface to these "Entertaining Passages," Colonel Church makes the apologetic remark, that "every particle of historical truth is precious." That remark has been constantly in mind in the preparation of what follows, having reference to events in the history of this simple-hearted, yet noble-hearted man. It would be more exact to style what is here offered "Materials toward a Memoir," than such a Memoir itself. Most of the official records in which various actions of his busy life would naturally leave their footmarks, have been searched, and their various references to his career have been gathered together and arranged chronologically here; so as to put the reader in possession of these fragmentary, yet faithful, evidences of what he was. The man himself has exhaled; but some rude impression of him remains in them, which may serve as a matrix in which imagination may shape some image;

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which, if far from being a reproduction of the person whom his cotemporaries knew, must yet have some facsimile lineaments. The humble office of the editor is to furnish the mould; leaving to the reader the re-creative work.

BENJAMIN CHURCH was a son of Richard. Richard came to Massachusetts probably in the fleet with Gov. Winthrop;* was a carpenter by trade; 19 Oct. 1630, was propounded to be a freeman in the Massachusetts Colony; in 1630, was at Wessaguffet and Plymouth; 2 Jan. 163 $\frac{2}{3}$ was freeman of Plymouth; 16 Feb. 163 $\frac{2}{3}$ hired William Baker to saw timber into boards for him; was "rated for public use" £1 16s. in March following, and £1 7s. the next year; married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Warren, in 1636; was often a member of the "Grand Enquest," and was occasionally made referee; served as sergeant in the Pequot war; with John Tompson helped build the first meeting-house (as such) in Plymouth about 1637; lived at Eel-river; 9 April, 1649, sold his estate there to Robert Bartlet for £25; was in Charlestown in 1653, but finally settled down in Hingham, where he made his will 25 Dec. 1668, and died two days after, at Dedham, leaving at least nine children.†

* Savage's *Gen. Dict.* i: 386; Winfor's *Duxbury*, 245; Deane's *Scituate*, 234; Mitchell's *Bridgewater*, 363; *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* xi: 154; *Plym. Col. Rec.* i: 6, 8, 11, xii: 165, &c. &c.

† Church speaks [*B. C. D.* i: 91] of

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BENJAMIN was born at Plymouth in 1639, and was bred to his father's trade. No other circumstance of his early life has found record. 26 Dec. 1667, — when at the age of twenty seven or eight, — he married Alice, second daughter of Constant and Elizabeth (Collier) Southworth, of Duxbury; who was then not far from twenty-one, having been born in 1646. It is presumed that their early married life was passed in Duxbury, though it is probable that he was temporarily resident in various portions of the Colony, in the pursuit of his vocation. His first appearance upon the Plymouth Colony Records is 25 Oct. 1668, when [*P. C. R.* vii: 150] he is named as a trial jury in the case of Josias Winslow *vs.* Kenelm, and in that of John Doged.

1 *June*, 1669, less than six months after his father's death, the Court granted him "land att Taunton River" which William Pabodie had taken up and then surrendered, [*P. C. R.* v: 20] "for full satisfaction for all the right his father, Richard Church, deceased, hath to land in this Collonie."

7 *March* 1670 [*P. C. R.* vii: 163], he was one of a petit jury at Plymouth for the trial of several actions. 29 *May*, 1670, [*P. C. R.* v: 275], his name appears upon the list of

Sarah, wife of James Burroughs, of Bristol, tailor, as his sister, though no such name appears upon the fullest published list of Richard's children which I have seen. [*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* xi: 154.]

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freemen of "Duxburrow," then transcribed by Secretary Morton.

5 June, 1671 [*P. C. R.* v: 54], he was Constable of "Duxburro."

30 October, 1672 [*P. C. R.* vii: 174], he was one of a trial jury at Plymouth, for the securing of justice in several criminal cases.

4 July, 1673 [*P. C. R.* vii: 181], he was one of a trial jury at Plymouth for eight civil and criminal cases. He also made return [*P. C. R.* v: 126], with John Rogers, Daniell Wilcocks, Constant Southworth, William Pabodie and Edward Gray, that, pursuant to the order of the Court, they had bounded out "the southfyde of those lands formerly graunted vnto the inhabitants of Plymouth at *Puncateesett*," &c. At the same time [*P. C. R.* v: 126], liberty was granted him with John Tompson, by the Court to purchase land of "Tuspaquine, the blacke sachem, and William his Son, for the inhabitants and proprietors of the towne of Middleberry," &c. The proprietors were to have until the last of the November following, to repay Church and Tompson, and take the land; but it appears [*Ibid*, 146], that they failed to do so, and that the Court, 3 June, 1674, granted Church and Tompson "one third p^t of the said land, for their securitie and evidence." 23 July, 1673 [*Proprietor's Records Saconet*], he met with the newly organized Company to purchase and settle the *Saconet*

lands; appearing in the right of Richard Bishop and Richard Beare. Sometime in this year his oldest son Thomas was born.

10 *April*, 1674 [*P. R. S.*], the Saconet company met at Duxbury, and Church drew the lots numbered 19 and 29. He proceeded during the summer following to clear and erect buildings upon lot No. 19 (see note 21 *post*).

2 *March*, 167 $\frac{4}{5}$ [*P. C. R.* vii: 195], he was on a trial jury at Plymouth, showing that his removal to the very outskirts of the Colony was not designed, by him or by the Colonists, to dissociate him from their constant service. Church's own account of himself in connection with the outbreak of the war which now began to desolate the land seems to begin about 15 June, 1675 [note 14, *post*]; but the "Brief Narrative of the beginning and progress of the present trouble between vs and the Indians," submitted to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, by the Plymouth Commissioners, in the November following, and which bears the marks of having been carefully drawn, says [*P. C. R.* x: 363], "on the 7th June, Mr. Benjamine Church being on Rhod Island; *Weetamoe* and some of her Cheiffe men told him that Phillip Intended a warr speedily with the English," &c. It would seem to have been about 15 June that he had an interview with *Awashtonks* and *Weetamoe*, as narrated in his own account, and went to Plymouth to see the Governør. The Punkatees fight was

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9 July; 19 July the Pocaffet Expedition began: in the last of that month, Philip got across *Titicut* river in the night, and fled for the *Nipmuk* country. 27 October [*P. C. R.* vii: 196], these warlike proceedings were interperfed with a civil fuit againft Church, of Richard French of Marfhfield, Executor of the eftate of Richard Beare, claiming damages of 40s, in an action of debt, concerning which the record is, “the jury find for the plaintiffe the coft of the fuite.” The fecond week in December, Church starts for the war again as “a Reformado” with Gen. Winflow, and on the 19th of that month was wounded in the famous Narraganfett fwamp fight, and carried over to Rhode-Ifland to be cured.

27 *January*, 1676 (note 140, *poft*), he started with the army for the *Nipmuk* country; 29 Feb. (note 152, *poft*), he feems to have met with the Plymouth Council of War, at Marfhfield; 11–13 March (note 159, *poft*), arrived at Capt. Almy’s, on Rhode-Ifland, with his wife and fon Thomas; 12 May, his fon Conftant was born; 6 June, he arrived at Plymouth by way of Wood’s Hole; foon went back the fame way, faw the *Saconet* Indians on the rocks, and procured a formal meeting with *Awafhonks*, refulting in a treaty, and, 25 June, difpatched *Peter* to Plymouth with the “Articles”; met Maj. Bradford and his army, returned to Plymouth, and went to meet *Awafhonks* at *Mat-tapoisett*, 8 July; was commiffioned, and went out to

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capture the *Monponsets*, 10 July; 24 July, had his commission enlarged, and started to guard the carts to Taunton, whence he went to *Acushnet*, and captured many prisoners, and returned to Plymouth by way of *Sippican*; 30 July, started for Bridgewater, chased Philip over into the swamps in Norton and Rehoboth, and took many prisoners, with whom he got safe back to Plymouth, 4 August; 7 August, he "rallied" for Dartmouth, and by 10 August started for *Pocasset* woods, went over to the island, and down to Maj. Sanford's to see his wife, and next morning killed Philip in the swamp south of Mount-Hope, and got back to Plymouth on the 17th; early in September, he set his successful trap for *Tispaquin*, and soon started out once more after *Annawon*, whom he took on the night of 11 September. 17 October, the Massachusetts General Court wrote to Plymouth [*Mafs. Col. Rec.* v: 126] asking to be assisted against the Eastern Indians "with some English, & also some of your Indians, and *Capt. Church*, whom we have spoken with here & finde him ready to serve God and the country, &c."; 1 November, he was appointed [*P. C. R.* v: 215] by Plymouth Court, with William Pabodie and Nathaniel Thomas, to lay out lands granted to David and Thomas Lake near *Saconet* and *Punkateash*; also, with the same, to lay out some lands in aid of a ferry at *Pocasset*; while he and John Simmons are granted [*Ibid.* 216] a lease for pasturage at *Pocasset*. 4 November

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[*P. C. R.* xi: 242], the Court ordered as follows: “Cap-
taine Beniamen Church haueing; for and in the behalfe of
the Collonie, engaged to feuerall Indians; about five or
six; That incase they did carry well they should abide in
this Jurisdiction; and not fold to any fforraigne p^rtes; ac-
cordingly this Court doth confeirme the faid engagement
and doth hereby tollarate theire stay as aforfaid; notwith-
standing any law of this Collonie to the contrary; except-
ing; if any of them should appeer to haue had a hand in
any horred murder of any of the English p^rticularly ex-
cepting one Croffiman; whoe is accused to haue had a
fpeciall hand in the crewell murder of M^r Hezekiah Wil-
lett.”

15 *January*, 167⁶/₇, Capt. Church was commiffioned again
by the Plymouth government, and went out again and
[p. 181, *post*] took “divers parties of Indians.” 6 March
[*P. C. R.* v: 225], the Plymouth Court granted leave to
eight of Church’s Indian foldiers to fettle at *Saconet*, he
fupplying them with land, on condition that they hold
themselves ready for military fervice under him, “hee,
fatisfying the Indians, to haue the whole prophett of fuch
an adventure.” 7 June [*P. C. R.* v: 234], he is author-
ized to a^ct as a magistrate to iffue warrants, &c., at *Saco-
net* and *Pocaffet*; 13 July [*Ibid.* 242], he is recognized by
the Court as agent of the widow of Daniel Haward, for
the management of the lands of her late hufband; 30

October [*Ibid.* 246; vii: 208], he was on a trial jury at Plymouth.

5 *March*, 167 $\frac{7}{8}$, he was appointed by the Court [*P. C. R.* v: 252], with John Richmond of Taunton, to divide some land at *Saconet* belonging to children of the late John Irish; 5 July [*Ibid.* 265], he was empowered, by special order, to administer to John Irish the oath to serve as constable at *Saconet*.

8 *March*, 167 $\frac{8}{9}$ [*P. C. R.* vi: 7] he was re-appointed to be a magistrate for *Saconet* and *Pocasset*.

4 *March*, 1679 [*Bristol County (Mafs.) Deeds*, ii: 144], he buys of Arthur Hathaway of Dartmouth, for £16, one share in *Punkateast* neck, with one share of the Court grant of which said neck was a part; same date [*Ibid.* ii: 146], he buys a similar share of Edward Gray of Plymouth, for £12.

1 *January*, 167 $\frac{9}{10}$ [*Ibid.* ii: 143], he bought a similar share of Richard Wright, tailor, of New Plymouth, for 40s. Sometime before March of this year, with seven others [*Proceedings of Mafs. Hist. Soc.*, Sept. 1857, 238], he became a purchaser of *Pocasset* lands, and agreed to endeavor the well settling of a plantation there, and to “joine with Succonnett Proprietors in the calling of a Gospell Mineter & for his encouragement as to his outward subsistence &c.”; 7 July [*P. C. R.* vi: 43], he was appointed, with Nathaniel Thomas and William Pabodie, “to bound out *Tatamanucke’s* thousand acres of land att or about Saco-

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nett"; 14 Sept. [*Bristol, R.-I., Town Records*, i: 26], he signed and sealed the "Grand Articles" for the settlement of Bristol, R.-I.

1 *March*, 168 $\frac{0}{1}$ [*P. C. R.* vi: 58], with Nathaniel Thomas and Edward Gray, he petitioned to have the lines run between their *Pocasset* purchase and the "freemen's land" at Fall River, and the Court ordered William Pabodie to do it; 7 July, 1681 [*P. C. R.* vi: 69], he was authorized by the Court "to cutt and cleare" a more direct way from Mount-Hope to Boston, there being "great need" of one; at the same Court [*P. C. R.* vii: 241], he, with others, by N. Thomas, their attorney, sued David Lake for £500, for interrupting them from quiet and peaceable possession of their *Pocasset* lands; 1 Sept. [*B. T. R.* i: 46], the first proprietors of the Mount-Hope purchase met (76 in number, "Capt. Benjamin Church" heading the list), and agreed that the name of the town should be Bristol; 10 Nov. [*B. T. R.* i: 49], with N. Byfield and Sergeant John Cary, he was appointed to make a rate upon the new town.

7 *March*, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ [*P. C. R.* vii: 247], he, with others, by N. Thomas, attorney, sued William Earle of Dartmouth for forcibly hindering the running of the boundary line of the *Pocasset* purchase; 22 May, 1682 [*B. T. R.* i: 49], he was chosen Deputy to represent Bristol in the Colony Court, and first Selectman for the year ensuing; 7 July [*P. C. R.* vi: 93], he was commissioned as a magistrate,

and authorized to solemnize marriages; 27 Oct. [*P. C. R.* vii: 257], he made an official return to the Court covering the testimony of *Wayewett* (*Awashtonks's* husband) and three other *Saconet* Indians, that to their knowledge the little island of *Cheffarwanucke* (Hog Island) belonged to *Massasoit* and his son *Wamsutta*.

28 May, 1683 [*B. T. R.* i: 51], he was re-elected Deputy; 5 July [*B. C. D.* ii: 146], with Wm. Pabodie of Little Compton, he agrees that the 23d lot at *Saconet* should be his; 7 July [*P. C. R.* vii: 263], John Saffin, merchant, sues him for £100, for "damaging a certain water-course into a coue on *Poppasquash* necke"; 24 Oct. [*B. T. R.* i: 54], he agrees with the voters of Bristol to make three wolf-pits in a month's time, and, with others, was clothed "with full power in the towne's behalf in reference to rates now due from Mr. J. Saffin"; 31 Oct. [*P. C. R.* vii: 269], Saffin complained to the Court of him and his associate raters of damage of £24 for unjust assessment, but the Court found for defendants, and assessed Saffin £4 5s. costs of Court; same date, same Saffin sued Church for £80, for the old cause of "damaging" his creek, and the jury found for Saffin £3 and costs.

3 March, 168 $\frac{3}{4}$ [*B. T. R.* i: 43], he agrees with Nathaniel Byfield to maintain a fence of 393 rods in length, between their farms, each to build and keep in repair 196 $\frac{1}{2}$ rods; 9 Feb. 1684 [*B. C. D.* i: 311], he buys of John Walley

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and others, for £10, certain houfe-lots, &c., &c., in Bristol; 20 Feb. [*Ibid.* 309], he buys of the fame parties, for £87, feveral houfe-lots and other lands, with $\frac{1}{16}$ of a mill, and $\frac{1}{16}$ of the “ferry farm,” in Bristol; 26 March [*Bristol Births*, i: 56], his then only daughter, Elizabeth, was born; 21 May [*B. T. R.* i: 55], he was re-chofen Deputy, and elected third Selectman; 16 Sept. [*Ibid.* 57], with Capt. Walley, he was chofen “for the using endeavors to bring £5, from next October Court of the Cape money for the Incouragement of a School-mafter”; 13 November [*B. C. D.* i: 50], he effected the divifion of the Haward land in *Saconet*, to which he had been appointed by the Court; 28 November [*B. C. D.* i: 181], he fells, for £45, to Rowland Robinfon of Newport the 24th lot at *Saconet*, and 40 acres at *Tyonfunbe*.

23 June, 1685 [*B. T. R.* i: 62], he “difburfed” 10s. to help make up £5, to pay for the freight of the goods of “Mr. Cobbit, the fchoolmafter”; 22 September [*Ibid.* 63], he was chofen one of three “raters,” and one of a Town Council of five, “to join with the Commiffion officers of this town by way of ordering concerns in any exegences relating to meletia affairs.”

17 May, 1686 [*Ibid.* 68], he was chofen firft Selectman; 1 July [*Bristol Births, &c.* i: 18], his third fon, Nathaniel, was born (who died 29 Feb. following); 9 November [*B. T. R.* i: 70], he engaged “to deliver in four cords of fire-

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wood for the Rev. Mr. Lee," to help make 42 cords; 18 November [*B. C. D.* ii: 271], he fells 20 acres of land at *Saconet*, for £11, to William Pabodie.

11 February, 168 $\frac{6}{7}$ [*B. C. D.* iii: 290], he buys of W. Pabodie and W. Southworth of *Saconet* an 18-acre lot, for £13; 4 May [*B. T. R.* i: 72], he was chosen the first of four Selectmen at Bristol; 8 May [*Rev. Dr. Shepard's Two Discourses*, 10], he became one of the original eight members of the First Congregational Church in Bristol.

23 January, 168 $\frac{7}{8}$ [*B. C. D.* iii: 370], he buys of Seth Arnold of Duxbury, one-half of the 33^d lot in *Punkateast* neck; 19 February [*Ibid.* ii: 145], he exchanged with John Rouse of Marshfield the 29th lot (which was the second he originally drew) at *Saconet* for the 18th (which adjoined the 19th, the first which he originally drew, and on which he had built his house there); 21 May 1688 [*B. T. R.* i: 73], he was chosen again the first of four Selectmen at Bristol; 16 July [*B. C. D.* i: 91], he buys for £100, a whole share of land in Little Compton, of Josiah Cook and Joseph Harding of Eastham; 29 September [*Ibid.* 97], "for the love, goodwill and affection which I have and beare toward my loving friend and Brother-in-law James Burroughs of Bristol, Tailor, and Sarah, his now wife (being my sifter)" he gave his "home-lot" on the corner of Hope

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and Queen Sts. in Bristol,* being 131 ft. by 59 ft., with other lands enumerated; 17 October [*Ibid.* vii: 572], for £33, he sold to James Peckham, of Little Compton, lands in that town, and same date [*Ibid.* iii: 326], bought of said Peckham for £13, two lots in said town; 21 November [*Ibid.* i: 338], he bought for £6, of Samuel Sanford of Portsmouth, land at Little Compton; 28 November [*Ibid.* i: 75], he exchanged certain lots in Little Compton for certain other lots there owned by John Cushen of Scituate; 6 December [*Ibid.* i: 75], he sold for £90, lands in Little Compton to Peter Tailer of Newport; 26 December, [*Ibid.* 82], for £24, he sold land at Little Compton to Mathew Howard of that town.

24 *January*, 168⁸/₉ [*Ibid.* 81], for £16, he sold to James Cafe and Anna his wife, of Little Compton, 40 acres of land in that town; 6 February [*Ibid.* ix: 173], he sells, for 42*s.* a ferry lot at *Pocasset* to William Wodel; 6 September [*Entertaining Passages, &c.* 56], he was commissioned Major, and Commander-in-Chief, of Plymouth forces for the first Eastern Expedition; 7 September, 1689 [*B. C. D.* iii: 368], he buys of William Fobes, for £10, a lot in Little Compton; 18 September [*E. P.* 59], received his instructions from the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and

* Rev. Dr. Shepard says, in a note to his *Two Discourses*, (p. 51) "tradition says that the old Talbee house, in this town, [Bristol] standing near to the corner of Thames and Constitution streets, the stone chimney of which only remains (1857), was built by Col. Church."

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started for Casco; 21 September [*Original letter of Church, in Mass. State Paper Office*], had an engagement with the enemy, in which eleven of his foldiers were killed and ten wounded; 13 November [*Willis's Hist. Portland* 280], he had a Council of war at Falmouth, soon after which he returned home; 25 December [*P. C. R.* vi: 228], a committee was appointed by the Colony to settle with him and others "the charges of the warr, &c." and the Court ordered him 40s. a week and £10, over, besides what he might receive "from the Bay."

6 February, 1688⁸/₈ [*E. P.* 65], he wrote to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts appealing on behalf of the poor inhabitants of Maine; 10 May, 1690 [*B. C. D.* ii: 66], for £7, he sells to Edward Gray of Little Compton land in *Sapowit* neck in said town; 30 May [*Ibid.* 147], he buys of Captain Christopher Almy of Rhode Island, for £11 10s., four thirtieths of lands left by the purchasers of *Pocassett*, at Fall-river, for erecting a mill or mills; 2 September [*E. P.* 69], was Commissioned for the second Eastern Expedition; 9 September [*Ibid.* 70], received his instructions, and started; was back to Bristol in three or four weeks; 4 November [*P. C. R.* vi: 255], was appointed by the Court to take charge of a contribution proposed in the County of Bristol for the relief "of ye town of Wells & parts adjacent;" 27 November [*E. P.* 77], wrote from Bristol to "the Eastern parts;" 2 December [*B. C. D.* iii: 369; v: 521], ex-

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changed with W. Pabodie of Little Compton two lots in said town.

8 *June*, 1691 [*B. C. D.* i: 199], he fells to Nathaniel Byfield, for £50, one sixteenth part of *Poppasquash* neck, being 43 acres more or less; 28 August [*Ibid.* i: 111], he buys of his brother Caleb Church of Watertown, “millwright,” for £100, 13½-30^{ths} of *Pocassett* purchase, being 30 rods in breadth, “and contains y^e river commonly called y^e Fall-river & y^e benefit of y^e stream, and y^e strip of land designed for y^e use of a mill, or mills, with y^e ½ part of y^e sawmill, &c. &c.”; 23 September [*Ibid.* ii: 257], he buys for £70, of N. Thomas, of Marshfield, lands at *Saconet*.

25 *July*, 1692 [*E. P.* 82], he was commissioned for the third Eastern Expedition; 11 August, had his instructions, and started for Penobscot, — did what service he could and returned.

6 *March*, 1693 [*B. C. D.* vii: 154], he fells, for £21, to Samuel Crandall land at Little Compton; 23 May [*Ibid.* v: 11], he buys of W. Wodel, of Portsmouth, for £3, lands in Fall-river; 1 August [*Ibid.* ii: 149], he buys of Thomas Burge of Little Compton, for £7 10s., a meadow lot of 3 acres in that town; same date [*Ibid.* ii: 142], he fells to said Burge for £15, 40 rods square of land in the same town.

29 *January*, 169½ [*Ibid.* i: 282], he fells, for £34, to Daniel Eaton of Little Compton one share of the undivided lands

in that town; 16 February [*Ibid.* iii: 397], he buys of Benjamin Woodworth of Little Compton, for £10, meadow lots in that town; 20 April, 1694 [*Ibid.* vi: 177], he buys of Gerfhom Wodel of *Pocasset*, for £3, lands at Fall-river; 23 July [*B. T. R.* i: 92], “Major Church” was chosen by the town of Bristol the first of its 5 affeffors; 30 July [*B. C. D.* i: 97], he bought back, for £50, his “home-lot” in Bristol which he had fold (29 Sept. 1688) to his brother-in-law, James Burroughs; 6 September [*Ibid.* 385], he buys of Ifrael Hubbard and Jonathan Dodfon of Scituate, for £150, one “great lot” in Freetown, “being the fecond lot from y^e Fall-river.”

29 *December*, 1695 [*Ibid.* ii: 21], he fells to Jofeph Tabor of Tiverton 80 acres at *Nomquid*, with a grift mill, and alfo 39 acres in *Punkateaft* neck, with other lots, for £360, faid Tabor agreeing to maintain the grift-mill, as Church had done, with the agents of the proprietors of *Saconet*.

23 *March*, 1696 [*B. T. R.* i: 96], Major Church was chosen Moderator of Bristol town-meeting, — the laft time his name is mentioned on the records of that town, indicating his removal very foon after to Fall-river; 2 May [*B. C. D.* i: 290], he depofed that in 1680 he faw Hugh Woodberry fencing “the 11th lot of y^e freeman’s land,” &c., in Freetown; 27 July [*Ibid.* ii: 217], he fells, for £18, to John Palmer, carpenter, of Little Compton, 40 acres of land in that town; 3 Auguft [*E. P.* 87], he was commiffioned to

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go on the fourth Expedition east; 12 August [*Ibid.* 88], had his instructions, and went out, returning in the Autumn.

18 *January*, $\frac{1699}{1700}$ [*B. C. D.* iv: 390], Major Church “late of Bristol now of Tiverton” * — showing that he had now become a resident of Fall-river — “for natural love” gives to his son Thomas, of Bristol, several parcels of land, with a house, &c.; 5 September, 1700 [*Ibid.* iii: 183], he buys of Joseph Church of Little Compton for £100, several lots of land at *Saconet* Point; 20 December [*Ibid.* iii: 291], he buys of Latham Clark, of Newport, for £140, a whole half share of the freeman’s lot at Freetown.

7 *March*, 1701 [*Ibid.* iv: 29], he with others, deeds land in Little Compton to William Hiliard; 10 December, 1701 [*Ibid.* v: 161], he buys of Henry Head of Little Compton, for £10, land in that town.

27 *March*, 1702 [*Ibid.* iv: 17], “in consideration of natural love and affection,” he deeds to his son Edward large tracts of land in Bristol, “his house on Hope St. & Queen St.,” &c. &c.; 7 October [*Ibid.* iv: 37], he buys of John Bayley of Newport, for £40, certain lands in Little Comp-

* “His (Col. Church’s) dwelling-house stood between the present dwelling-house of Col. Richard Borden, and that of his brother Jefferon, and remained till within 40 years.” Fowler’s *Hist. Sketch of Fall River*, p. 19 [A. D. 1841]. This was on the south side of

Annawon St., near Pond St., from 50 to 75 ft. from the former. The late extension of the Old Colony and Fall River R. R. to Newport, passes directly through the premises. [*MS.* letter from Hon. Jefferon Borden.]

ton; 30 October [*Ibid.* 100], he buys, for £4 10s. of D. Wilcocks of Portsmouth, John Woodman of Little Compton, and Thomas and Roger Cory of Tiverton, lands at Fall-river.

12 *January*, 170 $\frac{2}{3}$ [*Ibid.* 67], "Lieut. Col. Church of Tiverton, i.e. Fall River, for £3, buys of Constant Southworth $\frac{1}{30}$ part of land for a Mill at Fall-river, with $\frac{1}{30}$ of said Fall-river; 16 January [*Ibid.* 99], he buys of Job Almy, of Tiverton, for £7 10s., "one share at Fall-river for a mill, &c."

5 *February*, 170 $\frac{3}{4}$ [*E. P.* 99], Col. Church wrote to Governor Dudley, offering a plan for a fifth Expedition east; 18 March, he was commissioned; 4 May, received his instructions, and spent most of the summer on this business; 29 Nov. [1 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* ix: 205], a Congregational Church was formed in Little Compton which he is believed to have aided to establish, and of which he remained a consistent member to his death.

20 *November*, 1705 [*Little Compton Town Records* i.], Col. Church first appears as if a resident for the second time in Little Compton, consenting to changes in the roads for common convenience; 11 April [*B. C. D.* iv: 415], he deeds to his son Thomas a part of his Little Compton lands, with 10 cows, 100 sheep, &c.; 20 July [*Ibid.* v: 100], he deeds to "my onely natural daughter Elizabeth Rosbotham, and to my son-in-law Capt. Joseph Rosbotham (her now husband) of Bristol," lands in that town.

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5 *June*, 1706 [*L. C. T. R.* 1], he was chosen Representative of Little Compton for the year ensuing.

3 *February*, 170 $\frac{6}{7}$ [*B. C. D.* v: 142], "for love, &c." he deeds to his son Charles the 18th and 19th lots at Little Compton (that on which he built in 1674, with that adjoining it, which, in 1688, he had secured by exchange with John Rouse), with the buildings, &c. &c.; 12 April, 1707 [*Ibid.* v: 214], "for love" &c. he deeds to his son Constant (after his own decease), the mill shares and mills in Tiverton, with lands in Freetown; 26 April [*B. C. D.* v: 162], "for love" &c. he deeds to his son Thomas of Bristol, his house * (after his decease and that of his wife), called "the little farm," containing 120 acres, with other lands; 7 August [*L. C. T. R.* i.], he married at Little Compton, William Cuthbert and Mary Head; 18 September [*L. C. T. R.* i], the town voted him £18 7s. out of the town rate for his services as Representative.

17 *March*, 1708 [*L. C. T. R.* i.], he married Edward Southworth and Mary Fobes; 24 March [*B. C. D.* v: 343], he sold for £30, to Henry Wood, of Newport, land at Little Compton; May, 1708 [*L. C. T. R.* i.], he married

* When he went back to Little Compton in 1705, or thereabouts, he built on the lots which he had long owned just south of *Awashtonks's* $\frac{3}{4}$ mile square of reserved territory [see note 12 *post*]. His house stood back in the field; and the well, and traces of the cellar remain.

The spot is now owned by Mr. George H. Peckham. It is a little S. of W. from the two Windmills which stand near together on the road from *Saconet* Point to Tiverton, and is perhaps $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles S. W. in a straight line, from the Common.

John Irish and (his sifter) Priscilla Church; 23 June [*B. C. D.* v: 471; vii: 241], he exchanged with Thomas Burge of Little Compton lands valued at £40; 22 December [*L. C. T. R.* i.], he married Amos Sheffield and Sarah —.

29 *January*, 1708⁸ [*B. C. D.* v: 463], he buys of John Irish, for £15, meadow land in Little Compton; 4 April, 1709 [*B. C. D.* v: 488], at the instance of the government, he exchanged some lands in Little Compton, to accommodate the Indians; 6 September [*L. C. T. R.* i.], he was chosen in Little Compton to the Grand Jury.

4 *January*, 1710 [*L. C. T. R.* i.], he married John Bailey and Lydia —; 16 May [*Ibid.*], he was chosen Representative of the town in the next General Court; 28 September [*Ibid.*], he married William Shaw and Content Irish.

24 *December*, 1711 [*Ibid.*], he was allowed £13 4s. for his services as Representative.

25 *December*, 1712 [*B. C. D.* vii: 462], “for love,” &c. he deeds land in Freetown to his daughter and her husband, Capt. Joseph Rosbotham; and, same date, [*Ibid.* 463] for £100, to the same parties more land in Freetown.

24 *January*, 1713³ [*L. C. T. R.* i], he married Samuel Tompkins and Sarah —; 23 February [*B. C. D.* vii: 583], for £15, he sold to his son Thomas, of Little Compton, lands in Tiverton; 18 March, 1713 [*L. C. T. R.* i.], he was chosen moderator of the town meeting in Little

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Compton; 25 September [*Ibid.*], he married William Briggs, jun., and Deborah Church; 16 November [*Ibid.*], he married Jonathan Blackman and Sarah —.

14 *January*, 171 $\frac{3}{4}$ [*B. C. D.* vii: 480], “for love” &c., he deeds several valuable tracts of land in Little Compton; 25 March, 1714 [*Ibid.* viii: 583], he buys, for £33 15s. lands in Tiverton of Samuel and Mary Snell; 31 March [*Ibid.* viii: 582], he fells, for £24, to William Wilbor, lands in Little Compton; 18 November [*Ibid.* 583], for £32 10s. he fells to Richard Ward and Lion Arnold of Newport, lands in *Pocasset*.

14 *April*, 1715 [*Ibid.* ix: 738], with Constant, he fells land in Freetown to Thomas Turner; 7 June [*Ibid.* 451], for £6, he fells his son Thomas land in Little Compton; 1 November [*L. C. T. R.* i.], he married Peter Taylor and Hannah Wood. During this year also he doubtless dictated to his son Thomas his “Entertaining Passages.”

8 *April*, 1716 [*Ibid.*], he married Samuel Coe and Mary Chadwick; 13 May [*Ibid.*], he married Jonathan Hilliard and Abigail Wilbor.

3 *March*, 171 $\frac{6}{7}$ [*B. C. D.* x: 637], he gave lands in Freetown to his son Constant, reserving the right to improve them during his life; 20 June, 1717 [*L. C. T. R.* i.], he married William Wilbor and Esther Burges; 11 September [*Bristol Marriages*, &c. ii: 23], “Mr. John Sampson and Mrs. Elizabeth Rosbotham of this town (Bristol) were

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joined in marriage by Benjamin Church, Esq.”; 13 November [*L. C. T. R. i.*], he married (his last couple) Thomas Tibbets and Elizabeth Wood.

The account which was given by Dr. Stiles, on the authority of a member of the family, of the old Colonel's death, is as follows: — “the morning before his death, he went about two miles on horseback to visit his only [surviving?] sister, Mrs. Irish, to sympathize with her on the death of her only child. After a friendly and pious visit, in a moving and affecting manner, he took his leave of her, and said, ‘It was a last farewell; Telling her, he was persuaded he should never see her more; but hoped to meet her in heaven.’ Returning homeward, he had not rode above half a mile before his horse stumbled, and threw him over his head: And the Colonel being exceeding fat and heavy, fell with such force that a blood vessel was broken, and the blood gushed out of his mouth like a torrent. His wife was soon brought to him; he tried but was unable to speak to her, and died in about twelve hours. He was carried to the grave in great funeral pomp, and was buried under arms, and with military honours.”

His monument — a huge flat stone laid horizontally over the grave, supported by stones under each side and end,

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in the graveyard adjoining the Congregational Church in Little Compton — still bears the following inscription: —

“ Here lyeth interred the [body]
of the Honourable
Col. BENJAMIN CHURCH, Esq.
who departed this life, January
the 17, 1713, in y^e 78 yeare of
his age.”

The Probate Record of his Estate, is as follows: —

The fifth day of March Administration Granted to Madam Alice Church on the Estate of Coll^e Benj^a Church deceased

[Bristol Co. Probate Records, iii: 363.]

A true Inventory of Estate both Reall & Personall left by the Hon^{orable} Coll^e Benj^a Church Esq^e Late of Little Compton dec^d Taken by us the subscribers the 5th day febr^{ry} 1717-18

To his Sword and Belt	05 00 00
To a Cane & Gloves	00 12 00
To Wearing Apparell	28 15 00
To 2 Gold Rings 1 ^l & 3 pair of Buttons 1 ^l 10: 0 all .	02 10 00
To one pair of Plate Buckles	00 15 00
To one Tanker one cup one Porringer & 2 salt sellars plate and seven spoons all weighing 42 Ounces	25 00 00
To a Case of knives & forks	00 08 00
To Sundry Books	02 00 00
To land in Tiverton one Six Score acre lot & half being 18 a ^c [acres].	180 00 00
To Two Gunns	03 00 00

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	To one Bed 2 Blankets one Rug curtains and Vallence & two Pillows and Bedstead &c	24 00 00
	To one other Bed Bedstead and 4 Blankets or Cover- lids Two Pillows and Curtains	18 00 00
	To one other Bed Bedstead Bolster & 3 Blankets	12 00 00
	To 14 pair of Sheets	21 00 00
	To nine Pillow cases	01 16 00
	To two Doz of napkins & Towels	03 12 00
	To 4 Table Cloathes	02 00 00
	To three Tables	03 10 00
	To one Cubboard	03 00 00
	To six Chests	02 02 00
	To seven Turkey worked chairs	04 02 00
	To 16 Wooden Chairs	02 08 00
Puter	To 21 plates 1 17 0 To 7 platters 3 ^l all	04 17 00
	To 11 Basons 1 13 00 & 3 Chamber Potts 8 ^s	02 01 00
Tinn	To one Collender one Cauldron & on Tea pott all	00 03 00
Brass	To one Chaffing Dish & one warmingpan	01 10 00
	To two Kettles and one Bellmettell skillet	06 00 00
Iron	To three Potts and one Kettle	01 10 00
	To one spit 3 AndIrons two pair of Tongs one fire shove two Trammels one hook and one frying pan all	02 02 00
	To 8 Keelers 8 pails 3 Piggins 3 Trayes & one Sugar Box all	02 15 00
	To 5 Cheese fatts one churn & 3 Cedar Tubs all	02 04 00
	To one Mealtrough & Corrill & one Tray all	00 06 00
	To 3 Bags 12 ^s to Earthenware 6 ^s & 12 Glass Bottles 4 ^s all	01 02 00
	To two Ropes 6 ^s to 5 old Sythes 5 ^s To 3 old Iron hopps & 3 Iron Boxes 8 ^s all	00 19 00
	To a Bettle and wedges 6 ^s & 3 Sythe Snaths 3 ^s all	00 09 00
	To 3 hones 6 ^s one Bill hooke & 4 Axes 11 ^s all	00 17 00
	To Iron fletters horse traces one Coller Harnes & old Iron	00 14 00

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One Hmmer & one square	00 08 00
One old Tennant Saw 2 pair of sheers & 2 p ^r of Stel- liards	00 08 00
To one girdle 3 Stirrup Irons & one Lanthorn all .	00 04 00
To three Riddle Sives 3 ^s & 14 old Cask — 1 08 ^s all .	01 11 00
To 25 bushells of salt 3 ^t 15 ^s & 2 Cheese presses 8 ^s all	04 03 00
To 2 pair of Spinning Wheels and one pair of Cards	00 10 00
To 2 Barrills of Beef one Barrill of Pork	05 00 00
To nine Cows	54 00 00
To 4 heifers	20 00 00
To a pair of Oxen	14 00 00
To a pair of Steers	12 00 00
To one Bull	02 10 00
To Seven Two Year old Cattle	21 00 00
To a cart and Wheels 2 Yoaks 2 Chains & Clevis & pin	04 10 00
Two Iron Barrs and one Sledge	01 00 00
To Yarn and flax	03 15 00
To about 25 ^c weight of Cheese	04 00 00
To 13 Bushells of Barley	02 00 00
To 2 old Barrills and Some Beanes	00 10 00
To Twenty Bushells of Oates	02 10 00
To about 40 Bushells of Indian corn	08 00 00
To one Tubb & Pork	04 00 00
To 2 Barrills of Cider 1 ^f & three empty Cask 6 ^s . .	01 06 00
To one sorild horfs	12 00 00
To one black horfs	16 00 00
To the Collash with the Horfs saddle & Brydle &c .	12 00 00
To one Bay mare	18 00 00
To 2 old ploughs and one Brake	01 05 00
To ten yearling Cattle	15 00 00
To 5 Swine	02 10 00
To a looking Glass and hour Glass	00 08 06
To 3 Scivers one pair of tongs & pair of Bellows all .	00 05 06
To one pair of holdsters & an old Portmantle	00 12 00

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To about 15 pound of Butter	00	10	00
To a Negro man Clothing and bedding &c	60	00	00
To a Negro woman clothing & Bedding &c	40	00	00
To a Servant Boy called William Hood	10	00	00
To John Tomlin	03	00	00
To three rakes and Two pitch forks	00	06	00
To an Iron Bark	01	10	00
To a score of Sheep	06	16	00
To a Clasp Stale pan a pair of Specticles & Inkhorn	00	09	00
To Silver and Gold Buttons	02	02	06
To Cash	02	18	06
To his Right in a Small lott of land Tiverton	05	00	00

This Inventory was taken the day and year
 above written by us

JOHN WOOD	} <i>Prifers</i>
THOMAS GREY	
WILLIAM PABODIE	

[Bristol Co. Probate Records, iii: 381, 382.]

To all People to whom these presents Shall come Know Yee that we who are the Children of our Hon^{ed} ffather Coll^e Benjamin Church late of Little Compton in the County of Bristol in the Province of the Mafsachuset Bay in New England dec^d Who Dyed Intestate And that the law of this Province doth Provide that all Just Debts & funerall Charges shall be payd out of the Personall Estate which will be a great Damage to our Hon^{ed} Mother Mrs Alice Church who is Administra-
 trix to said Estate

These are therefore to give full power and lawfull Authority to our above named Mother as Administratrix to our above s^d Hon^{ed} ffathers Estate To Bargain Sell Alin & Dispose of all our Right Title Claime or Demand of one Six Score acre lot and one halfe in the Township of Tiverton in pocafet Purchafs the whole lot being the fourteen in number and the half lot being the Thirteenth lot in number which lot and half being mentioned in the Inventory of our s^d ffathers estate and is.

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Butted & bounded as by the Bounds of s^d Pocaffet land may appear and that the whole sum of money which the above faid land is fold for shall be to help to pay the juft debts and fluneral Charges of our s^d Hon^{ed} ffather deceased as

Witness our hands and Seals dated in Bristol this Sixt day of March in the fourth year of his Majties Reign Annoqe Domini 171 $\frac{7}{8}$

Signed Sealed & declared	THOMAS CHURCH	(S)
In presence of us	CONSTANT CHURCH	(S)
SAMUEL GALLOP	CHARLES CHURCH	(S)
JOSHUA BAILEY	MARTHA CHURCH	(S)
	JOHN SAMPSON	(S)
	ELIZA SAMPSON	(S)

Bristol, fs — March 20th 1717: 18

M^r Thomas Church m^r Constant Church m^r Charles Church mrs Martha Church m^r John Sampson & m^{rs} Elizabeth Sampson Subscribers to the above mentioned order & Agreement Personally appeared before me Natha^l Paine Esq^r Judge of the Probate of wills &c within the County of Bristol and acknowledged the Same to be their free voluntary Act and Deed

NATHA^l PAINE

Entered March the 21st: 171 $\frac{7}{8}$

By JOHN CARY Register

[Bristol Co. Probate Records, iii: 384.]

A true Copy.

Attest: A. S. CUSHMAN, *Register*.

TAUNTON, Dec. 15, 1864.

I have only to add that no portrait is extant of the Colonel, and it is extremely improbable that any ever existed. None was offered to the public in connection with the first edition of these "Entertaining Passages," and he had been

INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR.

dead more than half a century when Dr. Stiles edited the second edition for Solomon Southwick. The diaries and correspondence of the Doctor have been searched in vain for any clue to the origin, or allusion to the character, of the copperplate engraving which accompanied that edition. Mr. Charles Deane [*Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc.* March 1858, 293] has acutely suggested that it "was taken from a picture of Charles Churchill, the poet, with the addition of a powder-horn flung around his neck;" and a comparison of the engraving with one or two pictures of that poet has given to his suggestion great weight in my mind. I imagine that Benjamin, the "vendue-master," who had some literary culture, and who busied himself in regard to the getting up of Dr. Stiles's edition, to the extent, at least, of writing the "Ode Heroica," remembering the face of his grandfather, and being struck with some decided resemblance between it and this picture of Churchill, engaged Revere to furnish a likeness of the Colonel based upon that of the poet. And the fact that there is a look to this day retained by many of the descendants of the Church family very far from being unlike to the general character of this picture, strengthens this supposition in my own mind to a strong probability. The companion picture of King Philip was, of course, purely a fancy sketch, and nearly the ugliest possible, at that.

INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR.

I append here such few scattering genealogical facts in regard to the descendants of Colonel Church as have come incidentally to my notice, — as materials for whoever may, at any future time, attempt to catalogue the complete descent from him.

BENJAMIN CHURCH,¹ b. at Plymouth, 1639, m. 26 Dec. 1667, ALICE SOUTHWORTH (b. Duxbury 1646, d. Little Compton 5 Mar. 171 $\frac{1}{2}$, æt. 73), d. 17 Jan. 171 $\frac{1}{2}$, at Little Compton, R.-I. æt. 78. They had (1) Thomas,² b. Duxbury, 1674, d. Little Compton, 12 Mar. 1746, æt. 73; (2) Constant,³ b. Portsmouth, R.-I. 12 May, 1676, d. 26 Mar. 1726? [*N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* xi: 155.] (3) Benjamin,⁴ b. 1678; (4) Edward,⁵ b. 1680; (5) Charles,⁶ b. 1682, d. Bristol Jan. 1747; (6) Elizabeth,⁷ b. 26 Mar. 1684; (7) Nathaniel,⁸ b. 1 July 1686, d. 29 Feb. 1687; (8) Martha.⁹

THOMAS CHURCH,² m. *first*, 21 Feb. 169 $\frac{8}{5}$, SARAH HAYMAN, had (1) Sarah,¹⁰ b. 15 Jan. 1700, d. 29 Aug. 1701; (2) Elizabeth,¹¹ b. 9 Sept. 1702, d. 27 Sept. 1702; (3) Thomas,¹² b. 20 Aug. 1704, d. young; m. *second*, 16 April 1712 EDITH, 2d dau. and 4th child of John and Hannah [Timberlake] WOODMAN [b. 7 Sept. 1685, d. 3 June 1718], had (4) Elizabeth¹³, b. 10 Jan. 1713; (5) Hannah¹⁴ b. 23 Sept. 1714; (6) Priscilla,¹⁵ b. 6 Jan. 1717, d. 15 Mar. 1744; (7) Thomas¹⁶ b. May 1718, d. 21 Aug. 1718; m. 1719 *third*, SARAH ———? had (8) Thomas,¹⁷ b. 31 May, 1720, d. 4 July, 1720; (9) Sarah,¹⁸ b. 15 May, 1721; (10) Thomas,¹⁹ b. 13 July, 1722, d. 5 Oct. 1722; (11) Benjamin,²⁰ b. 9 Sept. 1723, d. 27 Sept. 1723; (12) Mary,²¹ b. 2 Jan. 1725; (13) Thomas,²² b. 1 Sept. 1727; (14) Benjamin,²³ b. 10 Jan. 1732, d. 4 Aug. 1749; (15) Mercy,²⁴ b. 18 Sept. 1734.

CONSTANT CHURCH.³ [I have seen no trace of his family, if he had any.]

BENJAMIN CHURCH.⁴ [It is said died unmarried.]

EDWARD CHURCH⁵ lived in Boston, where, before 1764, he had a place of business as vendue-master, on Newbury Street, “two doors south of the sign of the Lamb.” He m. Elizabeth ———? who d. 18

INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR.

April, 1766, æt. 27. He had an only son Benjamin,²⁵ who was probably also a vendue-master, and the father of two sons (one of whom was Dr. Benjamin Church, of Tory memory in the Revolution), and a daughter who m. Mr. Fleming, a stationer.

CHARLES CHURCH⁶ was High Sheriff of the County, and Representative to the General Court; m. 20 May, 1708, Mrs. HANNAH PAINE of Bristol, had (1) Constant,²⁶ b. 12 Dec. 1708; (2) Elizabeth,²⁷ b. 24 Dec. 1710; (3) Hannah,²⁸ b. 20 Feb. 1713, d. Jan. 1747.

ELIZABETH CHURCH,⁷ m. *first*, 1700? Capt. JOSEPH ROSBOTHAM of Bristol, had (1) Benjamin,²⁹ b. 21 Dec. 1701; (2) Alice,³⁰ b. 26 Aug. 1704; (3) Elizabeth,³¹ b. 9 Sept. 1708; (4) Hannah,³² b. 20 June, 1711; m. *second*, 11 Sept. 1717, Mr. JOHN SAMPSON, of Bristol, [d. 12 Jan. 1733]; had (5) John³³ and (6) Elizabeth,³⁴ (twins) b. 20 Jan. 1713; (7) John,³⁵ b. (at New Haven) 31 May, 1722; m. *third*, 18 June, 1739, Capt. SAMUEL WOODBURY.

NATHANIEL CHURCH,⁸ [died an infant.]

MARTHA CHURCH⁹. [I find no trace of her except her signature to the document accompanying the settlement of her father's estate.]

SARAH CHURCH,¹⁸ m. 29 Apr. 1742, SAMUEL BAILEY of Little Compton, had (1) William,³⁶ b. 25 Aug. 1742, m. 4 Mar. 1770, SARAH BRIGGS, d. 17 Feb. 1825; (2) Samuel,³⁷ b. 3 Jan. 1744, m. ELIZABETH CHURCH; (3) Francis,³⁸ b. 4 Oct. 1745; (4) Ruth,³⁹ b. 24 Apr. 1747, d. 6 Dec. 1771; (5) Sarah,⁴⁰ b. 23 Sept. 1749, m. 1 Mar. 1772, JOHN MANCHESTER; (6) George,⁴¹ b. 29 Apr. 1751, d. 27 Mar. 1764; (7) Hannah,⁴² b. 25 July, 1760.

MARY CHURCH,²¹ m. 31 Mar. 1748, AARON WILBOR [3d son and 6th child of John, who was 2d son and 3d child of William, an original settler], had (1) Sarah,⁴³ b. 25 Dec. 1748; (2) Benjamin,⁴⁴ b. 22 Oct. 1750; (3) Aaron,⁴⁵ b. June, 1753; (4) Francis,⁴⁶ b. 4 Aug. 1755, d. 15 June, 1844; (5) Thomas,⁴⁷ b. 23 Sept. 1756, d. 13 Sept. 1840; (6) John,⁴⁸ b. 4 May, 1762.

THOMAS CHURCH,²² m. *first*, 31 Jan. 1748, RUTH BAILEY [youngest dau. and child of William, and so youngest sister of the husband of Sarah,¹⁸ b. 3 Aug. 1727, d. 31 Jan. 1771], had (1) Constant,⁴⁹

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b. 9 May, 1748; (2) Sarah,⁵⁰ b. 12 Feb. 1750, d. 17 Nov. 1750; (3) Sarah,⁵¹ b. 24 May, 1751; (4) Elizabeth,⁵² b. 25 Dec. 1752; (5) Benjamin; ⁵³ (6) Mercy,⁵⁴ b. Mar. 1756, d. 31 Mar. 1837; (7) Thomas,⁵⁵ b. 26 Nov. 1757; (8) Obadiah,⁵⁶ b. 21 Apr. 1759; (9) William,⁵⁷ b. 7 May, 1761; (10) Charles,⁵⁸ b. 10 Mar. 1763; (11) Francis,⁵⁹ b. 19 Dec. 1764; (12) Thomas,⁶⁰ b. 3 Mar. 1767; (13) Ruth,⁶¹ b. 5 Dec. 1768; (14) Mary,⁶² b. 30 Jan. 1771, d. 1 Feb. 1771; m. *second*, MARY RICHMOND, [b. 26 Dec. 1735, 2d dau. and 8th child of William, oldest son of Sylvester]; had (15) George,⁶³ b. 30 May, 1773; (16) Gamaliel,⁶⁴ b. 1 Mar. 1775; (17) Mary,⁶⁵ b. 12 Feb. 1777, d. 17 July, 1777.

MERCY CHURCH,⁶⁴ m. 3 Feb. 1754, PEREZ RICHMOND [4th son and 5th child of William, d. 1801], had (1) Sarah,⁶⁶ b. 24 Aug. 1756; m. 27 Apr. 1776, JOB CLAPP; (2) Ruth,⁶⁷ b. 6 Sept. 1758; (3) Elizabeth,⁶⁸ b. 9 Mar. 1760; (4) Thomas,⁶⁹ b. 5 Mar. 1764; (5) Benjamin,⁷⁰ b. 11 July, 1765; (6) Anna,⁷¹ b. 24 Mar. 1767; (7) Mary,⁷² b. 5 Apr. 1770; (8) Charles,⁷³ b. 9 July, 1773; (9) Hannah,⁷⁴ b. 17 Dec. 1775.

CONSTANT CHURCH,⁴⁹ m. 20 June, 1771, KEZIA BRIGGS [3d dau. and child of Jeremiah, who was 4th son and child of Job, who was 4th son and 7th child of William, b. 13 Oct. 1751, d. 17 Dec. 1818.], had (1) Ruth,⁷⁵ b. 19 Dec. 1771; (2) Sarah,⁷⁶ b. 29 May, 1774; (3) Jeremiah Briggs,⁷⁷ b. 22 Jan. 1776; (4) Benjamin,⁷⁸ b. 23 Jan. 1778, d. 20 Sept. 1778; (5) Kezia,⁷⁹ b. 14 Mar. 1780; (6) Charles,⁸⁰ b. 16 Mar. 1782, d. 14 Sept. 1805; (7) Betsey,⁸¹ b. 17 Sept. 1784; (8) Anna,⁸² b. 11 Feb. 1787; (9) Constantine,⁸³ b. 5 Jan. 1789, d. 1 Nov. 1826; (10) Hannah,⁸⁴ b. 9 Oct. 1781, d. 2 Sept. 1828; (11) William,⁸⁵ b. 27 Apr. 1795, d. 14 Oct. 1796.

ELIZABETH CHURCH,⁵² m. 23 Oct. 1774, SAMUEL BAILEY [b. 3 Jan. 1744, was 2d son and child of Samuel, who m. SARAH¹⁸], had (1) Sarah,⁸⁶ b. 31 Mar. 1775; (2) Cornelius,⁸⁷ b. 8 Oct. 1776; (3) Benjamin,⁸⁸ b. 18 Aug. 1780; (4) Ruth,⁸⁹ b. 26 Feb. 1782; (5) Thomas,⁹⁰ (6) Samuel,⁹¹ (twins), b. 6 May, 1785; (7) George,⁹² b. 26 April, 1788; (8) Charles,⁹³ b. 5 Apr. 1790; (9) Hannah,⁹⁴ b. 1 June, 1794.

CONSTANT CHURCH,²⁶ of Bristol, m. 25 Jan. 1733, MARY REYNOLDS, of Bristol, had (1) Peter,⁹⁵ b. 1 Dec. 1737; (2) Mary,⁹⁶ b. 2 Apr. 1740; (3) Charles,⁹⁷ b. 5 Nov. 1743.

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PETER CHURCH⁹⁵ [as the records seem to say] m. 22 Mar. 1764, Mrs. SARAH FALES, of Bristol, and, for second wife, HANNAH ———? had (1) George,⁹⁸ b. 1 Apr., 1771; (2) William,⁹⁹ b. 5 Apr. 1776; (3) Peter,¹⁰⁰ b. 26 Apr. 1791; (4) Hannah,¹⁰¹ b. 13 Sept. 1792.

This Peter¹⁰⁰ I suppose to be the Col. Peter, now living in Bristol, whose son, Captain Benjamin, commanding a company in the 8th Michigan V. M., was killed by a shot through the head, 16 June, 1862, while gallantly leading a charge upon the rebels, in the battle of James Island. [*Stone's R.-I. in the Rebellion*, 298.]







INTRODUCTORY NOTE.



IT had been intended to give, in this place, a full statistical statement of the condition of New England in population, resources, towns, churches, ministers &c., &c., at the date of the breaking-out of those hostilities which are commonly known as Philip's War; and to add a careful estimate of the causes of that strife, and the effects of it upon the Colonies. But the necessary length of such a statement and estimate, and the unexpected voluminousness of the preceding biographical matter, compels the reservation of that historical introduction until the issue of that remaining portion of these "Entertaining Passages," which has especial reference to the Eastern Expeditions; when it will be given as preliminary to those brief statements which may be further needful to make clear the causes and issues of those later conflicts.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Meanwhile, the reader who desires to peruse these exploits and experiences of Captain Church, with the most intelligent comprehension of their relation to the general matters of the war, and the condition of the country at that date, is respectfully referred to the third volume of Dr. Palfrey's "History of New England," where [pp. 132-239], he will find the most lucid, careful and truthful exposition of the subject, which has yet been given to the press.



Entertaining Passages

Relating to

Philip's WAR

WHICH

Began in the Month of *June*, 1675.

AS ALSO OF

EXPEDITIONS

More lately made

Against the Common Enemy, and *Indian* Rebels,
in the Eastern Parts of *New-England*:

WITH

Some Account of the Divine Providence

TOWARDS

Benj. Church Esqr;

By *T. C.*

B O S T O N: Printed by *B. Green*, in the Year, 1716.



T O T H E
R E A D E R

THE subject of this following Narrative offering itself to your friendly Perusal; relates to the Former and Later Wars of New-England, which I my self was not a little concerned in: For in the Year, 1675. that unhappy and bloody Indian War broke out in Plymouth Colony, where I was then building, and beginning a Plantation, at a Place called by the Indians Sekonit; and since by the English, Little Compton. I was the first English Man that built upon that Neck, which was full of Indians. My head and hands were full about Settling a New Plantation, where nothing was brought to; no preparation of Dwelling House, or Out-Housing or Fencing made. Horses and Cattel were to be provided, Ground to be clear'd and broken up; and the uttermost

TO THE READER.

most caution to be used, to keep my self free from offending my Indian Neighbours all round about me. While I was thus busily Employed, and all my Time and Strength laid out in this Laborious Undertaking; I Received a Commission from the Government to engage in their Defence. And with my Commission I receiv'd another heart inclining me to put forth my Strength in Military Service. And through the Grace of G O D I was Spirited for that work, and Direction in it was renewed to me day by day. And altho' many of the Actions that I was concerned in, were very Difficult and Dangerous; yet my self and those that went with me Voluntarily in the Service, had our Lives, for the most part, wonderfully preserved, by the over-ruling Hand of the Almighty, from first to last; which doth aloud bespeak our Praises: And to declare His Wonderful Works, is our Indispensible Duty. I was ever very sensible of my own Littleness and Unfitness, to be employed in such Great Services; but calling to mind that G O D is STRONG, I Endeavour'd to put all my Confidence in Him, and by His Almighty Power was carried through every difficult Action: and my desire is that His Name may have the Praise.

It was ever my Intent having laid my self under a Solemn promise, that the many and Repeated Favours of G O D to my self, and those with me in the Service, might be published for Generations to come. And now my great Age requiring my Dismission from Service in the Militia, and to put off my Armour; I am willing that the Great and Glorious works
of

TO THE READER.

of Almighty G O D, to us Children of Men, should appear to the World; and having my Minutes by me; my Son has taken the care and pains to Collect from them the Insuing Narrative of many passages relating to the Former and Later Wars; which I have had the perusal of, and find nothing a-miss, as to the Truth of it; and with as little Reflection upon any particular person as might be, either alive or dead.

And seeing every particle of historical Truth is precious; I hope the Reader will pass a favourable Censure upon an Old Souldier, telling of the many Ran-Counters he has had, and yet is come off alive. It is a pleasure to Remember what a great Number of Families in this and the Neighbouring Provinces in New-England did during the War, enjoy a great measure of Liberty and Peace by the hazardous Stations and Marches of those Engaged in Military Exercises, who were a Wall unto them on this side and on that side. I desire Prayers that I may be enabled Well to accomplish my Spiritual Warfare, and that I may be more than Conquerour through JESUS CHRIST loving of me.

Benjamin Church.

Entertaining Passages

Relating to

Philip's WAR¹ which began in the Year, 1675.

With the Proceedings of

Benj. Church Esqr;

IN the Year 1674, Mr. *Benjamin Church* of *Duxbury*² being providentially at *Plymouth* in the time of the Court,³ fell into acquaintance with Capt. *John Almy*⁴ of *Rhode-Island*. Capt. *Almy* with great opportunity invited him to ride with him, and view that part of *Plymouth* Colony that lay next to *Rhode-Island*,

¹ See Introduction, for some account of the origin of this struggle.

² See Introductory Memoir, for facts in the early life of Mr. Church.

³ The "Court of His Majesty" met at Plymouth 4 March, 3 June, 7 July, and 27 October, in 1674. [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. v.]

⁴ John Almy was in Plymouth, in 1643; married Mary, daughter of James Cole; removed to Portsmouth, R.-I.; lost a horse in the service of the Rhode-Island Colony by "making great expedition" in watching a Dutch man-of-war, for which in 1666 he was paid £7; 23

July, 1667, was appointed "Lieutenant" of a "troope of horse"; 24 July, 1671, was a witness of the articles of agreement made between the Court of New Plymouth and Awashonks, Squaw-Sachem of Sogkonate; 14 June, 1676, was appointed, with Mr. Thomas Borden, to take an inventory of goods of Thomas Lawton; died before Nov. 1676, at which time Plymouth Court gave his widow power to administer on his estate within the Colony jurisdiction. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* i: 45; *Rhode-Island Colonial Records*, ii: 184, 214, 544; *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 75, 212.]

known then by their Indian Names of *Pocaffet*⁵ & *Sogkonate*.⁶ Among other arguments to persuade him, he told him, the Soil was very rich, and the Situation pleasant. Persuades him by all means, to purchase of the Company some of the Court grant rights.⁷ He accepted his invitation, views the

⁵ Now mainly Tiverton, R.-I.; including the eastern shore of Mount-Hope bay from *Quequechan* river (Fall River) on the north to Pachet brook on the south. As to the meaning of the name *Pocaffet*, Mr. Trumbull says, "A half-dozen good enough etymologies present themselves; but as I do not know which is right, and have not much confidence in either, I let the name pass."

⁶ Extending from Pachet brook to the ocean; now mainly Little Compton, R.-I. Dr. Usher Parsons says the word *Sogkonate* is compounded of *Seki*, "black," *konk*, "goose," and the syllable *et* as a locative; thus *Seki-konk-et*, *Seconknet*, *Seconet*, — equivalent to "black-geese-place." [*Indian Names of Places in R.-I.* p. 5.] But Mr. Trumbull says: — "If *honck* means goose, why should an Indian prefix the adjective *black*, as descriptive of the only goose he knew anything about? Then *Sucki* does not mean 'black,' but 'purple,' *i. e.*, black inclining to blue, as we see it in the inner margin of a quahaug shell. Then, again, the Indian never made use of what we call names of places, but *described* his localities; never calling a given situation 'black-fish' or 'black-geese,' and must have violated the genius of his language to have done so. Then,

further, *Sucki-honck*, or its plural, *Sucki-honck-aog*, (for it is hardly probable that *one* black goose would designate the place,) can hardly have been twisted into *Sogkonate* or *Saconet*, or (as President Stiles writes and marks the name in 1760) *Saucōnet*." "As to the real meaning of the word," Mr. T. adds, "I am troubled by the *embarras de richesses*. It might mean *Sohkauin-et*, — 'the conquered territory'; or *Sowanohquan-et*, — 'at the south point'; or *Sowanohkit* [*Eliot*, Gen. xxiv. 62; Josh. xv. 19], — 'the south country'; either of which might easily be corrupted into *Saucōnet*. And so on."

⁷ It was a common provision in the indentures of servants in the Plymouth Colony, that they should have land assigned them when their term of service expired. In 1633-4, land for such use was set apart in Scituate. In 1636 the amount of five acres was fixed upon as that which they were to receive. 4 June, 1661, liberty was granted to those who were formerly servants, who have land due them by covenant, to nominate some persons to be deputed in their behalf to purchase a parcel of land for their accommodation at Saconet. Further order to secure the right of these persons to take up land at Saconet was made by the Court, 7 June, 1665. 4 July, 1673, the following Court order was

Country, & was pleased with it; makes a purchase,⁸ settled

passed:—“Whereas there is a tracte of land graunted to the old servants, or such of them as are not elfewhere supplied, lying att Saconett, the Court doe determine the bounds thereof to be from the bounds of the graunt made to Plymouth att Puncckateefett and the bounds of Dartmouth, and foe all lands southerly lying between that and the sea; the Court haue likewise giuen them order, or such as they shall appoint, to make purchase thereof in their behalfe as ocation shall require, and that all such p'fons as haue right vnto the said graunt as old servants att Saconett shall make their appeerance att Plymouth on the twenty second of this p'fent July, then and their to make out their right, and alsoe pay such disburfiments as shall necessarily be required, or otherwise loofe their right.”

Agreeably to this order the following 29 persons appeared at Plymouth, on

said 22 July, viz: Josiah Winflow, Esq.; Mr. Constant Southworth; Daniel Willcox; Hugh Cole (in right of James Cole, fen.); Nicolas Wade and John Cushing, both in right of said Nicolas Wade; Thomas Williams; *Benjamin Church* (in right of Richard Bishop and also in right of Richard Beare); John Roufe, jr. (in right of Samuel Chandler); William Sherman, fen.; Joseph Church (in right of John Smalley, and also in right of George Vicory); John Rogers, jun. (in right of William Tubbs); William Merrick; Martha Dean (in right of Joseph Beedle); Simon Rouse (in right of John Roufe, fen.); William Pabodie (in right of Abraham Samfon); Edward Fobes (in right of John Fobes); John Irish, jun. (in right of John Irish, fen.); Peter Colomore; Daniel Hayward (in right of John Hayward, fen.); Josiah Cook; John Washburne, fen., “as a

⁸ First issued in 1716, and probably dictated by Col. Church to his son Thomas not long before that time, it will not seem surprising that slight inaccuracies should occasionally be found in this narrative of what took place more than 40 years before. There is some evident confusion here. The original MS. Proprietors' Records prove that Church had bought the rights of Richard Bishop and Richard Beare to Saconet previous to 22 July, 1673; a course which he here seems to represent himself as taking in the following year,

on Capt. Almy's urgency. Unless the meeting of court to which he refers (see note 3) was the first for that year, he must not only have purchased these rights, but have received his assignment of lots No. 19 and No. 29, before the viewing the country here referred to. I think, in point of fact, he bought the rights on speculation, and went down with Capt. Almy to look at his two lots, and liked them so well as to conclude to settle upon them; but became confused in his memory of the order of events.

a Farm, found the Gentlemen of the Island⁹ very Civil & obliging. And being himself a Person of uncommon

freeman"; Thomas Pope; John Richmond (in right of John Price); Walter Woodworth (in right of Thomas Simons); Nathaniel Thomas (in right of Nicolas Preshong); Ephraim Tinkham; Thomas Pinson; and William Shirt-life. They "proved their rights," and agreed, —

1. That all were equal proprietors of the granted premises, "that is to say, to have and pay alike, according to each man's proportion."

2. That all lands on their grant at Saconet that shall any way become alienated from the Indians, and appropriated to the English, "shall belong and be to the aforesaid proprietors."

3. That one equal share shall be appropriated "to the use of the ministry, and so to remain successively forever."

4. That no person shall appropriate to himself more than *two shares* at Saconet, on penalty of forfeiture to the company of all such overplus.

5. That no proprietor shall alienate any of his land to one "not related to him by affinity or blood," without consent of the major part of the company, or their committee.

6. That any proprietor not paying, by the last of October next, for his part of what might have been purchased by the last of September next, with his proportion of charges, shall forfeit his share to the other proprietors.

7. That at any meeting of the company duly warned, the major part of them that shall appear shall have full power to act for all, except to dispose of any of the lands.

8. That William Pabodie shall be their clerk.

9. That Mr. Constant Southworth, William Pabodie, and Nathaniel Thomas, shall be a committee to act for them in purchasing of the Indians, calling meetings, "and such other occasions as may concern."

Having now authority to extinguish the Indians' titles at Saconet, the Committee proceeded to the work; 31 July, purchasing of Awashonks, Squaw-Sachem, for £75, the land from Pachet brook on the north, to a landing-place called *Toothos*, and a white-oak tree in *Tompe* swamp (in the range of what is now called Taylor's Lane — see map), on the south; with a depth, from the bay on the west, of one mile inland. There seems, however, to have been a question of ownership long unsettled among the Indians; for in 1662 [*Plym. Col. Rec.* iv: 16] Tatacomuncah, and a Squaw-Sachem called Namumpam (Weetamoe, of Pocasset) came to Plymouth with complaints against Wamsutta, for selling Saconet neck, which was claimed by them. So, to make a sure thing of it, the Committee, 1 Nov. 1673, repurchased of Mamanuah (who could

⁹ The island of Rhode-Island; in plain sight across the "East Passage."

Activity and Industry, he soon erected two buildings upon his Farm, and gain'd a good acquaintance with the Natives: got much into their favour, and was in a little time in great esteem among them.

The next Spring advancing,¹⁰ while Mr. *Church* was diligently Settling his new Farm, stocking, leasing & disposing of his Affairs, and had a fine prospect of doing no small things; and hoping that his good success would be inviting unto other good Men to become his Neighbours; Behold! the rumour of a War between the *English* and the Natives gave check to his projects. People began to be very jealous of the *Indians*, and indeed they had no small reason to suspect that they had form'd a design of War upon the *English*.¹¹ Mr. *Church* had it daily suggested to him that the *Indians* were plotting a bloody design. That *Philip* the great *Mount-hope* Sachem was Leader therein: and so it prov'd, he was sending his Messengers to all [2] the

show an agreement, of date 11 Mar. 1672, from his brothers Osomehew and Pofotoquo, and from Pacustchest, Num-pouce, and Joham, who were "nearly related," empowering him to sell), Osomehew, Suckqua, and Anumpash, for £35, the same territory, with a small addition.

10 April, 1674, the company met at Duxbury, divided this land into 32 shares, and drew lots for them. There were 29 proprietors; Benjamin Church and his brother Joseph had each a double right, and the 10th lot was agreed upon as to be "the minister's lot"; making

the whole number. Benjamin Church drew Nos. 19 and 29. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* i: 23, 44; iii: 216; iv: 97; v: 125. *Original MS. Records of the Proprietors of Saconet.*]

¹⁰ The spring of 1675, soon after the murder of Saffamon.

¹¹ The many friendly and Christian *Indians* in their intercourse with their savage acquaintances came to the knowledge of many suspicious circumstances, and it was their testimony as well as what the settlers themselves observed, which now began to excite their solicitude for the future.

Neighbouring Sachems, to ingage them in a Confederacy with him in the War.

Among the rest he sent Six Men to *Awashonks* Squaw-Sachem of the *Sogkonate* Indians,¹² to engage her in his Interests: *Awashonks* so far listened unto them as to call her Subjects together, to make a great Dance, which is the custom of that Nation when they advise about Momentous Affairs. But what does *Awashonks* do, but sends away two of her Men that well understood the *English* Language (*Sassamon* and *George*¹³ by Name) to invite Mr.

¹² *Awashonks* first appears 24 July, 1671, when she agrees with Plymouth Court to submit herself and her people, and to give up their arms. In August following she affixed her mark to a letter written to Gov. Prince in reference to this agreement. 20 June, 1672, she agreed to set off some land in mortgage to Plymouth Court, in satisfaction of a debt due to Mr. John Almy. 7 May, 1673, she is named among Sachems to be treated with by the Rhode-Island Assembly "to consult and agree of some way to prevent the extreme excess of the Indians' drunkenness." 31 July, 1673, she sold a large portion of the territory claimed by her, to the committee of Saconet proprietors. 7 July, 1674, she is complained of at Plymouth Court by Mamanuah, "Chieffe propriator of the lands of Saconett," for "forcably detaining" some of his land, and hindering him from giving possession of it to the English to whom he had sold the same; and their respective rights to the land were made the subject of jury trial,

to her discomfiture. 29 May, 1675, she had three quarters of a mile square set off to her by the Saconet proprietors, on the shore immediately south of the south line of their first purchase. In July, 1683, she, her daughter Betty, and her son Peter, were examined at Plymouth Court on suspicion of having murdered a child of said Betty; but were dismissed for want of proof. Her husband's name was *Wewayewitt*. She had, besides Peter and Betty above named, a son, *William Mommynewit*, who "was put to Grammar school and learned Latin, designed for college, but was seized with the palsy." [Drake's *Book of the Indians*, 250; 1 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* x: 114; *R.-I. Col. Rec.* ii: 487; *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 75; vi: 113; vii: 191. *MS. Rec. Prop. Saconet.*]

¹³ *Sassamon* (*Sausfaman*) was one of the forty-two Saconet Indians, who, 24 July, 1671, signed a paper approving the submission which *Awashonks* had made. George proved himself a friend to the English. [Drake's *Indian Biog.*, 250.]

Church to the Dance. Mr. *Church* upon the Invitation, immediately¹⁴ takes with him *Charles Hazelton*¹⁵ his Tenants Son, who well understood the *Indian* Language, and rid down to the Place appointed: Where they found hundreds of *Indians* gathered together from all Parts of her Dominion. *Awashtonks* her self in a foaming Sweat was leading the Dance. But she was no sooner sensible of Mr. *Churches* arrival, but she broke off, sat down, calls her Nobles round her, orders Mr. *Church* to be invited into her presence. Complements being past, and each one taking Seats. She told him, King *Philip* had sent Six Men of his with two of her People that had been over at *Mount-hope*,¹⁶ to draw her into a confederacy with him in

¹⁴ It would seem to be settled by what follows, that this was in the early part of the week preceding the first outbreak, which would assign it to 14-17 June, 1675. Bliss [*Hist. Rehoboth*, 75] says it was on the 15th.

¹⁵ I find no trace of this name in the Plymouth Colony at this date. There was a Charles Hazelton at Ipswich, 1661-6. Probably this "Tenant" might have come from Rhode-Island. A "Charles Haffleton" was Grand Juror at a Quarter Sessions held at Rochester, for Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, in September, 1688. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* ii: 395; *R.-I. Col. Rec.* iii: 243.]

¹⁶ Mount-Hope was the easy and inevitable Anglicism of *Montop* (*Montaup*), which was the Indian name of the hill on the eastern shore of what is now Bristol, R.-I., fronting Tiverton.

Mount-Hope neck included the land running down into the bay, shaped by Kikemuit river on the east and north, and Warren (or *Sowams*) river on the west; being some nine miles in length by from two miles to one in width, including the present towns of Warren and Bristol, R.-I. On this neck were then three Indian villages, — *Montaup*, near the hill; *Kikemuit*, around the spring of that name; and *Sowams*, on the spot where the village of Warren now stands. *Sowams* was the chief seat of Maffasoit; Philip seems to have more identified himself with *Montaup*. [*Fessenden's Warren, R.-I.* 13, 27, 65.]

The name *Montop* (*Montaup* is better Indian), Mr. Trumbull says, has possibly lost an initial syllable. *Ontop*, or *Ontaup*, in compound words, means "head," "summit." If the name, as

a War with the *English*. Desiring him to give her his advice in the case, and to tell her the Truth whether the *Umpame*¹⁷ Men (as *Philip* had told her) were gathering a great Army to invade *Philips* Country. He assured her he would tell her the Truth, and give her his best advice. Then he told her twas but a few days since he came from *Plymouth*, and the *English* were then making no Preparations for War; That he was in Company with the Principal Gentlemen of the Government, who had no Discourse at all about War; and he believ'd no tho'ts about it.¹⁸ He ask'd her whether she tho't he would have brought up his Goods to Settle in that Place, if he apprehended an entering into War with so near a Neighbour. She seem'd to be some-what convin'd by his talk, and said she believ'd he spoke the Truth.

Then she called for the *Mount-hope* Men: Who made a formidable appearance, with their Faces Painted, and their Hair Trim'd up in Comb-fashion, with their Powder-

written, nearly represents the Indian, it is unquestionably derived from *mooi*, "black" (or dark-colored), and *ontup*, "head"; *moo-ontop*, "black head"; — as *wompont-up* (used by Eliot, with the participial affix, as in *Levit.* xix. 32), for "white head," "hoary head." One may readily suppose that, when this beautiful summit was thickly wooded, this name would be a natural one among the Indians for it.

¹⁷ "*Umpame*, written *Apaum* in the Colony Records, is the name of Plymouth in Church's History; and so it

is called still by the natives of *Massapee*." [2 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* iii: 175.]

¹⁸ This was true. The authorities were very slow to believe in the danger of an Indian uprising, even after they had been warned by friendly Indians, and were witnesses to some of Philip's suspicious movements. The Governor ordered a military watch to be kept up in every town, but took no other notice of the conduct of the Indians, hoping that the storm would blow over, as it had several times done before. [*Governors of New Plymouth*, 182.]

horns, and Shot-bags at their backs; which among that Nation is the posture and figure of preparedness for War. She told Mr. *Church*, these were the Persons that had brought her the Report of the *English* preparation for War: And then told them what Mr. *Church* had said in answer to it.

Upon this began a warm talk among the Indians, but 'twas soon quash'd, and *Awashonks* proceeded to tell Mr. *Church*, that *Philips* Message to her was, that unless she would forth-with enter into a confederacy with him in a War against the *English*, he would send his Men over privately, to kill the *English* Cattel, and burn their Houses on that side the River, which would provoke the *English* to fall upon her, whom they would without doubt suppose the author of the Mischiefs. Mr. *Church* told her he was sorry to see so threatening an aspect of Affairs; and stepping to the *Mount-hopes*, he felt of their bags, and finding them filled with Bullets, ask'd them what those Bullets were for: They scoffingly reply'd to shoot *Pigeons* with.

Then Mr. *Church* turn'd to *Awashonks*, and told her, if *Philip* were resolv'd to make War, her best way would be to knock those Six *Mount-hopes* on the head, and shelter her self under the Protection of the *English*: upon which the *Mount-hopes* were for the present Dumb. But those two of *Awashonks* Men who had been at *Mount-hope* express'd themselves in a furious manner against his advice.

And *Little Eyes*¹⁹ one of the Queens Council joyn'd with them, and urged Mr. *Church* to go aside with him among the bushes that he might have some private Discourse with him, which other Indians immediately forbid being sensible of his ill design: but the Indians began to sife and grow very warm. Mr. *Church* with undaunted Courage told the *Mount-hopes* they were bloody wretches, and thirsted after the blood of their *English* Neighbours, who had never injur'd them, but had always abounded in their kindness to them. That for his own part, tho' he desired nothing more than Peace, yet if nothing but War would satisfie them, he believed he should prove a sharp thorne in their sides; Bid the Company observe those Men that were of such bloody dispositions, whether Providence would suffer them to Live to see the event of the War, which others more Peaceably disposed might do.

Then he told *Awasshonks* he thought it might be most advisable for her to send to the Governour of *Plymouth*,²⁰ and shelter her self, and People under his Protection. She lik'd his advice, and desired him to go on her behalf to the *Plymouth* Government, which he consented to: And at

¹⁹ *Little Eyes* with his family deserted the Saconets when they made friends with Plymouth. He was taken prisoner during the progress of the war, when Capt. Church was urged to take revenge for the hostility here displayed, but replied that "it was not Englishmen's fashion to seek revenge," and gave him the same good quarter with the rest.

²⁰ Gov. Prince died in the spring of

1673, and Josias Winslow was chosen his successor in the following June. He was the only son of the first Governor Winslow by his second marriage; in 1652, had military command in Marshfield; 1658, was Major, then Commander; 1675, General-in-Chief against Philip. [*Govs. New Plym.* 175-196; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* iv: 297.]

parting advised her what ever she did, not to desert the *English* Interest, to joyn with her Neighbours in a Rebellion which would certainly prove fatal to her. [He mov'd none of his Goods from his House that there might not be the least umbrage from such an Action.] She thank'd him for his advice, and sent two of her Men to guard him to his House;²¹ which when they came there, urged him to take care to secure his Goods, which he refused for the reasons before mentioned. But desired the *Indians*, that if what they feared, should happen, they would take care of what he left, and directed them to a Place in the woods where they should dispose them; which they faithfully observed.

He took his leave of his guard, and bid them tell their Mistresses, if she continued steady in her dependence on the *English*, and kept within her own limits of *Sogkonate*,²² he would see her again quickly; and then hastned away to *Pocasset*, where he met with *Peter Nunnuit*,²³ the Husband

²¹ Situated on lot No. 19, which was 629 rods fouth of Pachet brook; being the farm in Little Compton now owned and occupied by Mr. John B. Howland, on the west side of the road, —opposite to the school-house,—nearly two miles fouth of the present Tiverton line.

²² It is difficult to make out the exact limits of the small Sachemdoms which divided between them what is now Little Compton and Tiverton, R.-I. It is doubtful if those limits were ever very well defined. But from an

examination of the Proprietors' and early town records, and of the original deeds from the Indians, I think that Awashonks's territories centered about Tompe swamp,—lying along the western shore of the peninsula of Saconet, from the south side of "Windmill hill" to what is now the Breakwater.

²³ This Indian's name was *Petonowowet*, or *Pe-tan-a-nuet*, which the English corrupted easily into *Peter Nunnuit*. 8 May, 1673, he, with two other Indians, sold a lot of land in Swansey to Nathaniel Paine and Hugh Cole, for

of the Queen of *Pocasset*,²⁴ who was just then come over in a Canoo from *Mount-hope*. *Peter* told him that there would certainly be War; for *Philip* had held a [4] Dance of several Weeks continuance, and had entertain'd the Young Men from all Parts of the Country: And added that *Philip* expected to be sent for to *Plymouth* to be examined about *Sasamon's*²⁵ death, who was Murder'd at *Affa-*

£35 5s. He was, about the same time, a witness in regard to a land case on Taunton river. In Philip's war he forsook his wife and fought with the English. In 1676 (ordered by the Council, 22 July, and confirmed by the Court, 1 November) he, with Numpas and Ifacke, was made inspector of Indian prisoners who had applied "for acceptance to mercy" from "the westernmost fyde of Sepecan Riuer, and foe westward to Dartmouth bounds." He was then styled Sachem *Ben Petananuett*. [Drake's *Book of Ind.* 188; *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 210, 215.]

²⁴ This was *Weetamoe*, (or *Namumpam*), who had been the wife of Philip's elder brother *Wamsutta*, or *Alexander*. The author of the *Old Indian Chronicle* [p. 8] intimates that she believed her husband had been poisoned by the English, and that this made her more willing to listen to Philip. In October, 1659, she was at Plymouth to secure the third part of the pay for some land which *Alexander* had sold; and acknowledged the receipt of the same. 3 June, 1662, she complained, at Plymouth, of some infringement on her rights in *Wamsutta's* sale of *Saconet*. At the same time advice was given to her and her hus-

band, *Alexander*, (here called *Quiquequanchett*), in reference to difficulties existing between them and Philip in regard to the entertaining of some *Naragansett* Indians against Philip's goodwill. *Weetamoe* did not follow her second husband, as he appears to have expected she would, to the English. She united her fortunes to those of Philip, and miserably perished, when her head was cut off and set on a pole at Taunton. [Drake's *Book of Ind.* 187; *Plym. Col. Rec.* iv: 17, 24, 186.]

²⁵ *Saffamon* (or *Wuffaufmon*) was born in the neighborhood of Dorchester, became a convert and was educated, and employed as a schoolmaster at Natick, and is said to have aided John Eliot in translating the Indian Bible. After a time he left the English and became Philip's secretary, and, as such, privy to his designs. Subsequently he returned to his Christian faith, and became teacher to the *Nemaskets*, whose chief, *Watuspaquin*, gave him a house-lot in *Affawompsett* neck (Middleborough), with one also to his son-in-law. He revealed Philip's plot to the government at Plymouth, and not long after (29 Jan. 1674-5) was found dead, under the ice on *Affawompsett* pond, with marks of

womset-Ponds;²⁶ knowing himself guilty of contriving that Murder. The same *Peter* told him that he saw Mr. *James Brown*²⁷ of *Swansey*,²⁸ and Mr. *Samuel Gorton*²⁹ who was an Interpreter, and two other Men who brought a Letter from the Governour of *Plymouth* to *Philip*. He observ'd to him further, that the Young Men were very eager to begin the War, and would fain have kill'd Mr. *Brown*, but *Philip* prevented it; telling them, that his Father had charged him to shew kindness to Mr. *Brown*.³⁰ In short,

violence. Three Indians were tried and executed for his murder, there being little doubt that it had occurred by Philip's command. [Mather's *Relation*, 74; Hubbard's *Narrative*, 14; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* xv: 43, 149.]

²⁶ *Affawampsett* (*Sowampfit*, *Sowampset*) pond is, with its connecting ponds, the largest sheet of water in Plymouth County not merely, but in Massachusetts; being some six miles long by a width varying from four miles to a few rods. It lies partly in Rochester, more in Middleborough, most in the new town of Lakeville. President Stiles, on the authority of "Jonathan Butterworth, *et.* 63, of Rehoboth," in 1762, says that "Affawampsett is so called from a place or patch of beech-trees, called in Indian *sawamps*; so *Affawampsett*, *Sawampsett*, both names of the same place." But he adds, "*Sowampfit* signifies 'a small pond encompassed with trees'; *sowamps*, 'beech-trees'; and putting both together, signifies a pond of water with beech-trees growing around it." Mr. Trumbull comments, "I don't believe a word of this; but as President Stiles is

respectable authority, and Butterworth can't be impeached, I give it, for what it is worth. *Sowams*, *Sowamps* ('*Sawahames bay.*' Winthrop's *Journal*, ii: 121, note) is the significant word; the *et* marking the locative."

²⁷ James Brown was born probably in England; was the son of John, eminent in the Colony, being seventeen years Assistant and many years Commissioner of the United Colonies. James was also Assistant in various years from 1665 to 1684. He died at *Wannamoissett*, in Swansey, 29 Oct. 1710, aged 87, leaving two sons, James and Jabez, and one daughter, Dorothy Kent. [Baylies's *Plym. Col.* iv: 18; Blifs's *Rehoboth*, 53, 75, 78.]

²⁸ *Swansey* then included Somersett, Mass., and Barrington, R.-I., with a portion of Warren, R.-I., besides the present town of Swansey. [Blifs's *Rehoboth*, 1.]

²⁹ The man of that name famous in the early controversies of New England.

³⁰ Mr. John Brown, father of this Mr. Brown, was a man of great kind-

Philip was forc'd to promise them that on the next Lords-Day when the *English* were gone to Meeting they should rifle their Houses, and from that time forward kill their Cattel.

Peter desir'd Mr. *Church* to go and see his Wife, who was but up the hill;³¹ he went and found but few of her People with her. She said they were all gone, against her Will to the Dances; and she much fear'd there would be a War. Mr. *Church* advis'd her to go to the Island³² and secure her self, and those that were with her; and send to the Governour of *Plymouth* who she knew was her friend; and so left her, resolving to hasten to *Plymouth*, and wait on the Governour: and he was so expeditious that he was with the Governour early next Morning,³³ tho' he waited on some of the Magistrates by the way, who were of the Council of War,³⁴ and also met him at the

ness of heart, a friend of toleration, and the first of the Plymouth magistrates who doubted the expediency of coercing the people to support the ministry. These qualities would naturally endear him to Maffasoit, to whom he was a neighbor, and lead that good old chief to give the charge which Philip mentions, in reference to his family. Mr. James Brown, indeed, seems to have inherited his father's disposition, and it was at his urgent sollicitation that this letter was sent to promote peace. [Bliss's *Rehoboth*, 75.]

³¹ Tiverton heights, which the upper road to Fall River climbs almost immediately after leaving the Stone bridge.

³² Rhode-Island.

³³ The distance — making allowance for the indirectness of the Indian paths — could not have been less, probably, than forty-two miles from Pocasset, and nearly fifty from Church's house at Saconet. The date of his arrival was Wednesday, 16 June, 1675. [*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* xv: 260.]

³⁴ The Council of War was a body which was empowered to act specially on military questions, and was composed of the Governor and Assistants *ex officio*, and of others specially appointed. The last record of election previous to Philip's war was, 7 July, 1671, when Capt. Mathew Fuller, Lieut. Ephraim Mor-

Governours. He gave them an account of his observations and discoveries, which confirmed their former intelligences, and hastned their preparation for Defence.

Philip according to his promise to his People, permitted them to March out of the Neck³⁵ on the next Lords-Day,³⁶ when they plundred the neareſt Houſes³⁷ that the Inhabitants had deſerted:³⁸ but as yet offer'd no violence to the People, at leſt none were killed. However the alarm was given by their Numbers, and hoſtile-Equipage, and by the Prey they made of what they could find in the forſaken Houſes.

An expreſs came the ſame day³⁹ to the Governour, who immediately gave orders to the Captains of the Towns to

ton, Enſign Mark Eames, Cornett Robert Studſon, Mr. Joſias Winlow, ſen., Sec. Nathaniel Morton, and Meſſrs. James Walker, Thomas Huckens, and Iſacke Chettenden, were choſen by the Court, and ſworn. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 73.]

³⁵ The narrow ſtrip between Kike-muit and Warren rivers, by which the peninſula of Mount-Hope, or Pock-anocket, was joined to the main-land at Swanſey.

³⁶ 20 June, 1675. [*Trumbull's Hiſt. Conn.* i: 327.]

³⁷ Theſe were probably the houſes which Judge Davis refers to where he ſays, "There was a ſettlement within Mount-Hope neck appertaining to Swanſey. It contained eighteen houſes, all deſtroyed." [*Davis's Morton's Memorial*, 463.] This was in the northern part of what is now Warren, R.-I.

³⁸ "Tenantleſs for the time, in conſequence of their occupants being abſent at church." [*Feſſenden's Warren*, 66.] Mr. Drake ſuggeſts [*Notes on the Indian Wars in N. E.*, in *N. E. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.* xv: 154], on the authority of Winlow's and Hinckley's *Narrative of the Beginning and Progreſs of the Preſent Troubles*, that the people had deſerted them through fear.

³⁹ The meſſenger reached Plymouth at "break of day," Monday morning. [*Barry's Meſs.* i: 410.] Beſides ſending expreſſes to the Captains of the towns, the Court, on Tueſday, iſſued a proclamation for a faſt on the next Thurſday. That proclamation was as follows [*Blifs's Rehoboth*, 79]:—

"The Council of this Colony, taking "into their ſerious conſideration the awe-
"ful hand of God upon us, in permitting
"the heathen to carry it with infolen-
"cy

March the greatest Part of their Companies, and to rendezvous at *Taunton*, on *Monday* Night, where Major *Bradford*⁴⁰ was to receive them, and dispose them under Capt. (now made Major) *Cutworth*⁴¹ of *Situate*. The Govern-

“and rage against us, appearing in their
 “great hostile preparations, and also
 “some outrageous carriages, as at other
 “times, so in special, the last Lord’s
 “day to some of our neighbours at
 “Swansey, to the apparent hazard if
 “not real loss of the lives of some al-
 “ready; do therefore judge it a solemn
 “duty, incumbent upon us all, to lay to
 “heart this dispensation of God, and
 “do therefore commend it to all the
 “churches, ministers, and people of this
 “colony to set apart the 24th day of this
 “instant, June, which is the 5th day of
 “this week, wherein to humble our
 “selves before the Lord for all those
 “sins whereby we have provoked our
 “good God sadly to interrupt our peace
 “and comfort, and also humbly to seek
 “his face and favour in the gracious
 “continuance of our peace and privi-
 “leges, and that the Lord would be en-
 “treated to go forth with our forces,
 “and blefs, succeed and prosper them,
 “delivering them from the hands of his
 “and our enemies, subduing the heathen
 “before them, and returning them all
 “in safety to their families and relations
 “again; and that God would prepare
 “all our hearts humbly to submit to his
 “good pleasure concerning us.

“By orders of the Court of N. P.

“Nathaniel Morton, Secretary.

“Plymouth, June 22, 1675.”

Besides the 12 churches and min-
 isters of the “Standing Order,” there

was then one Baptist church, formed in
 Rehoboth in 1663, of which Rev. John
 Myles was Pastor, to accommodate
 which with a place “where they might
 not prejudice any existing church,”
 they had been incorporated, in 1667, as
 the town of Swansey. This, of course,
 was the nearest church to the scene of
 the breaking out of Philip’s war, and it
 was, doubtless, to their meeting-house
 — which stood a few rods south of the
 fourth line of Rehoboth, on the road
 leading to the house of the late Mr.
 Squire Allen, about fifteen or twenty
 rods from the main road leading from
 Warren to Seekonk and Providence —
 that the settlers had gone, on Lord’s Day,
 June 20, when their houses were plun-
 dered by the Indians in the first assault.
 [*Baptist Memorial*, iv : 227.]

⁴⁰ *William Bradford*, second son of
 Gov. William, of imperishable mem-
 ory, was born 17 June, 1624, and was,
 next to Miles Standish, a chief soldier of
 the Colony. He was Assistant Treasurer
 and Deputy Governor from 1682 to
 1686, and from 1689 to 1691, and in the
 latter year one of the Council of Massa-
 chusetts. He married (1) Alice Rich-
 ards, (2) Widow Wifwall, (3) Widow
 Holmes; lived in what is now Kingston,
 on the fourth side of Jones’s river, and
 died 20 Feb. 1703-4, aged nearly 80.
 [*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* iv : 45.]

⁴¹ *James Cutworth* was in Scituate
 in 1634, lived for a time in Barnstable,

our desired Mr. *Church* to give them his Company, and to use his interest in their behalf with the Gentlemen of *Rhode-Island*.⁴² He comply'd with it, and they March'd the next day.⁴³ Major *Bradford* desired Mr. *Church* with a commanded party consisting of *English* and some *Friend-Indians*, to March in the Front at some distance from the Main body. Their orders were to keep so far before, as not be in sight of the Army. And so they did, for by the way, they killed a Deer, [5] flead, roasted, and eat the most of him before the Army came up with them. But the *Plymouth* Forces soon arriv'd at *Swansey*, and were

but returned to Scituate; was Deputy for several years; Captain of the militia, 1652; Assistant, 1656-8; was deprived of his command and offices and disfranchised, 1658-73, being a friend of toleration, and so judged an "opposer of the Government." In 1674 he was chosen Assistant, and in 1675 "General and Commander in Chief" for Philip's war. In 1682 he went to England for the Colony, to obtain a new Charter, where he took the small-pox and died. He was "past seventy" when he took the field at this time against Philip. [Deane's *Scituate*, 245-251.]

⁴² To understand this expression it is needful to remember that Rhode-Island had been excluded from the Confederacy of the Colonies formed for mutual defence in 1643: "on account of her heretical toleration of religious freedom, and her open advocacy of liberty of conscience," says the Editor of Easton's *Narrative*; "upon grounds which re-

flect no credit upon the Puritan confederates," says Arnold; "because they had not been able to institute a government, such as could be relied on for the fulfilment of the stipulations mutually made by the Four Colonies," with more justice, says Palfrey. Thus standing by themselves, no *claim* for aid could be made upon her citizens, while the fact that their interests were, in the respects now involved, one with those of the Confederacy, made it probable, that, if suitably approached — by one of their friends, as Church was — they would furnish such aid as might be in their power. Easton says that the Governor of Plymouth wrote them at this juncture, "to desier our Help with sum Boats if they had such Ocation, and for us to looke to our felfs." [Easton's *Narrative*, vi, 16; Arnold's *Hist. Rhode-Island*, i: 115; Palfrey's *Hist. New England*, i: 629.]

⁴³ Tuesday, 22 June, 1675.

posted at Major *Browns* and Mr. *Miles's* Garrisons⁴⁴ chiefly; and were there soon joined⁴⁵ with those that came from *Massachusetts*,⁴⁶ who had entered into a Confederacy with their *Plymouth* Brethren, against the Perfidious Heathen.

The Enemy who began their Hostilities with plundering and destroying Cattel, did not long content themselves with that game. They thirsted for *English* blood, and they soon broach'd it;⁴⁷ killing two Men in the way not far

⁴⁴ *Myles's Garrison* was the fortified house of the Rev. John Myles, pastor of the Baptist Church in Swansey [see note 39, *ante*], which is supposed to have stood in what is now Barneyville, about 75 rods a little north of due west from Miles's bridge, which crosses Palmer (or Warren) river about three miles north of Warren, R.-I. Mr. Myles was put to so much expense by the war, that, 25 Feb. 1679, it was voted by the town that "Mr. John Myles shall have the house built for him to indemnify him for debts due him in the time of the Indian war, in full of his demands," etc. [*MS. Haile Records*, 42.] The position of Maj. Brown's [see note 27, *ante*] garrison has not been exactly identified, but it is supposed to have been in the same part of Swansey with Myles's garrison.

⁴⁵ The Plymouth forces probably reached Swansey on the afternoon of Tuesday, 22 June, or, at furthest, on Wednesday, 23 June; while the first of the Massachusetts forces left Boston on Saturday, 26 June, and all of them arrived at Swansey on Monday, 28 June. [Fessenden's *Warren*, 66, 69.]

⁴⁶ The Massachusetts forces, on this

occasion, consisted of a troop of horse under Capt. Thomas Prentice, one of foot under Capt. Daniel Henschman, and one hundred and ten "volunteers" under Capt. Samuel Mosley. Mosley had been a "Privateer at Jamaica," and his "volunteers" included ten or twelve pirates under sentence of death, who were taken out of jail to join the command, and promised life on good behavior. Three Christian Indians — James and Thomas *Quannapohutt* and *Zechary Abram* — were attached to Capt. Prentice's troop as guides. Several dogs — to be used in hunting the Indians — were with Mosley's company. [*Drake's Hist. of Boston*, i: 402; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* xv: 262; *Transactions Amer. Antiquarian Society*, ii: 441.]

⁴⁷ It is very difficult to harmonize the various conflicting authorities so as to be certain when, or in what manner, the first blood was drawn. Rev. Abiel Fisher, in his history of the First Baptist Church in Swansey, says that Eldad Kingfley — one of its members — was the first man slain, on Fast-day, the 24th, at Swansey. The *Breiff Narratiue*

from Mr. *Miles's* Garrison. And soon after, eight more at *Mattapoiset*:⁴⁸ Upon whose bodies they exercised more than brutish barbarities; beheading, dis-membling and mangling them, and exposing them in the most inhumane manner, which gash'd and ghastly objects struck a damp on all beholders.

The Enemy flush'd with these exploits, grew yet bolder, and skulking every where in the bushes, shot at all Passengers, and kill'd many that ventured abroad. They came so near as to shoot down two Sentinels at Mr. *Miles's*

presented by the Plymouth Colony to the "Commissioners of the United Colonies," which seems to have been prepared with minute care, mentions as the first person killed, "on the 24th Thomas layton was slain at the fall River." Hubbard and most writers name the 24th, — Thursday, the day of Fast. But the anonymous author of the *Present State of New England with respect to the Indian War* [p. 5] says that "the first that was killed was June 23^d"; while Baylies [*Hist. New Plym. Col.* iii: 33] seems to specify the 22d. [See Bliss's *Rehoboth*, 80-84; *Baptist Memorial*, iv: 232; Fessenden's *Warren*, 68, 69; Eaton's *Narrative*, 17; *Plym. Col. Rec.* x: 364; Drake's *Notes on the Indian Wars*, in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* xv: 156, etc., for various particulars bearing on the question.] Niles [*Hist. of Indian and French Wars*, 3 *Mss. Hist. Coll.* vi: 178, etc.] carelessly describes all these occurrences as being in 1674, instead of 1675.

⁴⁸ *Mattapoiset* (*Mattapoysett*, *Meta-*

poiset, *Matapuyft*, *Mattapoise*), was the small peninsula running into Mount-Hope bay opposite the southwestern extremity of Somersfct, having Cole's river on the west, and Lee's river on the east; now called Gardner's neck. Parsons [*Indian Names of Places in R.-I.* 16] says the word means "crying chief." Trumbull says "it does not mean 'crying chief.' The Indians never gave names of *persons*, or *animate objects* to *places*, unless with an adjective or verb compounded, to mark the relation of person to thing, *e. g.* a pond might be called 'a fishing-place for pickerel,' or a hill 'the camping place of Sofo,' but never 'pickerel,' or 'Sofo.' *Metapoiset*, or *Matapuyft*, seems to be identical with *Matabeset* (*Mattapeaset*, *Matabesick*), the name of Middletown, Conn. This name *looks* like a derivative of *mattappu*, 'he sits down' or 'rests,' and I know of no other word from which it can be derived. But I am by no means confident that it is from this."

Garrison, under the very Nosés of most of our Forces. These provocations drew out the resentments of some⁴⁹ of Capt. *Prentices*⁵⁰ Troop, who desired they might have liberty to go out and seek the Enemy in their own quarters. Quarter Masters *Gill*⁵¹ & *Belcher*⁵² commanded the Parties drawn out, who earnestly desired Mr. *Churches* company: They provided him a Horse and Furniture (his own being out of the way) he readily comply'd with their desires, and was soon Mounted.

This party were no sooner over *Miles's* Bridge, but were fired on by an Ambuscado of about a dozen *Indians*, as they were afterwards discovered to be. When they drew off, the Pilot⁵³ was Mortally wounded, Mr. *Belcher*

⁴⁹ Hubbard says "twelve of the Troop." [*Narrative*, 18.] He fixes the time also as on the day of the arrival of the troop, viz: Monday, 28 June.

⁵⁰ *Capt. Thomas Prentice* was born in England in 1620-1; came over, 1648-9; settled in the easterly part of Cambridge; was chosen Lieut. of Troopers in 1656, and in 1662 Captain; was Deputy, 1672; was appointed to remove the Natick Indians to Deer Island, which he did; succeeded Maj. Gookin as magistrate to advise the Christian Indians; died 6 July, 1710. There is a tradition that he served under Cromwell. [*Jackson's Hist. of Newton*, 389, 469-475.]

⁵¹ Mr. Drake supposes his Christian name to have been John. [*Hist. Bost.* i: 403.] In which case he was probably that John who lived on Milton hill, who joined the church in Dorchester,

1640, and petitioned for the incorporation of Milton in 1662. He died in 1678, and left a daughter, who married Rev. Joseph Belcher, third minister of Dedham. [*Hist. of Dorchester*, 120.]

⁵² Mr. Drake [*Hist. Bost.* i: 403] supposes this to be Andrew Belcher (father of Gov. Jonathan), who was now a little more than 28 years of age.

⁵³ Hubbard says, "killing one *William Hammond*." [*Narrative*, 18.] This was probably "Wm. Hammon," whose mark was affixed as a witness to Philip's quitclaim of the "eight miles square" purchase in Rehoboth, of date 30 March, 1668; who was doubtless the same "William Hamon" who had a daughter Elizabeth born at Rehoboth, 24 Sept. 1661. Savage doubts, because "this man was of the troop of Capt. Prentiss, which must, we suppose, have chiefly been composed of volun-

received a shot in his knee, and his Horse was kill'd under him, Mr. *Gill* was struck with a Musket-ball on the side of his belly; but being clad with a buff Coat⁵⁴ and some thickness of Paper under it, it never broke his skin. The Troopers were surprized to see both their Commanders wounded, and wheel'd off. But Mr. *Church* perswaded, at length storm'd and stamp'd, and told them 'twas a shame to run, and leave a wounded Man there to become a Prey to the barbarous Enemy. For the Pilot yet sat his Horse, tho' so maz'd with the Shot, as not to have sense to guide him. Mr. *Gill* seconded him, and offer'd, tho' much disabled, to assist in bringing him off. Mr. *Church* asked a Stranger who gave them his company in that action, if he would go with him and fetch off the wounded Man: He readily consented, they with Mr. *Gill* went, but the wounded Man fainted and fell off his Horse before they came to him; but Mr. *Church* and the Stranger dismounted, took up the Man dead, and laid him before Mr. *Gill* on

teers of Cambridge, and the neighboring town of Dedham." But Jackson [*Hist. Newt.* 471] says this Hammond, here killed, was "not of Cambridge," and Church says he was the "pilot" of the party, (Mather [*Brief History*, 4] says "the Indians shot the Pilot who was directing our Souldiers in their way to Philip's Country,") who would most naturally be not of the troop, but a resident of the neighborhood, familiar with the wood-paths and the enemy. Savage further suggests that the story of "William Hamman of the Bay," mentioned

in Gardener's *Pequot Warres* as killed in that war, was an anachronistic rendering of this occurrence. But Gardener wrote in 1660,—fifteen years before this Swansey skirmish. [Bliss's *Rehoboth*, 66; *Plym. Col. Rec.* viii: 52; *Gen. Dict.* ii: 348; 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* iii: 130, 157.]

⁵⁴ "A close military outer garment, with short sleeves, and laced tightly over the chest, made of buffalo-skin, or other thick and elastic material, worn by soldiers in the seventeenth century as a defensive covering."—*Webster*.

his Horfe. Mr. *Church* told the other two, if they would take care of the dead Man, he would go and fetch his Horfe back, which was going off the *Cassey*⁵⁵ toward [6] the Enemy; but before he got over the *Cassey* he faw the Enemy run to the right into the Neck. He brought back the Horfe, and call'd earnestly and repeatedly to the Army to come over & fight the Enemy; and while he flood calling & perfwading, the skulking Enemy return'd to their old stand, and all difcharged their Guns at him at one clap, tho' every fhott mifs'd *him*; yet one of the Army on the other fide of the river received one of the balls in his foot. Mr. *Church* now began (no fuccour coming to him) to think it time to retreat: Saying, *The Lord have Mercy on us*, if fuch a handful of Indians fhall thus dare fuch an Army!⁵⁶

Upon this 'twas immediately refolv'd,⁵⁷ and orders were given to March down into the Neck, and having paffed

⁵⁵ This is a truer fpelling than the modern "caufeway," fince the word came into our language from the French *chauffée*, a way paved with limeftone. The road adjacent to the bridge was here evidently banked up to give dry paffage over the marfh skirting the ftream.

⁵⁶ Mather fays "a Souldier (a stout man) who was fent from *Water-town*, feeing the *Engliffh Guide* flain, and hearing many profane oaths among fome of our Souldiers (namely thofe Privateers, who were alfo Volunteers) and confidering the unfeafonablenefs of the

weather was fuch, as that nothing could be done againft the enemy; this man was poffeffed with a ftrong conceit, that God was againft the *Engliffh*; where-upon he immediately ran diftracted, and fo was returned home a lamentable Spectacle." [*Brief Hiftory*, 4.] Mr. Drake, in his late valuable reprint of Mather, makes it probable that this man's name was William Sherman, jr. [p. 58.]

⁵⁷ Hubbard fays "the next morning"; which would be Tuefday, 29 June. [*Narrative*, 18.]

the Bridge, and Caffey, the direction was to extend both wings, which being not well headed, by those that remain'd in the Center, some of them mistook their Friends for their Enemies, and made a fire upon them on the right wing, and wounded that noble Heroick Youth Ensign *Savage*⁵⁸ in the thigh; but it happily prov'd but a flesh wound. They Marched⁵⁹ until they came to the narrow of the Neck, at a Place called *Keekkamuit*,⁶⁰ where they

⁵⁸ *Perez Savage*, fourth son of Thomas, who came in the Planter from London, April, 1635, was born 17 Feb. 1652, and was now, therefore, in his 24th year, though Hubbard calls him "that young Martial Spark scarce twenty years of age." He was wounded again in the "swamp fight" in the following December, when he was Lieut. of the same corps. He went to London in 1690, to carry on trade with Spain; was taken captive by the Turks and died at Mequinez, in Barbary, during 1694. Some curious particulars about his wills are mentioned by Savage. [*Gen. Dict.* iv: 25, 26.] Hubbard [*Narrative*, 19] says he had "one bullet lodged in his Thigh, another shot through the brim of his hat, by ten or twelve of the Enemy discharging upon him together, while he boldly held up his Colors in the Front of his Company." Church, as on the ground, — though dictating this account forty years after the occurrence, — is the more trustworthy authority as to the source of the wound, and the fact of the blunder, which he alone narrates.

⁵⁹ Church's language would lead one

to suppose that they *immediately* continued their march. But Hubbard says, "the weather not suffering any further action at that time, those that were thus far advanced, were compelled to retreat back to the main Guard"; and adds that Major Savage, Commander-in-Chief of the Massachusetts forces, arrived that night, and the next day the whole body intended to march into Mount-Hope, "but the weather being doubtful, our Forces did not march till near noon." This interposes more than twenty-four hours between the skirmish in which Ensign Savage was wounded, and what Church next proceeds to narrate. [*Narrative*, 19.] So that the actual march into the neck was on Wednesday, 30 June.

⁶⁰ The narrowest part of the neck between Warren and Kikemuit rivers is a little north of the line which divides Bristol from Warren. The name *Keekkamuit* was appropriated to an Indian village that stood around a spring of that name, in this "narrow of the neck." This is some four miles from Miles's bridge. This accords with what Hubbard says: "After they had marched

took down the heads of Eight *English* Men that were kill'd at the head of *Metapoiset-Neck*, and fet upon Polls, after the barbarous manner of those Salvages. There *Philip* had staved all his Drums,⁶¹ and conveyed all his Canoo's to the East-side of *Metapoiset-River*.⁶² Hence it was concluded by those that were acquainted with the Motions of those People, that they had quitted the Neck. Mr. *Church* told 'em that *Philip* was doubtless gone ever⁶³ to *Pecassett* side, to ingage those Indians in Rebellion with him: which

about a mile & a half, they passed by some Houses newly burned, &c.; two or three miles further they came up with some Heads, Scalps and Hands cut off from the bodys of some of the English, and stuck upon Poles near the Highway, in that barbarous and inhumane manner bidding us Defyance." [Narrative, 19.]

Parsons [*Indian Names*, etc. 14] says *Kikemuit* means "a back river." Mr. Trumbull says "no; it has lost an initial syllable. *Tö-këkommuit* (*Tohkekomm*, Eliot) signifies 'at the spring,' or 'water-source.' This name agrees with Rev. Samuel Deane's 'clear spring' [2 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* x: 174], though it has nothing to do with '*Kikegat* = day, or clearness.' Another derivation is possible: *Nkëke* (*Nëkik*) signifies 'otter' [*R.-I. Hist. Coll.* i: 95], and *may* = 'path'; whence *Nkëke-may-it* would mean 'the otter path.' The former derivation is the more probable. Many Indian names, have, in like manner suffered mutilation."

⁶¹ Roger Williams said, in 1643, that

the New England Indians originally had no drums or trumpets, though he had known a native make a very good drum in imitation of the English. [*R.-I. Hist. Coll.* i: 38, 149.] The North American Indians, in general, however, appear to have used the drum (and without any hint that it was borrowed from the whites) in their religious dances, and in their ceremonies when beating up recruits for war. [De Forest's *Hist. Indians of Conn.* 29; Schoolcraft's *Hist. of Indian Tribes*, ii: 60; also *Ibid.* plate 75, where representations of Indian drums are given. See also, i: 425, and plate 68.] Philip had probably employed their aid in raising volunteers, and as his tactics now led him to desert his own village, and he did not wish to encumber himself with them in actual warfare, he "staved" and threw them away here.

⁶² Now known as Lee's river; separating Gardner's neck from the southern extremity of Somersett.

⁶³ Misprint for "over," as "Pecassett" is for "Pocassett."

they soon found to be true. The Enemy were not really beaten out of *Mount-hope* Neck, tho' 'twas true they fled from thence; yet it was before any pursu'd them. 'Twas but to strengthen themselves, and to gain a more advantageous Post. However, some and not a few pleased themselves with the fancy of a Mighty Conquest.⁶⁴

A grand Council was held, and a Resolve pass'd, to build a Fort there to maintain the first ground they had gain'd, by the Indians leaving it to them.⁶⁵ And to speak the Truth, it must be said, That as they gain'd not that Field, by their Sword, nor their Bow; so 'twas rather their fear than their courage, that oblig'd them to set up the marks of their Conquest. Mr. *Church* look'd upon it, and talk of it with contempt, and urged hard the pursuing the Enemy on *Pocasset* side, and with the greater earnestness, because of his promise made to *Awashtonks*, before mentioned.⁶⁶ The Council adjourned themselves from *Mount-hope* to *Rehoboth*,⁶⁷ where Mr. Treasurer *Southworth*⁶⁸ being weary

⁶⁴ Hubbard and Mather so thought. [*Narrative*, 19; *Magnalia*, (ed. 1853,) ii: 562.]

⁶⁵ The site of this fort has been identified by Mr. Fessenden as being opposite the narrow entrance to Kikemuit river from Mount-Hope bay, on the top of the most southwestern of several hills on the north side of a cove. The hill is fast wearing away by the action of the water at its base, so that the charcoal and scorched stones from the fireplace of the fort are often falling down the declivity toward the water. [*Hist. Warren, R.-I.* 71.]

⁶⁶ See page 11, *ante*.

⁶⁷ Hubbard says "*Seaconke*, or *Rehoboth*, a town within six miles of *Swanzy*." [*Narrative*, 20.] The exact locality referred to here would seem to be one of the "three houses" which were used as garrisons by the inhabitants of Rehoboth and Swansey during Philip's war, viz: that which stood on the south end of Seekonk plain, on the spot lately occupied by the house of Mr. Phaniel Bishop, on the southeast side of the Common. [*Blifs's Rehoboth*, 78.]

⁶⁸ *Constant Southworth* was a son of Edward Southworth (Savage wrongly

of his charge of Commissary General, (Provision being scarce & difficult to be obtained, for the Army, that now lay still to Cover the People from no body, while they were building a Fort for nothing) retired, and the Power & Trouble of that Post was left with Mr. *Church*, who still urged the Commanding Officers to move over to *Pocasset* side, to pursue the Enemy, [7] and kill *Philip*, which would in his opinion be more probable to keep possession of the Neck, than to tarry to build a Fort. He was still restless on that side of the River, and the rather because of his promise to the *Squaw Sachem* of *Sogkonate*. And Capt. *Fuller*⁶⁹ also urged the same, until at length there came fur-

says "*Constant, or Thomas*" [*Gen. Dict.* iv: 143]) and Alice Carpenter (who, after her first husband's death, became the second wife of Gov. Bradford); seems to have come over in 1628 [3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* i: 199]; was made freeman in 1637; married Elizabeth Collier, 2 Nov. 1637; was Deputy in 1647 and 22 years following, and Treasurer from 1659 to 1678; was often Assistant, once Commissioner for the United Colonies, and acted as Commissary-General in Philip's war; died 11 March, 1679. He left three sons, and five daughters, — the second of whom had married Church, 26 Dec. 1667. This relationship by marriage explains his here throwing off "the Power & Trouble" of his post on his son-in-law. [*Winfor's Hist. Duxbury*, 68; *Plym. Col. Rec.* i: 68, 74; ii: 117; iii: 8, 138, 153, 162; iv: 14, 37; v: 17, 34, etc.]

⁶⁹ *Matthew Fuller* was son of Edward (who was brother of the famous Dr. Samuel); was at Plymouth in 1642; went to Barnstable in 1652, and was the first physician there. He was Lieut. of Barnstable company in 1652; Deputy from Barnstable in 1653; went Lieut. to Miles Standish in the Dutch expedition in 1654; was fined 50s. for "speaking reproachfully of the Court, etc.," in 1658; was appointed on the Council of War the same year; is spoken of as Captain in 1670; was chosen "Surjeon general" for the Dutch expedition in 1673; and evidently was with this expedition in the same capacity, as, at the October Court following these first conflicts in Philip's war, there was allowed "to Capt. Mathew Fuller, as surjeon generall of the forces of this collonie, and for other good service, performed in the countryes behalfe against the enemy, in the late expeditions, or

ther order concerning the Fort. And with all, an order for Capt. *Fuller* with Six files to cross the River to the side so much insisted on, and to try if he could get Speech with any of the *Pocasset* or *Sogkonate* Indians, and that Mr. *Church* should go his Second. Upon the Captains receiving his orders, he ask'd Mr. *Church* whither he was willing to engage in this interprize: To whom 'twas indeed too agreeable to be declined; tho' he thought the enterprize was hazardous enough, for them to have more Men assign'd them. Capt. *Fuller* told him that for his own part he was grown Ancient and heavy, he feared the travel and fatigue would be too much for him. But Mr. *Church* urged him, and told him, he would chearfully excuse him, his hardship and travel, and take that part to himself, if he might but go; for he had rather do any thing in the World than stay there to build the Fort.

Then they drew out the Number assigned them and March'd the same Night⁷⁰ to the Ferry,⁷¹ and were transported to *Rhode-Island*, from whence the next Night they

which may be done for the future, as occasion may require, the Court alloweth him 4s. a day." He died in 1678. [Freeman's *Hist. Cape Cod*, ii: 324; Savage's *Gen. Dict.* ii: 217; *Plym. Col. Rec.* ii: 37, 45, 50; iii: 17, 24, 55, 150, 153; v: 48, 136, 175.]

⁷⁰ Hubbard [*Narrative*, 24] says, "Upon thursday July 7" [7 July was *Wednesday*] Captain *Fuller*, with Captain *Church*, went into Pocasset to seek after the enemy," etc. It is doubtful whether he means, by this date, to

indicate the day of their departure from the fort on this expedition, or the day of their arrival at Pocasset; probably the former (as most likely to be noted and reported by the general company). If so, then the little band left the fort 7 July, and got across the ferry into Pocasset on the night of *Thursday*, 8 July. This would fix the date of the Punkatees fight as Friday, 9 July.

⁷¹ Bristol ferry; from the lower end of Mount-Hope neck to Rhode-Island, then commonly called Tripp's ferry.

got a passage over to *Pocasset-side*⁷² in *Rhode-Island* Boats, and concluded there to dispose themselves in two Ambuscado's before day, hoping to surprize some of the Enemy by their falling into one or other of their Ambusments. But Capt. *Fullers* party being troubled with the Epidemical plague of lust after Tobacco, must needs strike fire to Smoke it;⁷³ and thereby discovered themselves to a party of the Enemy coming up to them, who immediately fled with great precipitation.

This Ambuscado drew off about break of day, perceiving they were discover'd, the other continued in their Post until the time assigned them, and the light and heat of the Sun rendred their Station both insignificant and troublesome, and then return'd, unto the place of Rendezvous, where they were acquainted with the other parties disappointment, and the occasion of it. Mr. *Church* calls for the breakfast he had ordered to be brought over in the Boat: but the Man that had the charge of it confessed that he was a-sleep when the Boats-men called him, and in haste came away and never thought of it. It happened that Mr. *Church* had a few Cakes of Rusk in his Pocket, that Madam *Cranston* (the Governour of *Rhode-Island's* Lady⁷⁴) gave him, when he came off the Island, which he

⁷² Doubtless the crossing was done at what was then a ferry, — since known as “Howland's ferry,” — where the Stone bridge now stands; the narrowest point of the “East Passage,” or Narragansett river.

⁷³ “To smoke it” was, in my child-

hood, a common phrase in the Old Colony for the act of using tobacco by the pipe.

⁷⁴ Gov. *John Cranston* seems to make his first appearance upon record as appointed *drummer* by the General Court at Newport, 14 March, 1644,

divided among the Company, which was all the Provisions they had.

Mr. *Church* after their slender breakfast proposed to Capt. *Fuller*, That he would March in quest of the Enemy, with such of the Company as would be willing to March with him; which he complied with, tho' with a great deal of scruple, because of his small Number, & the extream hazard he foresaw must attend them.⁷⁵ [8]

But some of the Company had reflected upon Mr. *Church*, that notwithstanding his talk on the other side of the River, he had not shewn them any *Indians* since they came over. Which now mov'd him to tell them, That if it was their desire to see *Indians*, he believ'd he should now soon shew them what they should say was enough.

The Number allow'd him soon drew off to him, which could not be many, because their whole Company con-

when he must have been 18; was among freemen in 1655; was licensed to practise physic, and had the degree of *M.D.* conferred on him by the General Assembly in 1664; was chosen Deputy Governor in 1672, and served also in 1673, '76, '77, and '78, in which year Gov. Arnold died, and he was chosen Governor; served as Governor till 12 March, 1680, when he died in office, aged 54. He was the first who ever held the place of Major-General in Rhode-Island. He married Mary, daughter of Dr. Jeremiah Clark of Newport; who after his death married John Stanton, and who died 7 April, 1711. Gov. Samuel Cranston was his son. He had only

reached the rank of Deputy Governor at the date spoken of in the text, but Church, dictating forty years after, refers to him under the title by which he was afterwards best known. [*R.I. Col. Rec.* i: 127, 301; ii: 33, 451, 481, 541, 565; iii: 3, 4, 24; Arnold's *Hist. R.-I.* i: 459; Savage's *Gen. Dict.* i: 472.]

⁷⁵ Hubbard's account would indicate that a day and night had been spent on the Pocasset side, before this proposition of Church's took place. [*Narrative*, 24.] Probably he confounded this with the time spent on Rhode-Island. Church, as a participant, is, of course, the best witness.

fitted of no more than Thirty Six.⁷⁶ They mov'd towards *Sogkonate*, until they came to the brook that runs into *Nunnaquohqut* Neck,⁷⁷ where they discovered a fresh and plain Track, which they concluded to be from the great Pine Swamp⁷⁸ about a Mile from the Road that leads to *Sogkonet*. Now says Mr. *Church* to his Men, If we follow this Track no doubt but we shall soon see *Indians* enough; they express'd their willingness to follow the Track, and mov'd in it, but had not gone far before one of them narrowly escaped being bit with a *Rattle-snake*.⁷⁹ And the

⁷⁶ "There being not above fifteen with Church." [Hubbard, *Narrative*, 24.] This would leave twenty-one with Capt. Fuller. But Church afterwards says there were *nineteen* with him besides his "pilot"; which would indicate a nearly equal division of the little force.

⁷⁷ Mr. Drake's note would fix the rivulet referred to as "that which empties into the bay nearly a mile southward from Howland's ferry"; now, for some reason which I have never heard, bearing the strange name of "Sin and Flesh brook." I am persuaded, however, that Nanaquaket brook, which crosses the road to Little Compton, say a mile and a half further south, just before you reach the school-house, is that of which Church speaks. That "runs in" just in the angle where Nanaquaket neck is joined to the main land, and therefore seems more exactly designated by the phrase "that runs into *Nunnaquohqut* Neck" than one so much further removed, emptying into the cove.

Moreover, its relative bearing to the swamp of which Church proceeds to speak is nearer to the demand of the text than that of the other.

This neck is that promontory in Tiverton which slopes up northward and westward toward the island of Rhode-Island, next south of the Stone bridge. The name (*Nunnaquahqatt*, *Nonequacket*, *Nanaquaket*, *Quacut*, etc.) may have this sense: *Nunnukque* means "dangerous," "unsafe"; whence *Nunnukqueohke* (contracted *Nunnukquok*) would be "an unsafe or dangerous place." The final *et* is locative, — "at" or "in."

⁷⁸ Still there, and distant about a mile due east from the spot which I suppose Church to have now reached.

⁷⁹ Rattlesnakes were formerly abundant in New England. Prince says, (14 Aug. 1632,) "this summer is very wet and cold, except now and then a hot day or two, which causes great store of musketoes and rattlesnakes." [Ed. 1852, 400.]

Woods that the Track lead them through was haunted much with those Snakes, which the little Company seem'd more to be afraid of than the black Serpents they were in quest of, and therefore bent their course another way; to a Place where they thought it probable to find some of the Enemy. Had they kept the Track to the Pine Swamp they had been certain of meeting *Indians* enough; but not so certain that any of them should have return'd to give account how many.

Now they pass'd down into *Punkatees*⁸⁰ Neck; and in their March discovered a large Wigwam full of *Indian* Truck, which the Souldiers were for loading themselves with; until Mr. *Church* forbid it; telling them they might expect soon to have their hands full, and business without caring for Plunder. Then crossing the head of the Creek into the Neck, they again discovered fresh, *Indian* Tracks, very lately pass'd before them into the Neck. They then got privately and undiscovered, unto the Fence of Capt. *Almy's* Pease-field,⁸¹ and divided into two Parties, Mr. *Church* keeping the one Party with himself, sent the other with *Lake*⁸² that was acquainted with the ground, on the

⁸⁰ *Punkatees* neck — some two miles in length and one mile in extreme width — shoots out from the main land of Tiverton southward and westward, much as *Nunnaquohgut* neck turns up northward and westward. It was also called Pocasset neck. The entrance to it is directly west from the small village of Tiverton Four Corners. The deriva-

tion or signification of the name has not been suggested.

⁸¹ See note 4. At least four families of *Almys* now own and till many of the fertile acres of this beautiful promontory.

⁸² *David Lake*, or *Leake*, volunteered 10 Aug. 1667, in a troop of horse upon Rhode Island. If this were

other side. Two *Indians* were soon discovered coming out of the Pease-field towards them: When Mr. *Church* & those that were with him concealed themselves from them, by falling flat on the ground: but the other division not using the same caution were seen by the Enemy, which occasioned them to run; which when Mr. *Church* perceiv'd, he shew'd himself to them, and call'd, telling them he desired but to speak with them, and would not hurt them. But they run, and *Church* pursued. The *Indians* clim'd over a Fence and one of them facing about discharged his Piece, but without effect on the *English*: One of the *English* Souldiers ran up to the Fence and fir'd upon him that had discharged his Piece; and they concluded by the yelling they heard that the *Indian* was wounded; but the *Indians* soon got into the thickets, whence they saw them no more for the present. [9]

Mr. *Church* then Marching over a plain piece of Ground where the Woods were very thick on one side; order'd his little Company to March at double distance, to make as big a show (if they should be discovered) as might be. But before they saw any body, they were Saluted with a

the same man, he probably — as a resident of the island and familiar with the neighboring localities — accompanied this expedition as the “pilot,” of whom Church speaks further on. [*R.-I. Col. Rec.* ii. 218.] Plymouth Colony the next year granted to David Lake “three-score acres” of land eastward from Punchatefet pond and north of Saco-

net line, (which would be in what is now Tiverton, where men of the same name now live, upon it,) because he had “bin very usefull and serviceable to the country in the late warr.” Thomas Lake — whether his brother, or not, I cannot say — had a similar grant, at the same time, of forty acres. [*R.-I. Col. Rec.* ii: 218; *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 214.]

Volly of fifty or fixty Guns; some Bullets came very surprizingly near Mr. *Church*, who starting, look'd behind him, to see what was become of his Men, expecting to have seen half of them dead, but seeing them all upon their Leggs and briskly firing at the Smokes of the Enemies Guns, (for that was all that was then to be seen) *He Bless'd God, and called to his Men not to discharge all their Guns at once, lest the Enemy should take the advantage of such an opportunity to run upon them with their Hatches.*⁸³

Their next Motion was immediately into the Pease-field. When they came to the Fence Mr. *Church* bid as many as had not discharg'd their Guns, to clap under the Fence, and lye clofe, while the other at some distance in the Field stood to charge; hoping that if the Enemy should creep to the Fence to gain a shot at those that were charging their Guns, they might be surprized by those that lay under the Fence. But casting his Eyes to the side of the Hill above them;⁸⁴ the hill seem'd to move, being covered over with *Indians*, with their bright Guns glittering in the Sun, and running in a circumference with a design to surround them.

Seeing such Multitudes surrounding him and his little Company; it put him upon thinking what was become of the Boats that were ordered to attend him: And looking

⁸³ Hatchets, or tomahawks.

⁸⁴ The bluff above them; the pease-field being near the shore, and the land

rising abruptly toward the ridge of the promontory. The hill is not very high, yet the slope is steep.

up, he spy'd them a shore at *Sandy-point*⁸⁵ on the Island side of the River, with a number of Horse and Foot by them, and wondred what should be the occasion; until he was afterwards informed, That the Boats had been over that Morning from the Island, and had landed a Party of Men at *Fogland*,⁸⁶ that were design'd in *Punkatees Neck* to fetch off some Cattel and Horses, but were Ambuscado'd, and many of them wounded by the Enemy.⁸⁷

Now our Gentlemans Courage and Conduēt were both put to the Test, he encourages his Men; and orders some to run and take a Wall to shelter before the Enemy gain'd it. Twas time for them now to think of escaping if they knew which way. Mr. *Church* orders his Men to strip to their white Shirts, that the *Islanders* might discover them to be English Men; & then orders Three Guns to be fired distinct, hoping it might be observ'd by their friends on the opposite Shore.⁸⁸ The Men that were ordered to take

⁸⁵ Probably what is now designated as "McCarry's point," on the Portsmouth shore, rather than that now called "Sandy point," which is a mile and a half further south.

⁸⁶ *Fogland* point is a spur of land projecting from the western shore of Punkatees neck, and reaching a third of the way across Narragansett river toward Portsmouth on the island of Rhode-Island.

⁸⁷ Hubbard says: "It seems in the former part of the same day, five men coming from *Road-Island*, to look up their Cattle upon *Pocasset Neck*, were

assaulted by the same *Indians*, and one of the five was Capt. *Churches* Servant, who had his Leg broke in the Skirmish, the rest hardly escaping with their lives: this was the first time that ever any mischief was done by the *Indians* upon *Pocasset Neck*. Those of *Road-Island* were hereby Alarmed to look to themselves, as well as the rest of the English of *Plimouth*, or the *Massachusetts Colony*." [*Narrative*, 25.]

⁸⁸ It was probably not over a mile and a half in a straight line, from the scene of this skirmish to the point across the water where their friends were.

the Wall, being very hungry, stop'd a while among the Peafe to gather a few, being about four Rod from the Wall; the Enemy from behind it hail'd them with a Shower of Bullets; but soon all but one came tumbling over an old hedge down the bank where Mr. *Church* and the rest were, and told him that his Brother *B. Southworth*,⁸⁹ who was the Man that was missing, was kill'd, that they saw him fall; and so they did indeed see him fall, but 'twas without a [10] Shot, and lay no longer than till he had opportunity to clap a Bullet into one of the Enemies Forehead, and then came running to his Company. The meanness⁹⁰ of the *English's* Powder was now their greatest mis-

⁸⁹ Either this record is wrong in this initial, or Constant Southworth (note 68) had a son not down on the records. Savage, Winfor, and Mitchell agree that he had only three sons, (*Edward, Nathaniel, and William*;) and four daughters, besides Alice, who married Church. The earliest Benjamin on the record of the family was Benjamin, son of Edward (Constant's eldest son), who was born in 1680, five years after this fight. Edward's age at this date is not known, but, as he had been married in 1669, he may perhaps have been near 30; Nathaniel was 27, and William only 16. It seems clear that the person here alluded to was one of Church's brothers-in-law, and it is more probable that the initial "W" or "N" was misprinted "B," and the blunder passed uncorrected, than that there was any "B. Southworth," son of Constant, elsewhere unrecorded. [*Gen. Dict.* iv: 143; *Hist.*

Duxbury, 314; *Hist. Bridgewater*, 304.]

⁹⁰ Church seems here to use the word "meanness" as equivalent to scantiness, — with reference to the quantity rather than the quality. There is no hint in the account of the action but that the powder which they had was good enough, but they were evidently reduced to a very short allowance. Up to this date the powder of the Colonists appears to have been English made. The first powder-mill on this side was just in process of preparation; Rev. John Oxenbridge, Rev. James Allen, Dea. Robert Sanderfon, (all of the first church in Boston,) with Capt. John Hall and Freegrace Bendall, merchants of Boston, 22 Aug. 1673, having purchased of John Gill, of Milton, a privilege on Neponset river, and having entered into articles of agreement, 16 July, 1675, to erect a building and "im-

fortune; when they were immediately upon this beset with Multitudes of *Indians*, who possessed themselves of every Rock, Stump, Tree, or Fence that was in sight, firing upon them without ceasing; while they had no other shelter but a small bank & bit of a water Fence. And yet to add to the disadvantage of this little handful of distressed Men; The *Indians* also possessed themselves of the Ruines of a Stone-house that over look'd them, and of the black Rocks to the Southward of them;⁹¹ so that now they had no way to prevent lying quite open to some, or other of the

prove a powder mill" at said Neponset. The safety of this mill was a subject of legislation, in October and November following. [*Hist. of Dorchester*, 607, 609.]

⁹¹ In the second edition of this narrative [*Newport, R.-I.* 1772], Southwick's compositor here carelessly dropped out the words "and of the black Rocks to the Southward of them," and Dr. Stiles did not discover the omission; so that, as all the subsequent editions have been reprints of Southwick's, and not of the original, the hint of exact locality which they furnish has hitherto been overlooked. On recently visiting Punkatees neck and going carefully over it in order to identify, if possible, the exact spot where this pease-field was situated, I found on the edge of the shore the remains of an outcropping ledge of soft black slaty rock, which differs so decidedly from any other rocks in the vicinity, and which — making allowance for the wear of the waves for near 200 years — answers so well to the demand

of the text, as to incline me to the judgment that they may identify the spot. If this be so, the pease-field must have been on the western shore of Punkatees neck, a little north of the juncture of Fogland point with the main promontory, and almost due east of the northern extremity of Fogland point, — which runs up northerly and westerly as it pushes over toward Rhode-Island; lying a little north of the range of the Almy burying-ground, which is in the rear of the present residence of Mr. Horace Almy. Whether this be a correct supposition or not, the near neighborhood of what is still called Church's well — a spring stoned round like a well, and sending a tiny rivulet down to the sea, a few rods south of these remains of what were once "black rocks," and almost opposite the present residence of Mr. Samuel Almy, at the terminus of the road leading to Fogland ferry — fixes the scene of the fight with sufficient accuracy, as being near the juncture of Fogland point with Punkatees neck.

Enemy, but to heap up Stones before them, as they did, and still bravely and wonderfully defended themselves, against all the numbers of the Enemy. At length came over one of the Boats from the Island Shore, but the Enemy ply'd their Shot so warmly to her as made her keep at some distance; Mr. *Church* desired them to send their Canoo a-shore to fetch them on board; but no persuasions, nor arguments could prevail with them to bring their Canoo to shore. Which some of Mr. *Churches* Men perceiving, began to cry out, *For God's sake to take them off, for their Ammunition was spent, &c.* Mr. *Church* being sensible of the danger of the Enemies hearing their Complaints, and being made acquainted with the weakness and scantiness of their Ammunition, fiercely called to the Boatmaster, and bid either send his Canoo a-shore, or else be gone presently, or he would fire upon him.

Away goes the Boat and leaves them still to shift for themselves. But then another difficulty arose; the Enemy seeing the Boat leave them, were reanimated & fired thicker & faster than ever; Upon which some of the Men that were lightest of foot, began to talk of attempting an escape by flight: until Mr. *Church* solidly convinc'd them of the impracticableness of it; and encouraged them yet, told them, *That he had observ'd so much of the remarkable and wonderful Providence of God hitherto preserving them, that encouraged him to believe with much confidence that God would yet preserve them; that not a hair of their head should fall to the ground; bid them be Patient, Courageous and Prudently*

sparing of their Ammunition, and he made no doubt but they should come well off yet, &c. until his little Army, again resolve one and all to stay with, and stick by him. One of them by Mr. Churches order was pitching a flat Stone up an end before him in the Sand, when a Bullet from the Enemy with a full force stroke the Stone while he was pitching it an end; which put the poor fellow to a miserable start, till Mr. Church call'd upon him to observe, How God directed the Bullets that the Enemy could not hit him when in the same place, yet could hit the Stone as it was erected.

While they were thus making the best defence they could against their numerous Enemies that made the Woods ring with their constant yelling [11] and shouting: And Night coming on, some body told Mr. Church, they spy'd a Sloop up the River as far as *Gold-Island*,⁹² that seem'd to be coming down towards them: He look'd up and told them *Succour was now coming, for he believ'd it was Capt. Golding,*⁹³ *whom he knew to be a Man for busi-*

⁹² *Gould Island* is a small rocky island, perhaps three quarters of a mile due south of the Stone bridge. It was purchased of the Indians, 28 Mar. 1657, by Thomas Gould, of Newport, and took its name from him, and not, as has been sometimes stated, from the occurrence here narrated. [Arnold's *Hist. R.-I.* i: 266; Fowler's *Hist. Sketch of Fall River*, 9.]

⁹³ *Capt. Roger Golding* (*Golden, Goulden*) was captain of a vessel, and seems to have lived in Portsmouth, R.-

I.; at any rate he is dubiously referred to in that connection in the *R.-I. Colonial Records* for 6 Nov. 1672. He was present at the killing of Philip. He married Penelope, daughter of the first Benedict Arnold. Plymouth Colony, 1 Nov. 1676, gave Capt. Golding one hundred acres of land, because he "hath approued himselfe to be our constant, reall frind in the late warr, and very officious and healpfull as occation hath bine, when as our armies and fouldiers haue bin in those p'tes, and haue had

ness; and would certainly fetch them off, if he came: the Wind being fair, the Vessel was soon with them; and Capt. Golding it was. Mr. Church (as soon as they came to Speak one with another) desired him to come to Anchor at such a distance from the Shore that he might veer out his Cable and ride a float, and let slip his Canoo that it might drive ashore; which directions Capt. Golding observ'd; but the Enemy gave him such a warm Salute, that his Sails, Colour, and Stern were full of Bullet holes.

The Canoo came ashore,⁹⁴ but was so small that she would not bare above two Men at a time; and when two were got aboard, they turn'd her loose to drive ashore for two more: and the Sloops company kept the *Indians* in play the while. But when at last it came to Mr. Churches turn to go aboard, he had left his Hat and Cutlash at the Well⁹⁵ where he went to drink, when he first came down; he told his Company, *He would never go off and leave his Hat and Cutlash for the Indians; they should never have that to reflect upon him.* Tho' he was much dissuaded from it, yet he would go fetch them. He put all the Powder he had left into his Gun (and a poor charge it was) and went

nessitie of the transportation of our men to the said island [Rhode-Island] and otherwise very redde to doe vs good." This land adjoined that of the Lakes (note 82, *ante*). [*R.-I. Col. Rec.* ii: 480; Savage, *Gen. Dict.* ii: 287; *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 214. See also *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 242, and vi: 120, for further facts concerning Capt. G.]

⁹⁴ The wind was probably northwesterly, as it is apt to be there on a pleasant day, which would be exactly "fair" for Capt. Golding in running down, as narrated; and which would soon drift a light canoe on shore.

⁹⁵ See note 91, *ante*. I see no reason to doubt the trustworthiness of the tradition identifying this well.

presenting his Gun at the Enemy, until he took up what he went for; at his return he discharged his Gun at the Enemy to bid them farewell, for that time; but had not Powder enough to carry the Bullet half way to them.

Two Bullets from the Enemy stuck the Canoo as he went on Board, one grazed the hair of his Head a little before; another struck in a small Stake that stood right against the middle of his Breast.

Now this Gentleman with his Army, making in all 20 Men, himself, and his Pilot being numbred with them, got all safe aboard after Six hours engagement with 300 *Indians*; whose Number we were told afterwards by some of themselves. *A deliverance which that good Gentleman often mentions to the Glory of God, and His Protecting Providence.* The next day⁹⁶ meeting with the rest of their little Company, whom he had left at *Pocasset*, (that had also a small skirmish with the *Indians*, and had two Men Wounded)⁹⁷ they return'd to the *Mount-hope* Garrison; which Mr. *Church* us'd to call the loosing Fort. Mr. *Church* then returning to the Island⁹⁸ to seek Provision for the Army, meets with *Alderman*,⁹⁹ a noted *Indian* that

⁹⁶ Friday, 9 July, 1675.

⁹⁷ Capt. Fuller "either saw or heard too many Indians for himself and his Company to deal with, which made him and them betake themselves to an House near the Water-side, from whence they were fetched off by a sloop before night to *Road-Island*." [Hubbard's *Narrative*, 24.]

⁹⁸ Rhode Island.

⁹⁹ *Alderman* was a subject of *Wectamoe* (note 24), but at the commencement of the war went to the Governor of Plymouth, and desired to remain at peace with the English; and now left *Pocasset* for Rhode Island in that intent. It was his bullet that eventually killed Philip. [Drake's *Book of the Ind.* 226.]

was juſt come over from the *Squaw Sachem's* Cape of *Pocaffet*, having deſerted from her, and had brought over his Family: Who gave him an account of the State of the *Indians*, and where each of the *Sagamores* head quarters were. Mr. *Church* then diſcourſ'd with ſome who knew the Spot well where the *Indians* ſaid *Wectamores* head quarters were, and offered their Service to Pilot him. With this News he [12] haſtned to the *Mount-hope* Garriſon. The Army expreſs'd their readineſs to imbrace ſuch an opportunity.

All the ableſt Souldiers were now immediately drawn off equip'd & diſpatch'd upon this deſign, under the Command of a certain Officer:¹⁰⁰ and having March'd about two Miles, *viz.* until they came to the Cove¹⁰¹ that lyes *S.W.* from the Mount, where orders was given for an halt. The Commander in Chief told them he thought it proper to take advice before he went any further; called Mr. *Church* and the Pilot, and ask'd them, *How they knew that Philip and all his Men were not by that time got to Weetamores Camp; or that all her own Men were not by that time return'd to her again?* With many more frightful questions. Mr. *Church* told him, *they had acquainted him with as much as they knew, and that for his part he could*

¹⁰⁰ Hubbard ſays, Church borrowed “three files of Men of Capt. *Henchman* with his Lieutenant:” this Lieutenant was doubtleſs, then, the officer in command. Fortunately for his memory his name was not deſignated. [*Narrative*, 25.]

¹⁰¹ Now called *Mount Cove*. They were, no doubt. on their way to Briſtol ferry — then called *Tripp's* ferry [*R.-I. Col. Rec.* iii: 535] — to croſs to Rhode-Iſland, and thence, over *Howland's* ferry, to *Pocaffet*, whence it would be a little over ſix miles to “the *Fall River*.”

discover nothing that need to discourage them from Proceeding, that he thought it so practicable, that he with the Pilot would willingly lead the way to the Spot and hazard the brunt. But the Chief Commander insisted on this, That the Enemies number were so great, and he did not know what numbers more might be added unto them by that time: And his Company so small, that he could not think it practicable to attack them. Added moreover, That if he was sure of killing all the Enemy, and knew that he must lose the Life of one of his Men in the action, he would not attempt it. Pray Sir, then (Reply'd Mr. Church) Please to lead¹⁰² your Company to yonder Windmill on Rhode-Island, and there they will be out of danger of being kill'd by the Enemy, and we shall have less trouble to supply them with Provisions. But return he would, and did, unto the Garrison until more strength came to them: And a Sloop to transport them to the Fall River,¹⁰³ in order to visit *Weetamores*

¹⁰² The absence of water power on the Island led, as early as 1663, to the erection of windmills for grinding corn; and several eminences in the town of Portsmouth are now crowned with them, which may be seen from far. [Arnold's *Hist. R.-I.* i: 370.]

¹⁰³ *Quequechan* River — the outlet of Watappa Pond — was about two miles long and less than one rod in width, and when within 150 rods of tide-water it suddenly descended 132 feet to meet it. It took naturally, therefore, the name of "the fall of the river," or *Fall River*. The various factories have

now absorbed this fall; so that the visitor must search for what was once the most prominent feature of the locality. Fowler says, the word *Quequechan* signifies "falling water," or "quick-running water;" but Mr. Trumbull says, "*Chëkee*, or *Chëche*, alone, or in composition, means 'violent,' 'forcible,' and is sometimes applied to running water, as it is to 'that which sweeps away,' e. g. *chekkihunk*, 'a broom' or 'befom,' and *chëk-esu* 'the northwest wind.' I do not think, however, that it is found in *Quequechan*, and clearly not unless the last part of the name —

Camp. Mr. *Church*, one *Baxter*¹⁰⁴ and Capt. *Hunter*¹⁰⁵ an Indian, profer'd to go out on the discovery on the left Wing; which was accepted; they had not March'd above a quarter of a Mile before they started Three of the Enemy. Capt. *Hunter* wounded one of them in his knee, whom when he came up he discovered to be his near kinsman; the Captive desired favour for his *Squaw*, if she should fall into their hands, but ask'd none for himself, excepting the liberty of taking a Whiff of Tobacco, and while he was taking his Whiff, his kinsman with one blow of his Hatchet dispatch'd him. Proceeding to *Weetamores* Camp,¹⁰⁶ they were discover'd by one of the Enemy, who

signifying 'water,' 'stream,' or something of the kind—has been lost." [Fowler's *Hist. Sketch, Fall River, 27.*]

¹⁰⁴ *Thomas Baxter*, bricklayer, of Yarmouth, 5 March, 1671-2, was accused of "misdemeanor att the meeting-houfe att Yarmouth;" and, again, of entering Edward Sturgis's houfe on Lord's Day, 11 April, 1675, and stealing from the same; but was cleared on both charges: he was also one of 30 foldiers "that were pressed into the country's service, and went to Mount-Hope against our enemies the Indians, in the year 1675, and took their first march June 24." He was wounded in the war, and £20 were allowed him by the Plymouth Court, 10 July, 1677, as a "maimed fouldier, whoe hath lost the vse of one of his hands in the time hee was in the countryes service." I have met with no record of any other of the name as being in this war, and presume this ref-

erence to be to him. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 87, 168, 239; Freeman's *Hist. Cape Cod*, ii: 193.]

¹⁰⁵ *Capt. Hunter* appears to have been a Christianized *Nipmuk* Indian. On the 6th of July—two days before the fight in Almy's peafe-field—Capt. Johnson, on the order of the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, had conducted a body of "about 52" Praying Indians (being one-third part of their able-bodied men) to the army at Mount-Hope. Among them was *John Hunter*, who, on his return, had a reward given him for his faithfulness; he bringing back with him a scalp; that, no doubt, of the Indian referred to in the text. [*Transactions Amer. Antiquarian Society*, ii: 442, 444.]

¹⁰⁶ This seems to have been situated on the northern side of what is now called Pocasset Cedar Swamp; perhaps two miles and a half south of the city

ran in and gave Information; upon which a lusty Young Fellow left his Meat upon his Spit, running hastily out told his companions, *he would kill an English man before he eat his dinner*: but fail'd of his design, being no fooner out but shot down. The Enemies fires, and what shelter they had was by the Edge of a thick Cedar Swamp, into which on this Alarm they betook themselves; and the English as nimbly pursued; but were soon commanded back by their Chieftain after they were come within hearing of the Crys of their Women, and Children, and so ended that Exploit.¹⁰⁷ But returning to their Sloop the Enemy pursued them and wounded two of their Men. The next day return'd to the *Mount-hope* Garrison. [13]

Soon after this,¹⁰⁸ was *Philips* head Quarters visited by some other *English* Forces; but *Philip* and his gang had the very fortune to escape that *Weetamore* and hers (but now mentioned) had: they took into a Swamp and their pursuers were commanded back. After this¹⁰⁹ *Dart-*

of Fall River, and lying between South Watappa Pond and the heights which look down on Mount-Hope Bay.

¹⁰⁷ Hubbard says, "wherein some few of them [the Indians] fourteen or fifteen were slain." [*Narrative*, 25.]

¹⁰⁸ Hubbard says that our forces went to Rehoboth on Friday, 15 July (15 July was *Thursday*), next day to Mat-tapoisett, and next day to Taunton. July 18 (Hubbard calls it "Munday," but the 18th was *Sunday*; so that they probably started on the 19th) they marched 18 miles, and attacked Philip "in the great swampe upon *Pocassit* neck, of seven miles long." They

thought they had him hemmed in there, and so the Plymouth forces and Capt. Henchman with 100 foot, were left to "attend the Enemies motion, being judged sufficient for that end." One night, however, "in the end of *July*," Philip and his warriors either waded across Taunton river, at a very low tide, or got over on rafts, and escaped to the *Nipmuk* Country. [*Narrative*, 25-27.] Fowler [*Hist. Sketch, Fall River*, 10] says they crossed just above where Fall River now stands.

¹⁰⁹ Dartmouth seems to have been destroyed by the Indians in the latter half of July.

mouſts diſtreſſes required Succour, great Part of the Town being laid deſolate, and many of the Inhabitants kill'd; the moſt of *Plymouth* Forces were order'd thither: And coming to *Ruffels* Garrifon at *Poneganſet*,¹¹⁰ they met with a Number of the Enemy that had ſurrendred themſelves Priſoners on terms promiſed by Capt. *Eels*¹¹¹ of the Garrifon; and *Ralph Earl*¹¹² that perſwaded them (by a friend *Indian* he had employed) to come in. And had their promiſes to the *Indians* been kept, and the *Indians* farely treated, 'tis probable that moſt if not all the *Indians* in thoſe Parts, had ſoon followed the Example of thoſe that had now ſurrendred themſelves; which would have been a good ſtep towards finiſhing the War. But in ſpite of all that Capt. *Eels*, *Church*, or *Earl* could ſay, argue, plead, or beg, ſome body elſe that had more Power in their hands

¹¹⁰ The *Apponeganſett* River (or cove) is the ſecond cove making up from Buzzard's Bay weſt and ſouth of New-Bedford harbor. Faint traces of the cellar of this garrifon-houſe might lately be ſeen, near a ſpring on the eaſt bank of this river, about a mile from its mouth. John Ruffell was one of the earlieſt ſettlers of Dartmouth. [Ricketſon's *Hiſt. New Bedford*, 15, 35, 154.]

¹¹¹ Capt. *Samuel Eells* ſeems to have been the ſon of John, of Dorcheſter. He was baptized at Dorcheſter, 3 May, 1640. He "commanded a garrifon at Dartmouth, Maſs., in Philip's war," married Anna, daughter of Rev. Robert Lenthal of Weymouth, and died in Ingham in 1709; leaving, among

eight children, Rev. Nathaniel, of Scituate. [*Hiſt. Dorcheſter*, 51; Deane's *Scituate*, 197; Barry's *Hanover*, 301.]

¹¹² *Ralph Earl* appears to have been ſon of Ralph, of Portſmouth, R.-I., and to have removed to Dartmouth in conſequence of the gift to him of "half a ſhare in Coaxit and Acuſhnet" by Francis Sprague of Duxbury, who calls him "ſon-in-law." He was fined, 29 Oct. 1668, 5s, for "affronting the conſtable" of Dartmouth. He was himſelf conſtable in 1670. I am ſorry to add that a perſon of that name was fined 20s, at Plymouth, 5 Oct., 1663, for "drawing his wife in an vnciuell manor on the ſnow." [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* ii: 91; *Plym. Col. Rec.* iv: 47; v: 10, 36.]

improv'd it; and without any regard to the promises made them on their surrendering themselves, they were carry'd away to *Plymouth*, there sold, and transported out of the Country; being about Eight-score Persons.¹¹³ An action fo

¹¹³ The following I take to be the order of the Council of war upon this case, 4 Aug., 1675, which hints the light in which the government viewed the matter:—

“In reference vnto a companie of “natives now in custody, brought in to “Plymouth, being men, weomen, and “children, in number one hundred and “twelve, vpon ferious and deliberate “consideration and agitation concerning “them, the conclusion is as followeth: “that whereas, vpon examination, it is “found that feuerall of them haue bine “actors in the late rising and warr of “the Indians against vs, and the rest “complyers with them therein, which “they haue done contrary to engage- “ment and couenant made and plighted “with this collonie, which they haue “p’fidiouly broken, as appeereth fur- “ther alsoe in that they did not dis- “couer that p’nifous plott which Phillip, “with others, completed against vs, “which hath caused the destruction of “feuerall of vs, by losse of liues and “estates, and still held in danger “therby, the p’mises considered as “aforesaid, the councell adjudged them “to be sold, and deuoted vnto serui- “tude, excepting some few of them, “which, vpon speciall consideration, “are to be otherwise disposed of, and “the Treasurer is appointed by the “councell to make sale of them in the “countries behalfe.”

On the second of September following, similar action was taken in the case of “a certaine p’fell of Indians lately come in to Sandwich in a submissiue way to this collonie.” They were adjudged to be “in the same condition of rebellion,” and “condemned vnto p’petuall seruitude.” There were 57 of these, which, added to the former 112, made 169; not far from Church’s eight score. Thacher, under date of Oct. 4, 1765, says, “one hundred and seventy-eight [Indians] had recently been shipped on board of Captain Sprague, for Cadiz”; unquestionably referring to this same melancholy misjudgment. It is essential to the proper understanding of such a transaction as this, that the general custom and feeling of the time should be considered. A very curious document has been preserved, of date 14 Aug., 1676, showing that Roger Williams was chairman of a committee in Rhode-Island to dispose of some Indian captives whom *they* had taken. All under 5 years of age were sold to serve till they were 30; all between 5 and 10, till 28; all between 10 and 15, till 27; all between 15 and 20, till 26; all between 20 and 30 were to serve 8 years; all above 30, 7 years. Judge Staples says that, in most instances, Indian prisoners “were sent out of the country and sold for slaves for life.” [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 173, 174; *Hist. Plym.* 136; *R.-I. Hist. Coll.* v: 170.]

hateful to Mr. *Church*, that he oppos'd it to the loss of the good Will and Respects of some that before were his good Friends. But while these things were acting at *Dartmouth*, *Philip* made his escape, leaving his Country, fled over *Taunton-River*, and *Rehoboth-Plain*,¹¹⁴ and *Petuxet-River*,¹¹⁵ where Capt. *Edmunds* of *Providence*¹¹⁶ made some spoil upon; and had probably done more, but was prevented by the coming up of a Superiour Officer,¹¹⁷ that put him by. And now another Fort was built at *Pocasset*,¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Seekonk Plain.

¹¹⁵ See note 108, *ante*. Pawtucket and Pawtuxet should not be confounded, as they are different names. *Pautuck-et* is "at the falls of the river;" *Pautuxet* (*Pautuck-esc-et*) introduces a diminutive, i. e. "at the little falls of the river." The river referred to in the text is now called the Blackstone.

¹¹⁶ Capt. *Andrew Edmunds* (*Edmonds or Edmands*) was of Providence, and married Mary, dau. of Benj. Herendean, 14 Oct., 1675; 7 Aug., 1676 the R.-I. Assembly voted him and his company one-half of the money accruing from the sale of 35 Indians "brought in by them;" 17 June, 1684 he served on a Coroner's Jury on the death of John Miller of Rehoboth; 25 Dec., 1689 Plymouth Court ordered him 20s. a week for his service in the Eastern Expedition, and, by vote of 3 March, 1690, the Rhode-Island Assembly added £6 to it. He died previous to 1696, having had five children. His widow was allowed to keep the ferry over Seekonk river. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* ii: 101; *R.-I. Col. Rec.* ii: 549; iii: 263,

277, 280, 313; *Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 143, 229.]

¹¹⁷ Hubbard names Capt. *Henchman* in this connection, and adds "what the reason was why Philip was followed no further, it is better to suspend, then too critically to inquire." The inference, taken with what Church says, is that Henchman was the man on whom the blame rested. [*Narrative*, 28.] The Rev. Noah Newman of Rehoboth was very efficient and useful in this assault on the retreating Philip. [*Blifs's Rehoboth*, 87.]

¹¹⁸ Capt. Cudworth urged this. He wrote to Gov. Winflow, 20 July, 1675, from Mount-Hope Neck, saying "Now that which we consider to be best, is to maintain our garrison, though but with twenty men, and that there be another garrison at *Pocasset*; and to have a flying army, to be in motion" (doubtless with these points as its base) "to keep the Indians from destroying our cattle, and fetching in supply of food; which being attended, will bring them to great straits, &c." [*Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vi: 85.] I have not been able to identify

that prov'd as troublesome and chargeable as that at *Mount-hope*; and the remainder of the Summer was improv'd in providing for the Forts and Forces there maintained, while our Enemies were fled some hundreds of Miles into the Country, near as far as *Albany*. And now strong Suspicions began to arise of the *Narraganset Indians*,¹¹⁹ that they were ill affected, and designed mischief; and so the event soon discovered. The next Winter they began their Hostilities, upon the *English*.¹²⁰ The United Colonies then agreed to send an Army to suppress them:¹²¹

the site of this Pocasset garrison, but suppose it to have been within the present city-limits of Fall River.

¹¹⁹ The *Narraganset Indians* may be generally described as having occupied the lower half of what is now the main land of the State of Rhode-Island, including the whole of Washington, with the lower portion of Kent Counties. [Gookin, 1 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* i: 147; *R.-I. Hist. Coll.* iii: 1.] With regard to the significance of this name, concerning which various suggestions have been made, (Drake's *Book of the Indians*, 87, note.) Mr. Trumbull quotes Roger Williams: "I was within a pole of it, but could not learn why it was called *Nahiganset*," and says, "to whom I have nothing to add."

¹²⁰ From the date of Philip's escape across Taunton River (1 Aug.), hostilities had been in progress. Mendon settlers fell first. Early in August, *Quaboag* (Brookfield) was destroyed. About the first of September, Deerfield was burned. Soon after, *Squakeag* (Northfield) was

assaulted, and the majority of Capt Beers's party, going to its relief, killed. Early in October, Springfield was attacked, and 32 houses fired. A few days later, 19 Oct., Hatfield was assailed. The Narragansetts sheltered the women of the warrior Indians, and guns were found among them which had been taken from Beers's men; so that they were judged to be in complicity with Philip. [Hubbard's *Narrative*, 32-42, 48; Holmes's *Annals*, i: 372-375; Hoyt's *Indian Wars*, 99-112.]

¹²¹ The Commissioners of the United Colonies wrote from Boston, 12 Nov., 1675, to Rhode-Island, on this subject, as follows: "Findeing that y^e Narriganfets under pretence of freindship haue bine and are very fals and perfideouse, holdeing as is reported to us great Corrispondency with the Enemy that are in more open hostillity receiveing, relieving, and Contrary to their Covenant detayneing many of the Enemy men, women, and children to their great advantage and our prejudife, and

Governour *Winslow*¹²² to command the Army. He undertaking the Expedition, invited Mr. *Church* to command a Company in the Expedition; which he declin'd, craving excuse from taking Commiffion, he promised to wait upon him as a *Reformado*¹²³ thro' the Expedition. Having rid with the General to *Boston*,¹²⁴ and from thence to *Rhoboth*. Upon the Generals request he went thence the nearest way over the Ferries, with Major *Smith*¹²⁵ to his

by many other infolenceys declaering their Enmity, and that indeed they are and are like to bee the very randivoufe, and feat of the warr, it hath drawne us to refolue to rayfe 1000 men in the Confederat Coloneys besides them alreedy in paye, to bee improved there or as the providence of God may direct to reduce them to reason; And therefore judge it necessary to advife you of our intents in that respect, to intent that you may not only take cair of your fronteer places, but afforde so[me] addition to our numbers, and giue us such assistance by your sloopes and vefells as wee may stand in need of, &c." The new levy was proportioned thus: Mafs. 527, Plym. 158, Conn. 315 = 1000. The actual attendance of troops seems to have been, as follows: from Mafs. 465 foot (in six companies) and 75 horse = 540 men; from Plymouth 158 men (in two companies); from Conn. 450 men (in five companies); making a total of 1148 men from the Confederate Colonies. Besides these, a "considerable number" of recruits joined the expedition from the Rhode-Island Colony. The Army was under command of Gen. Josias Winslow. The Mafs.

troops were officered by Maj. Appleton and Capts. Mofely, Davenport, Gardner, Oliver, Johnson, and Prentice; the Plymouth, by Maj. Bradford and Capt. Gorham; and the Conn. by Maj. Treat and Capts. Seely, Gallup, Mafon, Watts, and Marshall. A partial list of the names of the Mafs. men has been published. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* x: 365, 458; Barry's *Hift. Mafs.* i: 426; Trumbull's *Hift. Conn.* i: 337; Arnold's *Hift. R.-I.* i: 403; *N. E. Gen. Reg.* viii: 241.]

¹²² See note 20, *ante*.

¹²³ "*Reformado*, a reformed Officer, or one whose Company, or Troop, is suppressed in a Reform, and he continued either in whole, or half Pay, he doing Duty in the Regiment. In a ship of war, a Gentleman who serves as a Voluntier, in order to gain Experience, and succeed the principal Officers." [Bailey.]

¹²⁴ As Church's home at Saconet was temporarily broken up, he would seem to have been, in this interval, with his friends at Plymouth, or Duxbury.

¹²⁵ *Richard Smith, jr.*, was the son of Richard, "who left faire Possessions in Glotter Shire" Eng., and was one

Garrifon in the *Narraganfet Country*,¹²⁶ to prepare and provide for the coming of General *Winslow*; who March'd round thro' the Country with his Army, propofing by Night to furprize *Pumham* (a certain *Narraganfet* Sachem) and his Town;¹²⁷ but being aware of the approach of [14] our

of the first fettlers of Taunton, and went to Wickford, R.-I., about 1641, "for his confcience fake (many differences arifing)"; where he built a block-houfe on the great Pequot road, on the fite where the Updike houfe stands, or lately stood, a little to the north of Wickford Hill, in No. Kingftown, R.-I. He was mixed up in the conflict of jurifdiction between Rhode-Ifland and Connecticut, and was appointed Conftable of Wickford by Conn. in 1663; was put under bonds in £400 to anfwer to R.-I. in 1664; 28 Dec., 1665 appears as witness in the Warwick "acquittance"; is faid to have been one of Andros's Council in 1686; was appointed by Andros in that year Justice of the Peace and "Sergeant-major and chief Commander of his Majefty's militia both of horfe and foot within the Narraganfett Country, or Province, and all the Iflands"; died before 1692, when his will was proved, mentioning no wife nor children. Church calls him "Major" now, although he does not appear to have been fo until fome years after this date. [*R.-I. Hift. Coll.* iii: 32, 166, 271; *R.-I. Col. Rec.* iii: 198; Arnold's *Hift. R.-I.* i: 283, 305, 307, 484.]

¹²⁶ Affuming that by "Rehoboth" here is meant Myles's Garrifon (fee note 44, *ante*), the "nearest way over the Ferries" thence to Smith's block-

houfe, would feem to have been through Mount-hope neck to Bristol ferry, thence down Rhode-Ifland to Newport, thence over by ferry to Conanicut, and thence by ftill another ferry to Wickford; — a diftance which I eftimate as a little over 30 miles. The ferries from Newport to Jameftown and from Jameftown to Narraganfett were not indeed formally eftablished by the Affembly until 1700, but they had doubtlefs been running for many years as an irrefponfible individual enterprife. It is poffible that this diftance might, at the date to which the text refers, have been materially fhortened by a route from Bristol Ferry to Prudence, and from thence to Wickford; the latter a diftance of 5 or 6 miles by water. The remark about "fair winds" which follows, perhaps favors this latter fuppofition; and, at any rate, feems to fettle it that Church did not go round by Seekonk, Providence, Pawtuxet and Apponaug Ferries, — neither of which was wide enough to make a fair wind of much confequence in croffing. This latter was clearly however the route of the army, who made a detour from it in the vain hope of catching *Pumham* at his village in Warwick. [*R.-I. Col. Rec.* iii: 406, 415.]

¹²⁷ *Pumham* (*Pomham*) was Sachem of *Shawomet* (*Shaomet*), the neck that

Army made their escape into the defarts. But Mr. *Church* meeting with fair Winds arriv'd safe at the Major's Garrison in the evening.¹²⁸ And soon began to inquire after the Enemies Reforts, Wigwams or Sleeping Places; and having gain'd some intelligence, he propos'd to the *Eldridges*,¹²⁹ and some other brisk hands, that he met with, to attempt the Surprizing of some of the Enemy to make a Present of to the General, when he should arrive: which might advantage his design; being brisk blades, they readily comply'd with the motion, and were soon upon their March. The Night was very cold, but bless'd with the *Moon*; before the day broke they effected their exploit, and by the rising of the Sun arrived at the Major's Garrison, where they met the General and presented him with Eighteen of the Enemy, they had Captiv'd. The General

projects into Narragansett Bay, having Providence River on the east, and Coweset Bay on the south and west, it being the eastern portion of the town of Warwick, R.-I. The name is perhaps from *pummu*, "he shoots"; *pumwaen*, *pum-muaen*, "one who shoots." With reduplicative — *pe-pumwaen*, "an archer" (Eliot). Or perhaps, from *pummoh-ham*, "he goes by water" (goes in boats). Eliot uses the derivative, *pummohhamwaenuog* (pl.) for "mariners" (Jonah, i: 5.). The position of the Shomet or Warwick Indians favors this etymology.

¹²⁸ The evening of Saturday, 11 Dec., 1675. [*R.-I. Hist. Coll.* iii: 83.]

¹²⁹ There were three *Eldridges* (or *Eldreds*), Samuel, James, and Thomas,

in Wickford, R.-I., in 1670; as is proven by their names attached to a coroner's jury verdict, dated July 14, of that year. In 1679, the names of John and Samuel are attached to a petition to the king. In 1692, Thomas was *Lieut.*, and John, *Ensign*; and in 1702, Daniel was *Captain*. Samuel was Constable under appointment of Conn. in the boundary troubles of 1670, and thereabouts, and was committed to jail by the R.-I. authorities for attempting to act for Conn. in an arrest for murder. Savage suggests that Samuel (of Cambridge in 1646) was the father of at least some of them, adding that Samuel (the son) was at Rochester in 1688. [*R.-I. Col. Rec.* ii: 344; iii: 60, 287, 461; *R.-I. Hist. Coll.* iii: 73; *Gen. Dict.* ii: 107.]

pleas'd with the exploit, gave them thanks, particularly to Mr. *Church*, the mover and chief actor of the business; and sending two of them (likely Boys) a present to *Boston*; smiling on Mr. *Church*, told him, *That he made no doubt but his Faculty would supply them with Indian Boys enough before the War was ended.*

Their next move¹³⁰ was to a Swamp which the *Indians* had Fortified with a Fort.¹³¹ Mr. *Church* rid in the Gen-

¹³⁰ Other authorities show that a week elapsed between the evening of the exploit above related and the swamp fight to which Church now refers. The Mafs. and Plym. troops arrived on the evening of the 12th. On the 14th, two forays were made upon the enemy, and nine Indians were killed, twelve captured, and 150 wigwams burned. On the 15th, several stragglers from the main body of the English were cut off. On the 16th, Capt. Prentice with his troop of horse went to Bull's Garrison at *Pettaquamscut* (on Tower Hill, in So. Kingstown, R.-I.), and returned with the news that the Indians had burned it, and killed 10 men and 5 women and children. On the 17th, the Connecticut troops arrived at Bull's. On the 18th, the Mafs. and Plym. forces joined them at *Pettaquamscut* at 5 P.M. They all then marched forward in the snow, and camped out that night; starting again at break of day on Sunday the 19th, and about 1 P.M. reached the edge of the swamp in which was the Indian fort. [Hubbard's *Narrative*, 50; *R.-I. Hist. Coll.* iii: 83.]

¹³¹ This swamp is situated in the north-west portion of the town of South King-

town, R.-I., very near the line of Richmond, — less than a mile north-west from the track of the Providence and Stonington R.R., — on the farm of J. G. Clarke, Esq., and not far from the house of Judge W. Marchant. Dr. Stiles states that it "is about seven miles nearly due west from Narraganset South Ferry." On this, Judge Davis comments: "It is apprehended there is an error in the statement of the distance of the fort from the South Ferry. *Seventeen* miles, instead of *seven*, would be more consistent with the accounts given of the marches of the army, by cotemporary historians." But the identification of the locality is complete, and by the road it is nearly *ten* miles from the Ferry. The explanation of the distance named by cotemporaries is partly that the return route lay not to the Ferry, but to Smith's garrison in Wickford, the site of which is distant (by way of Bull's on Tower Hill,) scarcely less than seventeen miles, by the present roads, from the swamp; and more, that the journey followed the winding Indian paths, and was accomplished through deep snow and in a night of intense cold. The fort was a stockade enclosing

erals guard when the bloody ingagement began; but being impatient of being out of the heat of the action, importunately beg'd leave of the General that he might run down to the assistance of his friends, the General yielded to his request, provided he could rally some hands to go with him. Thirty Men immediately drew out and followed him: They entred the Swamp and pass'd over the Log, that was the passage into the Fort, where they saw many Men and several Valiant Captains lye flain:¹³² Mr. *Church* spying Capt. *Gardner*¹³³ of *Salem* amidst the Wigwams in

five or six acres of upland in the middle of the swamp by a palifade, which was defended by a hedge "of almost a rod thicknes through which there was no passing, unless they could have fired a way through, which then they had no time to doe." The only regular entrances were along a log which bridged a space of water, and over another log which was defended by a block-house. [Hubbard's *Narrative*, 52; *R.-I. Hist. Coll.* iii: 85; Stiles's ed. *Church*, 29; Davis's *Morton's Memorial*, 433.]

¹³² The accounts vary very much as to the number of killed and wounded. A letter — supposed by Hutchinson to be by Maj. Bradford, but shown by Mr. Drake [*Book of the Indians*, 219] to be by Capt. James Oliver — written a short time after, from the field, and which the writer says he has verified by reading to the officers in his tent, would seem to have the best elements of reliability. It says 8 were left dead in the fort, 12 were carried away dead, and many died by the way, or as soon as brought in; so that they buried the next

day (20 Dec.) 34, the next day 4, and the next day 2. Eight died on Rhode-Island (whither most of the wounded were carried, for care), 1 at *Pettaquamscutt*, and 2 were lost in the woods. He makes the total "about 68" who died, and 150 wounded who recovered. Capts. Johnson, Davenport, Gardner, Seely, Gallup, Marshall, and Mafon were killed, or died of their wounds. [Hutchinson's *Hist. Mafs.*, (ed. 1795), i: 272.] See Drake's *Hist. Boston* [i: 414] for a list of the killed and wounded of the Mafs. quota.

¹³³ *Capt. Joseph Gardner* was son of the first Thomas, of Salem; married Ann, dau. of Emanuel Downing, in 1656; was freeman in 1672; captain of one Salem company in 1674. He owned the fine old house in Salem — standing until 1750 (of which Felt gives an engraving) — known afterward as the "Bradstreet Mansion"; his widow marrying Simon (afterwards Gov.) Bradstreet. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* ii: 228; Felt's *Annals of Salem*, i: 412; ii: 497.]

the East end of the Fort, made towards him, but on a sudden, while they were looking each other in the Face, Capt. *Gardner* settled down, Mr. *Church* step'd to him and seeing the blood run down his cheek, lifted up his Cap, and calling him by his Name; he look'd up in his Face, but spoke not a Word, being Mortally Shot thro' the head; and observing his Wound, Mr. *Church* found the ball entred his head on the side that was next the Upland, where the *English* entred the Swamp. Upon which, having ordered some care to be taken of the Captain, he dispatch'd information to the General that the best and forwardest of his Army that hazarded their lives to enter the Fort, upon the muzzle of the Enemies Guns, were Shot in their backs, and kill'd by them that lay behind. Mr. *Church* with his small Company hasten'd out of the Fort (that the *English* were now possessed of) to get a Shot at the *Indians* that were in the Swamp, & kept firing upon them. He soon met with a broad bloody track, where the Enemy had fled with their Wounded men; following hard in the tract, he soon spy'd one of the Enemy, who clap'd his Gun a-crofs his breast, made towards Mr. *Church*, and beckned to him with his hand; Mr. *Church* immediately commanded [15] no Man to hurt him, hoping by him to have gain'd some intelligence of the Enemy, that might be of advantage; but it unhappily fell out that a Fellow that had lag'd behind coming up, shot down the *Indian*, to Mr. *Church's* great grief and disappointment. But immediately they heard a great shout of the Enemy, which seem'd

to be behind them, or between them and the Fort; and discover'd them running from tree to tree to gain advantages of firing upon the *English* that were in the Fort. Mr. *Churches* great difficulty now was how to discover himself to his Friends in the Fort, using several inventions, till at length gain'd an opportunity to call to, and inform a Serjeant in the Fort, that he was there, and might be expos'd to their Shots, unless they observ'd it. By this time he discover'd a number of the Enemy almost within Shot of him, making towards the Fort; Mr. *Church* and his Company were favoured by a heap of brush that was between them and the Enemy, and prevented their being discover'd to them. Mr. *Church* had given his Men their particular orders for firing upon the Enemy; and as they were rising up to make their Shot, the afore-mentioned Serjeant in the Fort called out to them, *for God's sake not to fire, for he believed they were some of their Friend Indians*;¹³⁴ They clap'd down again, but were soon sensible of the Serjeants mistake. The Enemy got to the top of the Tree, the body

¹³⁴ One hundred and fifty Mohegans and Pequots formed a part of the Conn. forces. Capt. Oliver (note 132, *ante*) does not speak well of them. He says: "Monhegins and Pequods proved very false, fired into the air, and sent word before they came they would do so, but got much plunder, guns and kettles." So Joshua Tift, a renegade Englishman, who had married an Indian wife, and was active in this fight, but was afterwards taken, examined, condemned, and

executed; testified, according to Roger Williams's record, "if the Monhiggins & Pequets had bene true, they might haue destroyed most of the Nahiggonfiks; but the Nahigonfiks parlied with them in the beginning of the fight, so that they promised to shoote high, which they did, & kild not one Nahigonfik man, except against thejr wills." [Trumbull's *Hist. Conn.* i: 337; Hutchinson's *Hist. Mass.* (ed. 1795,) i: 273; 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vi: 308.]

whereof the Serjeant flood upon, and there clap'd down out of fight of the Fort, but all this while never discovered Mr. *Church*, who observed them to keep gathering unto that Place, until there seem'd to be a formidable black heap of them. *Now brave boys* (said Mr. *Church* to his Men) *if we mind our hits, we may have a brave Shot, and let our sign for firing on them, be their rising up to fire into the Fort.* It was not long before the *Indians* rising up as one body, designing to pour a Volley into the Fort. When our *Church* nimbly started up and gave them such a round Volley, and unexpected clap on their backs, that they who escaped with their Lives, were so surprized, that they scampered, they knew not whether themselves; about a dozen of them ran right over the Log into the Fort, and took into a sort of a Hovel that was build with Poles, after the manner of a corn crib. Mr. *Church's* Men having their Catteridges fix'd, were soon ready to obey his order, which was immediately to charge and run on upon the Hovel, and over-set it, calling as he run on to some that were in the Fort to assist him in over-setting of it; they no sooner came to Face the Enemies shelter, but Mr. *Church* discover'd that one of them had found a hole to point his Gun through, right at him; but however encouraged his Company, and ran right on, till he was struck with Three Bullets, one in his Thigh, which was near half of it cut off as it glanced on the joynt of the Hip-bone; another thro' the gatherings of his Breeches and Draws, with a small flesh Wound; a third peirced his Pocket, and

wounded a pair of Mittins, that he had borrowed of Capt. *Prentice*; being wrap'd up together had the mis- [16] fortune of having many holes cut thro' them with one Bullet: But however he made shift to keep on his Legs, and nimbly discharged his Gun at them that wounded him: being disabled now to go a step, his Men would have carried him off, but he forbid their touching of him, until they had perfected their project of over-setting the Enemies shelter; bid them run, *for now the Indians had no Guns charged*. While he was urging them to run on, the *Indians* began to shoot Arrows, and with one peirc'd thro' the Arm of an *English* Man that had hold of Mr. *Churches* Arm to support him. The *English*, in short, were discourag'd, and drew back. And by this time the *English People* in the Fort had began to set fire to the *Wigwams & Houses* in the Fort, which Mr. *Church* laboured hard to prevent; they told him, *They had orders from the General to burn them*; he beg'd them to forbear until he had discours'd the General; and hastning to him, *he beg'd to spare the Wigwams, &c. in the Fort from fire*, told him, *The Wigwams were Musket-proof, being all lin'd with Baskets and Tubbs of Grain, and other Provisions, sufficient to supply the whole Army, until the Spring of the Year;*¹³⁵ *and every wounded Man might have a good warm House to lodge in, which other-ways would necessarily perish with the Storms and Cold. And more-over, that the Army*

¹³⁵ Church's past experience in the nature to urge this consideration upon commissary department had been of a his mind with great force.

had no other Provision to trust unto or depend upon; that he knew that Plymouth Forces had not so much as one Biscake left, for he had seen their last dealt out, &c. The General advising a few Words with the Gentlemen that were about him, Mov'd towards the Fort, desigining to ride in himself, and bring in the whole Army. But just as he was entring the Swamp, one of his Captains¹³⁶ meet him, and asked him, *Whither he was going?* He told him into the Fort; the Captain laid hold of his Horse, and told him, *His Life was worth an hundred of theirs, and he should not expose himself.* The General told him, *That he supposed the brunt was over, and that Mr. Church had inform'd him that the Fort was taken, &c.* And as the case was circumstanced he was of the Mind, that it was most practicable for him, and his Army to shelter themselves in the Fort. The Captain in a great heat, reply'd, *That Church ly'd;* and told the General, *That if he mov'd another step towards the Fort he would shoot his Horse under him.* Then brusled up another Gentleman, a certain Doctor,¹³⁷ and oppos'd Mr. Church's advice, and said, *If it were comply'd with, it*

¹³⁶ Likely to be Captain Mofely, who was a "rough and sanguinary soldier," and whom Hubbard names as very active and serviceable in the fight. [*Narrative*, 54.]

¹³⁷ Church's reticence in regard to names, where censure is implied, is noticeable. No record of the surgeons accompanying this expedition has met my eye. Trumbull says, "the best surgeons which the country could furnish,

were provided." Dr. John Clark, apparently son of Dr. John, who came to Boston from Newbury, and whose picture hangs in the rooms of the Mass. Hist. Soc., was appointed by the Mass. Court, on the 25th Feb. following, "chirurgion for y^e service." Dr. Matthew Fuller (see note 69, *ante*) was, no doubt, still surgeon-general of the Plymouth troops. [*Hist. Conn.* i: 340, *note*; *Mass. Col. Rec.* v: 75.]

would kill more Men than the Enemy had killed; for (said he) by to Morrow the wounded Men will be so stiff that there will be no moving of them: And looking upon Mr. Church, and seeing the blood flowing a pace from his Wounds, told him, *That if he gave such advice as that was, he should bleed to Death like a Dog, before they would endeavour to stench his blood.* Though after they had prevailed against his advice, they were sufficiently kind to him. And burning up all the Houses and Provisions in the Fort; the Army return'd the same Night in the Storm and Cold: And I Suppose every one that is acquainted with the circumstances of that Nights March, deeply laments the miseries that attended them, especially the [17] wounded & dying Men. But it mercifully came to pass that Capt. *Andrew Belcher*¹³⁸ arrived at Mr. *Smiths* that very Night from *Boston*, with a Vessel loaden with Provisions for the Army, who must otherwise have perish'd for want. Some of the Enemy that were then in the Fort have since inform'd us, that near a third of the *Indians* belonging to all that *Narraganset Country* were killed by the *English*, and by the Cold that Night,¹³⁹ that they fled

¹³⁸ See note 52, *ante*. Smith's block-house stood on the cove making up north-westerly from the entrance of what is now called Wickford harbor.

¹³⁹ Hubbard says, on the story of one *Potock*, afterwards taken, that the Indians lost 700 warriors killed, besides 300, most of whom died of their wounds and of exposure, with a number of old men, women, and children, which they

could not estimate. Capt. Oliver says, 300 warriors were slain, and about 350 were taken, with above 300 women and children. The *Conn.* Council wrote to Andros (13 Jan., 1675-6), "about 600 of the Indians, men, women, & children, as is said, are slain." Roger Williams, in his account of the examination of Joshua Tift, says, he said that the Indians "found 97 slain & 48 wounded, beside

out of their Fort ſo haſtily that they carried nothing with them: that if the *English* had kept in the Fort, the *Indians* had certainly been neceſſitated, either to ſurrender themſelves to them, or to have periſhed by Hunger, and the feverity of the Seaſon. Some time after this Fort-fight a certain *Sogkonate Indian* hearing Mr. Church relate the manner of his being wounded, told him, *That he did not know but he himſelf was the Indian that wounded him, for that he was one of that company of Indians that Mr. Church made a Shot upon when they were riſing up to make a Shot into the Fort; they were in number about 60 or 70, that juſt then came down from Pumhams Town, and never before then fired a Gun againſt the English; that when Mr. Church fired upon them he killed 14 dead in the Spot, and wounded a greater number than he killed, many of which dyed afterwards with their wounds, in the Cold and Storm the following Night.*

Mr. Church was mov'd with other wounded men over to *Rhode-Iſland*, where in about a Months time¹⁴⁰ he was in ſome good meaſure recovered of his Wounds, and the Fever that attended them. And then went over to the General to take his leave of him, with a deſign to return home.

what ſlaughter was made in the howſes & by the burning of the howſes, all of which he ſajth were burnt except 5 or 6 thereabouts." [*Narrative*, 54; *Hutchinſon's Hiſt. Maſs.* (ed. 1795), i: 273, note; *Col. Rec. of Conn.* ii: 398; 4 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.* vi: 309.]

¹⁴⁰ Southwick's compoſitors, in copy-

ing the firſt edition, made here the curious blunder of ſubſtituting "three months time" for "a months time," as originally ſet down; and Dr. Stiles did not correct their error, which has been perpetuated in all the editions ſince, and which led Mr. Drake, in his ſecond edition, quite naturally to ſup-

But the Generals great importunity again persuaded him, to accompany him in a long March, into the *Nipmuck* Country,¹⁴¹ tho' he had then Tents in his Wounds, and so Lame as not able to Mount his Horse without two Mens assistance.

In this March the first thing remarkable was, they came to an *Indian Town*,¹⁴² where there were many *Wigwams*

pose that Church here refers to an expedition into the Nipmuck country in *March, 1676*, which no other chronicler had noticed. As Church dictated his narrative, the chronology was correct. The fight was on the 19th of December. It was probably several days after that date before Church, with the wounded, was got over to Rhode-Island. The Conn. forces soon went home to recruit, but the Mass. and Plym. troops remained in garrison at Wickford, and were re-enforced from Boston, Jan. 10. The Conn. forces (see Maj. Palmes's letter, *Conn. Col. Rec.* ii: 402) appear to have reached Wickford again, 27 Jan., when the whole army seems to have started for the Nipmuck country (whither the enemy were understood to have fled), 1600 strong. This corresponds, very accurately, with the month's interval of which Church speaks, if he accompanied Gov. Winflow on this first march, in force, from Wickford. Hubbard's account implies that our men started from Wickford, 27 Jan. [Hubbard's *Narrative*, 58, 60; Arnold's *Hist. R.-I.* i: 406; Drake's *Church*, 65.]

¹⁴¹ *Nipmuck* [*Nipnet*] was a name given to the petty tribes, or clans, of inland Indians scattered over a large

extent of country, in Windham and Tolland Counties in Connecticut, Worcester and Hampden Counties in Massachusetts, and the northern part of Rhode-Island; but their principal seat was at, or near, the great ponds in Oxford (Webster), Mass. From these ponds they probably derived their name of "Pond" or "Fresh-water" (*nippe, nip*) Indians. If the two names, or forms of the name, are not identical in origin, *Nipnet* belongs to the territory, i.e. "at the fresh-water pond"; *Nipmuck*, to the tribe, (*nip-amaug*) "they fish in fresh water"; but possibly "a fresh water fishing-place." This distinguished them from the *Shore* Indians, and the *River* Indians of the Connecticut Valley; their neighbors on the west. *Suipic* (corrupted from *Mishenipset*) Pond, in Ellington, Conn., was the bound where the country of the Nipmucks joined that of the *River Indians* on the west, and the *Mohegan* north-west angle.

¹⁴² Supposed to be Pumham's town (see note 127, *ante*) in a rocky swamp in Warwick, R.-I., — Warwick then embracing most of what is now Warwick and Coventry. The distance is stated as 20 miles from Smith's. [Baylies' *Mem. Plym. Col.* iii: 104.]

in fight, but an Icy Swamp lying between them and the *Wigwams*, prevented their running at once upon it as they intended: there was much firing upon each side before they pass'd the Swamp. But at length the Enemy all fled, and a certain *Moohegan* that was a friend *Indian*, pursued and seiz'd one of the Enemy that had a small wound in his Leg, and brought him before the General, where he was examined. Some were for torturing of him to bring him to a more ample confession, of what he knew concerning his Country-men. Mr. *Church* verily believing he had been ingenious in his confession, interceded and prevailed for his escaping torture. But the Army being bound forward in their March, and the *Indians* wound somewhat disabling him for Travelling, 'twas concluded he should be knock'd on the Head: Accordingly he was brought before a great fire, and the *Moohegan* that took him was allowed, as he desired, to be the Executioner. Mr. *Church* taking no delight [18] in the Sport, fram'd an arrant at some distance among the baggage Horses, and when he had got some Ten Rods, or thereabouts from the fire, the Executioner fetching a blow with his Hatchet at the head of the Prisoner, he being aware of the blow, dodged his aside, and the Executioner missing his stroke the Hatchet flew out of his hand, and had like to have done execution where 'twas not design'd. The Prisoner upon his narrow escape broke from them that held him, and notwithstanding his Wound made use of his Legs, and hap'd to run right upon Mr. *Church*, who laid hold on him, and a close

skuffle they had, but the *Indian* having no Clothes on slip'd from him, and ran again, and Mr. *Church* pursued the *Indian*, altho' being *Lame*, there was no great odds in the Race, until the *Indian* stumbled and fell, and they clos'd again, skuffled and fought pretty smartly, until the *Indian* by the advantage of his nakedness slip'd from his hold again, and fet out on his third Race, with Mr. *Church* close at his heels, endeavouring to lay hold on the hair of his Head, which was all the hold could be taken of him; and running thro' a Swamp that was covered with hollow Ice, it made so loud a noise that Mr. *Church* expected (but in vain) that some of his *English* friends would follow the noise, and come to his assistance. But the *Indian* hap'd to run a-thwart a mighty Tree that lay fallen near breast-high, where he stop'd and cry'd out a loud for help; but Mr. *Church* being soon upon him again, the *Indian* seized him fast by the hair of his Head, and endeavouring by twisting to break his Neck; but tho' Mr. *Churches* wounds had some-what weakned him, and the *Indian* a stout fellow, yet he held him well in play, and twisted the *Indians* Neck as well, and took the advantage of many opportunities, while they hung by each others hair gave him notorious bunts in the face with his head. But in the heat of this skuffle they heard the Ice break with some bodies coming a-pace to them, which when they heard, *Church* concluded there was help for one or other of them, but was doubtful which of them must now receive the fatal stroke; anon some body comes up to them, who prov'd to

be the Indian that had first taken the Prisoner. Without speaking a word, he felt them out (for 'twas so dark he could not distinguish them by sight) the one being clothed, and the other naked, he felt where Mr. *Churches* hands were fastned in the Netops¹⁴³ hair, and with one blow fet-tled his Hatchet in between them, and ended the strife. He then spoke to Mr. *Church* and hugg'd him in his Arms, and thank'd him abundantly for catching his Prisoner; and cut off the head of his Victim, and carried it to the Camp, and giving an account to the rest of the friend Indians in the Camp, how Mr. *Church* had seized his Prisoner, &c. they all joyn'd a mighty shout.

Proceeding in this March, they had the success of killing many of the Enemy: until at length their Provision failing, they return'd home.¹⁴⁴

King *Philip* (as was before hinted) was fled to a Place called *Scattacook*, [19] between *York* and *Albany*,¹⁴⁵ where

¹⁴³ *Netop* means "friend"; (plu.) *Netompauog*, "friends." The *n* is the pronoun of the first person; the *o* is nasal. Eliot writes *netomp*, as (Matt. xxvi: 50) *netomp*, *tohwuchpeyauan?* "Friend, why art thou come hither?" The general use of the word by the English was to designate a friendly Indian, an ally. From its constant employment (Roger Williams, [*Key*, chap. 1, *R.-I. Hist. Coll.* i: 27] says "What cheere, *Netop?*") is the general salutation of all English to the Indians) in address, *Netop* came to be used as an appellative for any Indian man, just as *Monsieur* for a Frenchman, or *Hans* or *Mynheer*

for a Dutchman. In this looser sense it is used here.

¹⁴⁴ Hubbard says, "our Forces, having pursued them into the woods between *Marlborough* and *Brookfield* in the Road toward *Connecticut*, were constrained to turn down to *Boston*, in the beginning of *February*, for want of provision, both for themselves and their horses." Mather says, "So then, February 5, the Army returned to *Boston*, not having obtained the end of their going forth." [*Narrative*, 60; *Brief Hist.* 22.]

¹⁴⁵ *Schaghticoke* is on the Hoosic and Hudson Rivers, 12 miles from Troy.

the *Moohags*¹⁴⁶ made a descent upon him and killed many of his Men, which moved him from thence.

His next kennelling Place was at the falls of Connecticut River,¹⁴⁷ where sometime after Capt. *Turner*¹⁴⁸ found him, came upon him by Night, kill'd him a great many

The Pincheon papers say "the Scata-kook or River Indians, most of them, were fugitives from New England in the time of Philip's war." [2 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* viii: 244.]

¹⁴⁶ Increase Mather says, "We hear that *Philip* being this winter entertained in the *Mohawks* Country, Made it his design to breed a quarrel between the *English* and them; to effect which, divers of our returned Captives do report that he resolved to kill some scattering *Mohawks*, & then to say that the *English* had done it; but one of those whom he thought to have killed was only wounded, and got away to his Country men, giving them to understand that not the *English* but *Philip* had killed the Men that were Murdered, so that instead of bringing the *Mohawks* upon the *English*, he brought them upon himself." Judd says this "does not deserve the least credit." [*Brief History*, 38; *Hist. Hadley*, 182.]

¹⁴⁷ The great falls in the Connecticut River, near where the towns of Montague, Gill, and Greenfield meet, which Dr. Hitchcock thought the finest in New England. Unable to plant as usual, the Indians were driven to avail themselves more of fish; and no spot in the country offered such shad-fishing as this. [*Geology of Mafs.* 275; Hoyt's *Antiq. Researches*, 127.]

¹⁴⁸ *William Turner*, of Dartmouth, Eng., then of Dorchester, 1642, freeman, 10 May, 1643, removed to Boston, was "by trade a tailor," and was one of the founders of the first Baptist Church in 1665. Early in Philip's war, "he gathered a company of volunteers, but was denied a commission, and discouraged because the chief of the company were Anabaptists. Afterwards, when the war grew more general and destructive, and the country in very great distress, having divers towns burnt, and many men slain, then he was desired to accept a commission. He complained it was too late, his men on whom he could confide being scattered; however was moved to accept." He marched "as Captain, under Maj. Savage as chief commander," to relieve the western towns. 19 May, 1676, with 180 men, he surprised the Indians at these falls and killed from 130 to 180, but on his return was killed, with 38 of his men. He married Mary, widow of Key Allop; though he seems to have had another wife—perhaps named Frances. His will, dated 10 Feb., 1676, mentions children. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* iv: 348; Backus's *Hist. New Eng.* i: 423; Hoyt's *Antiq. Researches*, 128. Holland's *Hist. Western Mafs.* i: 121; Judd's *Hist. Hadley*, 163, 171; Benedict's *Hist. Bapt.* i: 384.]

Men, and frighted many more into the River, that were hurl'd down the falls and drowned.

Philip got over the River, and on the back side of the *Wetufet-hills*¹⁴⁹ meets with all the Remnants of the *Narraganfet* and *Nipmuck Indians*, that were there gathered together, and became very numerous; and made their descent on *Sudbury*, and the Adjacent Parts of the Country, where they met with and swallowed up Valiant Capt. *Wadsworth*¹⁵⁰ and his Company, and many other doleful defolations, in those Parts.¹⁵¹ The News whereof coming to *Plymouth*, and they expecting probably the Enemy would soon return again into their Colony: The Council of War were called together;¹⁵² and Mr. *Church* was sent

¹⁴⁹ Wachufett (*Watchoffuck*) Mountain in Princeton, Mass. The word means " [the country] about the mountain."

¹⁵⁰ *Samuel Wadsworth*, youngest son of Christopher, of Duxbury, was born about 1630; was freeman 1668; married Abigail, dau. of James Lindall of Marthfield, and was father of Benjamin, Minister of the First Church, Boston, and ninth President of Harvard College; he was the first Captain of militia in Milton, was distinguished in Philip's war, and was cut off, with his Lieut. and "about thirty" of his men, in this Sudbury fight. The portion of Sudbury which was attacked is now Wayland. See the *New-England Hist. and Gen. Register*, vii: 221, and Hudfon's *Hist. Marlborough*, 75, for a discussion of the true date of this struggle. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iv: 380.]

¹⁵¹ Col. Church was here obviously confused in his order of remembrance of events which had become distant when he dictated this narrative. The attack on Sudbury took place, and Capt. Wadsworth and his company were "swallowed up" on the 21st of April, 1676, nearly a month before the Falls fight, while the Plymouth Council of War — which, by what follows, assembled before Rehoboth fell, on the 26th and 28th March, of the same year — must have been called together more than a month before the Sudbury massacre. The tidings which alarmed the Colonists and convoked the Council, must evidently have been those of the surprize of Lancaster on the 10th, and of the burning of Medfield on the 21st of February.

¹⁵² By the records, it appears that the Plymouth Council of War met on the 29th Feb. and the 7th and 10th March.

for to them, being observed by the whole Colony to be a Person extraordinarily qualify'd for and adapted to the Affairs of War. Twas propos'd in Council that least the Enemy in their return should fall on *Rehoboth*, or some other of their Out-Towns, a Company consisting of 60 or 70 Men should be sent in to those Parts; and Mr. *Church* invited to take the Command of them. He told them, *That if the Enemy returned into that Colony again, they might reasonably expect that they would come very numerous; and that if he should take the Command of Men, he should not lye in any Town or Garrison with them, but would lye in the Woods as the Enemy did: And that to send out such small Companies against such Multitudes of the Enemy that were now Mustered together, would be but to deliver so many Men into their hands, to be destroyed, as the Worthy Capt. Wadsworth and his Company were.* His advice upon the whole was, That if they sent out any Forces, to send not less than 300 Souldiers; and that the other Colonies should be ask'd to send out their *Quota's* also; adding, *That if they intended to make an end of the War, by subduing the En-*

The meeting of the 29th Feb. was at Marshfield, and would appear to be that of which Church here speaks. My reason for fixing upon that of this date is, that this is the nearest date to the Medfield alarm, and that one conclusion at which this session arrived was to order "20 or 30 of the Southern Indians" to go forth "with the other (i.e. white Colonists) whoe are under press" under the command of Capt.

Michael Pierce and Lieut. Samuell Fuller. Had it been *already* determined by the Council to send out friend Indians, they would hardly have "thought it no wayes advifable," as Church says they did when he talked with them. It is more likely that his arguments on this occasion led them to change their former policy in that respect, and pass this vote before they separated. [*Plym. Col. Rec. v: 187.*]

emy, they must make a business of the War, as the Enemy did; and that for his own part, he had wholly laid aside all his own private business and concerns, ever since the War broke out. He told them, That if they would send forth such Forces as he should direct to, he would go with them for Six weeks March, which was long enough for Men to be kept in the Woods at once; and if they might be sure of Liberty to return in such a space, Men would go out chearfully. And he would engage 150 of the best Souldiers should immediately List Voluntarily to go with him, if they would please to add 50 more; and 100 of the Friend Indians; and with such an Army he made no doubt but he might do good Service; but on other terms he did not incline to be concern'd.

Their reply was, That they were already in debt, and so big an Army would bring such charge upon them, that they should never be able to pay.¹⁵³ And as for sending

¹⁵³ The Council, at its 10th March session, assigned lands at *Showamett* (Warwick, R.-I.) to the supposed value of £500, at *Affonett* neck (Freetown) to the value of £200, at *Affawampsett* (around the pond in Middleborough) to the value of £200, and about *Agawam* and *Sepécan* (in Wareham, and what is now Marion) to the value of £100, to be divided to the foldiers; “*noe way att p'sent appeering to raise monneys.*” They, at the same time, further laid a rate of £1000. upon the eleven towns of the Colony, “to be payed in clothing, provisions, or cattle, att mony prife; an indifferent good, ordinary cow being to be vallued at 45s. and

other cattle according to that proportion, for the payment of such of the souldiers whose needy condition may call for other supplyes more fuitable for their families then lands,” &c. The following list of the proportions of the several towns in this rate has interest as indicating their then relative size. I add their several proportions of a “*preffe*” of 300 men, on the 29th March following.

	£	s.	d.	Men.
Plymouth . . .	99	03	06	. . 30
Duxbury . . .	46	11	10	. . 16
Bridgewater . . .	46	11	10	. . 16
Scituate . . .	165	09	00	. . 50
Taunton . . .	92	13	06	. . 30

out *Indians*, they thought it no wayes advifable, and in fhort, none of his advice practicable. [20]

Now Mr. *Churches* Confort, and his then only Son were till this time remaining at *Duxborough*, and his fearing their fafety there (unlefs the War were more vigorously ingaged in) refolved to move to *Rhode-Ifland*; ¹⁵⁴ tho' it was much oppofed both by the Government, and by Relations. But at length, the Governour confidering that he might be no lefs Serviceable by being on that fide of the Colony, gave his permit, ¹⁵⁵ and wifh'd he had Twenty more as good Men to fend with him.

Then preparing for his Removal, he went with his fmall Family to *Plymouth* to take leave of their Friends; where

	£	s.	d.	Men.
Sandwich . . .	92	13	06	28
Yarmouth . . .	74	15	06	26
Barnftable . . .	99	03	06	30
Marthfield . . .	75	08	00	26
Rehoboth . . .	136	19	00	30
Eastham . . .	66	16	06	18

fide, to prevent any invafion from the main. [*R.-I. Hijf. Coll.* v: 165; *R.-I. Col. Rec.* ii: 535; *Arnold's Hijf. R.-I.* i: 409.]

¹⁵⁵ The Plymouth Council of War, at the feffion of 29 Feb., 1675-6, paffed an order that "whereas great damage and prejudice may acrew, &c. all the inhabitants feated in this gou'ment fhall and doe abide in each towne of this colonie to which hee belongs, and not depart the fame on p'ill of forfeiting the whole p'fonall eftate of each one that fhall foe doe to the collonies vfc, except it be by the fpeciall order or allowance of the Gou', or any two of the other majeftrates, &c." This was to prevent the inhabitants of the Colony from removing for prefent fafety to places from which they might not afterward return; to the Colony's detriment. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 185.]

Rehoboth was probably lightly rated in foldiers on account of the loffes which it had met with, after this affeffment of money and before the "preffe" for men. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 191-3.]

¹⁵⁴ At firft glance it feems ftrange to think of removing from the very heart of the old fettlements to a poft then furrrounded by hostile *Indians*, for greater fafety. But it muft be remembered that the infular pofition of *Rhode-Ifland* rendered it comparatively feure; in addition to which that Colony employed four row-boats (*Arnold* fays *floops*), to be constantly on the lookout, on every

they met with his Wives Parents, who much perfwaded that She might be left at Mr. *Clarks* Garrison,¹⁵⁶ (which they fupposed to be a mighty fafe Place) or at leaft that She might be there until her foon expected lying-inn was over (being near her time.) Mr. *Church* no ways inclining to venture her any longer in thofe Parts, and no arguments prevailing with him, he refolutely fet out for *Taunton*, and many of their Friends accompanied them. There they found Capt. *Peirce*,¹⁵⁷ with a commanded Party, who offered Mr. *Church* to fend a Relation of his with fome others to guard him to *Rhode-Ifland*. But Mr. *Church* thank'd him for his Refpectful offer, but for fome good reafons refus'd to accept it. In fhort, they got fafe

¹⁵⁶ *Clark's Garrison* was fituated about three miles fouth-eaft from the village of Plymouth, on the weft bank of the Eel River, almoft againft the point of junction of Plymouth Beach with the main land, and, perhaps three-quarters of a mile inland from that junction; very near to the fite of the houfe for many years occupied by the late Rev. B. Whitmore. It was deftroyed on Sunday, 12 March, 1676; "Miftris Sarah Clarke" and ten other perfons being killed. The outrage was committed by Taton and ten other Indians, of whom five were brought in and executed at Plymouth. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 204-6.] This was the only ferious attack made on Plymouth by the natives.

¹⁵⁷ Capt. *Michael Peirce* was at Hingham in 1646; in 1647 purchafed lands

in the Conihaffet grant (Scituate); was in the Narraganfett fight, previous to which, he made his will, beginning thus: "Being, by the appointment of God, going out to war againft the Indians, I do ordain this my laft will, &c.;" was put in command, early in 1676, of 63 Englifhmen and 20 friendly Indians. They were to rendezvous at Plymouth, on Wednefdays, the 8th March, and probably reached Taunton on the afternoon of the next day, March 9th, where Mr. *Church* now found him. On the 26th of the fame month he was killed, with 51 of his Englifh, and 11 of his Indian fouldiers, at Rehoboth, by an overwhelming force of the enemy. He had had two wives, and ten children. [*Deane's Hift. Scit.* 325; *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 187; *Blifs's Hift. Rehoboth*, 91.]

to Capt. *John Almy's* house¹⁵⁸ upon *Rhode-Island*, where they met with friends and good entertainment. But by the way, let me not forget this remarkable Providence. *viz.* That within Twenty-four hours, or thereabouts,¹⁵⁹ after their arrival at *Rhode-Island*, Mr. *Clarks* Garrifon that Mr. *Church* was so much importuned to leave his Wife and Child at, was destroyed by the Enemy.

Mr. *Church* being at present disabled from any particular Service in the War, began to think of some other employ; but he no sooner took a tool to cut a small stick, but he cut off the top of his Fore finger, and the next to it, half off; upon which he smilingly said, That he thought he was out of his way, to leave the War; and resolved he would to War again. Accordingly his Second Son¹⁶⁰ being born on the 12th of *May* and his Wife & Son like to do well, Mr. *Church* imbraces the opportunity of a passage

¹⁵⁸ See note 4, *ante*. After considerable research, I had failed to secure proof fixing the spot of Capt. Almy's residence, but from all the probabilities of the case had decided that he must have lived on the eastern shore of Portsmouth, R.-I., somewhere between M'Carry's Point on the north and Sandy Point on the south, opposite Punkatees neck. I have now, by the kindness of Judge W. R. Staples, received, from Mr. Richard Sherman, who was Town Clerk of Portsmouth for nearly half a century, a note in which he says: "I have been informed by old persons now deceased, that one Capt. John Almy lived in a house near

what was called Fogland, or Codman's ferry, and at that time kept a house of entertainment, &c." This endorses my supposition, as Fogland ferry connects Punkatees neck with Portsmouth, midway between the points above named. (See notes 86 and 91, *ante*.)

¹⁵⁹ This settles the date of this arrival as 11-13 March, 1676. Probably Church left Plymouth with his family on Wednesday or Thursday, the 8th or 9th, and reached Almy's on Saturday, the 11th, the day before Clark's Garrifon was burned.

¹⁶⁰ *Constant*, who became a Captain under his father in some of his later expeditions.

in a Sloop bound to *Barnstable*; who landed him at *Sogkoneffet*,¹⁶¹ from whence he rid to *Plymouth*; arrived there on the first Tuesday in *June*:¹⁶² The General Court then sitting,¹⁶³ welcom'd him, told him they were glad to see him Alive. He reply'd, He was as glad to see them Alive, for he had seen so many fires and smokes towards their side of the Country since he left them, that he could scarce eat or sleep with any comfort, for fear they had been all destroyed. For all Travelling was stop'd, and no News had pass'd for a long time together. He gave them account, that the *Indians* had made horrid desolations at *Providence*, *Warwick*, *Petuxit*, and all over the *Narraganset* Country,¹⁶⁴ & that they prevailed daily against the *English* on that side of the Country. Told them, he long'd to hear what Methods they design'd in the War. [21] They told him, They were particularly glad that Providence had brought him there at that juncture: For they had concluded the very next day to send out an Army of 200 Men, two third *English*, and one third *Indians*, in some measure agreeable to his former proposal; expecting *Boston* and *Connecticut*

¹⁶¹ *Sogkoneffet* (*Sachoneffit*, *Sugkones*, *Succoneffit*, *Succoneffit*, &c.) was the general name applied to the township of Falmouth, Mass., in the early records. The word appears to be a diminutive from *Sogkonate*. The harbor where Church landed was what is now known as Wood's Hole in Falmouth. This would then be distant probably 35 miles from Plymouth.

¹⁶² 6 June, 1676.

¹⁶³ The "Court of Election" met at Plymouth, on Monday, 5 June, 1676.

¹⁶⁴ Warwick, R.-I., was burned 17 March (so *Hubbard*, 66; *Mather*, 24; *Palfrey's Hist. N. E.* iii: 188; but *Arnold*, i: 408, says March 16, quoting no authority.); Seekonk, or Pawtucket, March 28th, and Providence, March 30th. [See *Davis's Morton's Memorial*, 438; *R.-I. Hist. Coll.* v: 166.]

to joyn with their *Quota's*.¹⁶⁵ In short, It was so concluded. And that Mr. *Church* should return to the *Island*, and see what he could Muster there, of those that had mov'd from *Swanzey, Dartmouth, &c.*¹⁶⁶ So returning the same way he came; when he came to *Sogkoneffet*, he had a sham put upon him, about a Boat he had bought to go home in; and was forced to hire two of the friend Indians to paddle him in a Canoo from *Elzabeths*¹⁶⁷ to *Rhode-Island*.

It fell out that as they were in their Voyage passing by *Sogkonate-point*,¹⁶⁸ some of the Enemy were upon the

¹⁶⁵ The vote was thus: "Vpon consideration of the necessitie of sending forth some forces, to be, by the heelp of God, a meanes of our safety and preservation, the Court came to a conclusion and doe heerby voate, that one hundred and fifty English, and fifty Indians, be with the best speed that may be raised and provided and sent forth towards the frontiere p'tes of this collonie, to be vpon motion to scout to and frow for the safety of the collonie; the time appointed of sending forth is on Weddensday, the 21st of this instant June, 1676." [*Plym. Col. Rec. v: 197.*]

¹⁶⁶ The General Assembly of R.-I. voted, 13 March, 1675-6: "Wee finde this Collony is not of ability to maintaine sufficient garrisons for the security of our out Plantations. Therefore, we thinke and judge it most safe for the inhabitants to repaire to this Island, which is the most securest." Some of

those Plymouth Colonists who resided near, seem to have availed themselves of this suggestion, and taken refuge on the Island. [*R.-I. Col. Rec. ii: 533.*]

¹⁶⁷ The Elizabeth Islands, with very narrow channels between them, stretch south-west from Falmouth nearly seventeen miles; dividing Buzzard's Bay above them from Vineyard Sound below them. The distance from Falmouth to Rhode-Island, following the southern shore of these islands, then bearing away for Saconet Point, and round that straight to the nearest point of Rhode-Island, is about 35 miles.

¹⁶⁸ *Saconet Point* is the farthest south-western extremity of Little Compton, R.-I. The rocks on which these Indians were fishing were, most likely, those of the ledge known as "Onion rock," a few feet off from the Point; now accessible at low water, and then, doubtless, joined to the main by a sand-hill since worn away. A canoe, pad-

Rocks a fishing; he bid the *Indians* that managed the Canoo to paddle so near to the Rocks as that he might call to those *Indians*; told them, That he had a great mind ever since the War broke out to speak with some of the *Sogkonate Indians*, and that they were their Relations, and therefore they need not fear their hurting of them. And he added, *That he had a mighty conceit that if he could gain a fair Opportunity to discourse them, that he could draw them off from Philip, for he knew they never heartily loved him.* The Enemy hollowed and made signs for the Canoo to come to them: But when they approach'd them they skulked and hid in the cliffs of the Rocks; then Mr. *Church* ordered the Canoo to be paddled off again, leaft if he came too near they should fire upon him. Then the *Indians* appearing again, beckn'd and call'd in the *Indian* Language, and bid them come a-shore, they wanted to speak with them. The *Indians* in the Canoo answered them again; but they on the Rocks told them, That the

dling for Rhode-Island from the Vineyard Sound, in smooth water (and it could make the passage in no other), would head from the south-western extremity of Cuttyhunk obliquely across the entrance of Buzzard's Bay, straight toward Saconet Point, and in rounding that Point would go inside of both East and West islands into the "East Passage." This would bring it, inevitably, within a short distance of the rocks here described. Many tautog are still yearly caught from them.

Hubbard, through ignorance of the

localities, has made some curious blunders in his version of this occurrence. He says: "It hapened that the said Capt. *Church*, some time in *June* last, viz. of this present year, 1676, passing over in a Canoo from *Pocasset* to *Road-Island*, as he used frequently to do (having had much employment upon the said Neck of Land, so called) several Indians whom he had known before at *Lakenham* (a village on *Pocasset side*) beckned to him, as if they had a mind to speak with him, &c. &c." [*Narrative*, 104.]

furf made fuch a noife againft the Rocks, they could not hear any thing they faid.¹⁶⁹ Then Mr. *Church* by figns with his hands, gave to underftand, That he would have two of them go down upon the point of the beach (a place where a Man might fee who was near him¹⁷⁰) accordingly two of them ran a-long the beach, and met him there; without their Arms, excepting that one of them had a Lance in his hand; they uged Mr. *Church* to come a-fhore for they had a great defire to have fome difcourfe with him; He told them, if he that had his weapon in his hand would carry it up fome diftance upon the beach and leave it, he would come a-fhore and difcourfe them: He did fo, and Mr. *Church* went a-fhore, halled up his Canoo, ordered one of his *Indians* to ftay by it, and the other to walk above on the beach, as a Sentinel to fee that the Coafts were clear. And when Mr. *Church* came up to the *Indians*, one of them happened to be honeft *George*,¹⁷¹ one of the two that *Awafhonks* formerly fent to call him to her Dance, and was fo careful to guard him back to his Houfe again; the laft *Sogkonate Indian* he fpoke with before the War broke out; he fpoke *Engliffh* very well.

¹⁶⁹ This is ftill the cafe, even in a calm day when there are no furface waves which would fwamp a canoe; as the northward ground-fwell rolls in here without obftruction from the broad Atlantic through the opening of near fifty miles, between Block Ifland and Martha's Vineyard. During and after a ftorm, the furf is fublime.

¹⁷⁰ Two or three "points" will read-

ily occur to one familiar with this fpot as now fuitable for the ufe which *Church* here propofed; but the abrafiion of the forms of almoft 200 years has, unqueftionably, fo changed all the configuration of the fand fpts, that none of them now remain exactly as then, though it has fcarcely modified the rocks themfelves.

¹⁷¹ See note 13, *ante*.

[22] Mr. *Church* asked him where *Awashonks* was? he told him in a Swamp about three Miles off.¹⁷² Mr. *Church* again asked him, What it was he wanted that he hollowed and called him a-shore? he answered, That he took him for *Church* as soon as he heard his Voice in the Canoo, and that he was very glad to see him alive, and he believed his Mistrifs would be as glad to see him, and speak with him; he told him further, That he believed she was not fond of maintaining a War with the *English*; and that she had left *Philip*, and did not intend to return to him any more; he was mighty earnest with Mr. *Church* to tarry there while he would run and call her: but he told him no; for he did not know but the *Indians* would come down and kill him before he could get back again; he said, if *Mount-hope* or *Pocasset Indians* could catch him, he believed they would knock him on the head: But all *Sogkonate Indians* knew him very well, and he believed would none of them hurt him. In short, Mr. *Church* refused then to tarry, but promised that he would come over again, and speak with *Awashonks*, and some other *Indians* that he had a mind to talk with.

Accordingly he appointed him to notify *Awashonks*, her

¹⁷² This was *Tompe* Swamp (so called in the Proprietors' Records) on an upland mound in which, the favorite headquarters of this Squaw-fachem seem to have been. It is that swamp through which what is called the "fwamp road" passes, in crossing from the road from

Saconet Point to Tiverton, to the road from the Town farm to the Commons. The house of Mr. Gray Wilbor is probably now the nearest dwelling to the site of this lair of *Awashonks*. I am told that an old Indian burying-ground is still traceable in that vicinity.

Son *Peter*, their Chief Captain, and one *Nompash*¹⁷³ (an *Indian* that Mr. *Church* had formerly a particular respect for) to meet him two dayes after, at a Rock at the lower end of Capt. *Richmonds* Farm; which was a very noted place;¹⁷⁴ and if that day should prove Stormy, or Windy, they were to expect him the next moderate day.¹⁷⁵ Mr. *Church* telling *George*, that he would have him come with the Persons mentioned, and no more. They giving each other their hand upon it parted, and Mr. *Church* went home,¹⁷⁶ and the next Morning to *New-port*, and informed the Government, what had passed between him and the *Sogkonate Indians*. And desired their permit for him and *Daniel Wilcock*,¹⁷⁷ (a Man that well understood the *Indian*

¹⁷³ *Nompash* (*Numposh*, *Numpus*, *Numpas*) was appointed by Plymouth Court, 1 Nov., 1676, with Petananuet (note 23, *ante*) and another Indian, to have the oversight of the submitted Indians west of Sippican River; and served as Captain of the Saconet Indians in the first Expedition to the Eastward, in 1689. [*Plym. C. R.* v : 215.]

¹⁷⁴ *John Richmond* was one of the original proprietors of Little Compton, and drew the land here referred to in the first division by lot, 10 April, 1674. It is the farm now owned by William H. Chafe, and next north of that of Joseph Brownell. The rock is still in existence, and well known in the neighborhood as "Treaty Rock." It is a dark fine-grained gneiss, lying, like an embedded boulder, in a cultivated field, and evidently a good deal worn down by the attritions of husbandry and the

visits of the curious. It is said that the Indians used to leave traces on it, but few if any of them are now distinguishable. The rock is not immediately on the shore, but well up the ascent of a beautiful slope, not far from 500 paces from the water's edge, and some 30 paces north of the northern boundary of Mr. Brownell's land. The landing opposite to it is, perhaps, a half mile north of what is now known as Church's Point.

¹⁷⁵ Probably because crossing in a canoe — should that be necessary — would be impossible in a day windy enough to raise even the most moderate swell.

¹⁷⁶ That is to Almy's house, near the Portsmouth landing of Fogland ferry. (See note 158, *ante*.)

¹⁷⁷ *Daniel Wilcocks* would seem to be a son of Daniel, who was chosen to the "grand inequest" at Newport by the inhabitants of Portsmouth, R.-I., March

Language) to go over to them. They told him, They thought he was mad, after such Service as he had done, and such dangers that he escaped, now to throw away his Life, for the Rogues would as certainly kill him, as ever he went over; and utterly refused to grant his permit, or to be willing that he should run the risque.

Mr. *Church* told them, *That it had ever been in his thoughts since the War broke out, that if he could discourse the Sogkonate Indians, he could draw them off from Philip, and employ them against him; but could, till now, never have an Opportunity to speak with any of them, and was very lothe to lose it, &c.* At length, they told him, If he would go, it should be only with the two *Indians* that came with him;¹⁷⁸ but they would give him no permit under their hands. He took his leave of them, Resolving to prosecute his design; they told him they were sorry to

13, 1643; in 1678 had £10 granted him on account of a lawfuit from Rhode-Island, by Plymouth Court; in 1679 became one of the purchasers of land at Pocasset; in 1686 (down as "of *Punkoteest*") was bound over in £500 to answer for purchasing land of an Indian contrary to law; and in 1690 was obscurely complained of, in the half-obliterated record, as making a "tumultuous opposition" to Thomas Hinckley's taking possession of a grant of land at Saconet. Whether he was the same Daniel Willcocks who married Elizabeth Cook, of Plymouth, 28 Nov., 1661; who was a proprietor at Saconet, 10 Apr., 1673;

who complained of an outrage of the Sheriff of Bristol County, at Little Compton, in 1695; whose marriage in Rhode-Island, with Mary Wordell, was declared illegal, 23 March, 1696-7, and of whom Bellomont complained, in 1699, as having been convicted of high misdemeanor and fined, and as having made his escape, I cannot determine. Persons of the name still own land at *Punkatees* neck in Tiverton, R.-I. [*R.-I. Col. Rec.* i: 76; ii: 307, 323, 393; *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 261; vi: 30, 202, 245; viii: 23.]

¹⁷⁸ That is, who paddled him from Falmouth.

fee him fo Refolute, nor if he went did they ever expect to fee his face again.

He bought a Bottle of Rhum, and a fmall role of Tobacco, to carry with him, and returned to his Family. The next Morning, being the day ap[23]pointed for the Meeting, he prepared two light Canoo's for the defign, and his own Man, with the two *Indians* for his company. He ufed fuch arguments with his tender, and now almoft broken hearted Wife, from the experience of former prefervations, and the profpect of the great Service he might do, might it pleafe God to fucceed his defign, &c. that he obtained her confent to his attempt; and committing her, his Babes and himfelf to Heavens protection. He fet out, they had from the Shore about a League to paddle;¹⁷⁹ drawing near the place, they faw the *Indians* fetting on the bank, waiting for their coming. Mr. *Church* fent one of the *Indians* a-fhore in one of the Canoo's to fee whither it were the fame *Indians* whom he had appointed to meet him, and no more; and if fo to ftay a-fhore and fend *George* to fetch him. Accordingly *George* came and fetch'd Mr. *Church* a-fhore, while the other Canoo play'd off to fee the event, and to carry tydings if the *Indians* fhould prove falfe.

Mr. *Church* ask'd *George* whether *Awafhonks* and the other *Indians* he appointed to meet him were there? He

¹⁷⁹ It is juft about that diftance from *ante*), to the fhore oppofite Treaty "Sandy Point," juft fouth of the prob- Rock; the courfe being very nearly able fite of Almy's houfe (fee note 158, S.E. by S.

answered they were. He then ask'd him, If there were no more than they whom he appointed to be there? To which he would give him no direct answer. However he went a-shore, where he was no sooner landed, but *Awasshonks* and the rest that he had appointed to meet him there, rose up and came down to meet him; and each of them successively gave him their hands, and expressed themselves glad to see him, and gave him thanks for exposing himself to visit them. They walk'd together about a Gun-shot from the water to a convenient place to sit down.¹⁸⁰ Where at once arose up a great body of *Indians*, who had lain hid in the grafs, (that was as high as a Mans waste) and gathered round them, till they had clos'd them in; being all arm'd with Guns, Spears, Hatchets, &c. with their hair trim'd and faces painted, in their Warlike appearance. It was doubtless some-what surprizing to our Gentleman at first, but without any visible discovery of it, after a small silent pause on each side, He spoke to *Awasshonks*, and told her, *That George had inform'd him that she had a desire to see him, and discourse about making peace with the English.* She answered, Yes. Then said Mr. Church, *It is customary when People meet to treat of Peace to lay aside their Arms, and not to appear in such Hostile form as your People do:* desired of her that if they might talk about Peace, which he desired they might, *Her men might lay aside their Arms, and appear more treatable.*

¹⁸⁰ Doubtless to the rock itself, which, from 1200 to 1300 feet — from the as I have said, is about 500 paces — or beach.

Upon which there began a considerable noise and murmur among them in their own Language. Till *Awashonks* ask'd him, What Arms they should lay down, and where? He (perceiving the *Indians* look'd very furly, and much displeas'd) Replied, *Only their Guns at some small distance, for formality sake.* Upon which with one consent they laid aside their Guns, and came and sat down.

Mr. *Church* pulled out his Callebath¹⁸¹ and asked *Awashonks*, *Whether she had [24] lived so long at Wetuset,*¹⁸² *as to forget to drink Occapechees;*¹⁸³ and drinking to her, he perceived that she watch'd him very diligently, to see (as he thought) whether he swallowed any of the Rhum; he offered her the Shell, but she desired him to drink again first, He then told her, *There was no poison in it,* and pouring some into the Palm of his hand, sup'd it up, and took the Shell and drank to her again, and drank a good Swig which indeed was no more than he needed. Then they all standing up, he said to *Awashonks*, *You wont drink for fear there should be poison in it:* And then handed it to a little ill look'd fellow, who catched it readily enough, and as greedily would have swallowed the Liquor when he had it at his mouth; But Mr. *Church* catch'd him by the throat and took it from him, asking him, *Whether he*

¹⁸¹ A gourd vessel, or drinking cup, made of some tough shell; which, in those days, when pottery was costlier than now, was in common use. They were, in the last generation, often made of a cocoa-nut shell.

¹⁸² *Wachusett*, where Philip and his

Indians had been gathered. (See note 149, *ante*.)

¹⁸³ *Occapeches* is a diminutive from *occapé*, or, as Eliot wrote it, *Onkuppe*, "strong drink." It means, therefore, "little strong drinks," "drams." (*Abnaki*, "á'k8bi, *eau de vie*, *Rafles*.)

intended to swallow Shell and all? And then handed it to *Awashonks*, she ventured to take a good hearty dram, and pass'd it among her Attendants.

The Shell being emptied, he pulled out his Tobacco, and having distributed it, they began to talk.

Awashonks demanded of him, the Reason why he had not (agreeable to his promise when she saw him last) been down at *Sogkonate* before now; Saying that probably if he had come then according to his promise, they had never joyned with *Philip* against the *English*.

He told her he was prevented by the Wars breaking out so suddenly. And yet, he was afterwards coming down, & came as far as *Punkateese*, where a great many *Indians* set upon him, and fought him a whole afternoon, tho' he did not come prepared to fight, had but Nineteen Men with him, whose chief design was to gain an Opportunity to discourse some *Sogkonate Indians*. Upon this there at once arose a mighty Murmur, confused noise, & talk among the fierce look'd Creatures, and all rising up in an hubbub; and a great furly look'd fellow took up his *Tomhog*, or wooden *Cutlash*, to kill Mr. *Church*, but some others prevented him.

The Interpreter asked Mr. *Church*, if he understood what it was that the great fellow (they had hold of) said? He answered him, No. Why, said the Interpreter, He says, you killed his Brother at *Punkateese*, and therefore he thirsts for your blood. Mr. *Church* bid the Interpreter tell him that his Brother began first: That if he had kept at

Sogkonate according to his desire and order, he should not have hurt him.

Then the chief Captain commanded *Silence*, and told them, That they should talk no more about old things, &c. and quell'd the tumult, so that they sat down again, and began upon a discourse of making Peace with the *English*. Mr. *Church* ask'd them, *What Proposals they would make, and on what terms they would break their League with Philip?* Desiring them to make some Proposals that he might carry to his Master's, telling them that it was not in his Power to conclude a Peace with them, but that he knew that if their Proposals were reasonable, the Government would not be unreasonable, [25] and that he would use his Interest in the Government for them. And to encourage them to proceed, put them in mind that the *Pequots*¹⁸⁴ once made War with the *English*, and that

¹⁸⁴ The name *Pequot* was given by the neighboring tribes to what was properly an off-shoot of the *Muhhekaneew* (*Mohican* and *Mohegan*) nation, and was possibly assumed by themselves, as "the destroyers" of their enemies. The early Dutch voyagers called them *Pequattoos* and *Pequatoes*; Roger Williams writes *Pequittóog*, &c.; Winthrop, *Pekoath*, elsewhere *Pequins*, &c. The Indian verb signifying "to destroy," "to make havoc," has, before an *inanimate* object, *Paguatóog* (as Eliot writes it, e.g., Is. iii: 12) in the third person plural of the indicative, "they destroy." This agrees almost exactly with Roger Williams's form of the name. With an

animate object specified, the verb is *Paguanóog*; whence probably Winthrop's *Pequins*. It is singular that so obvious an etymology, or rather translation, has hitherto escaped notice. The name, like that given to the "Mohawks," expresses the terror with which this warlike race was regarded by other New-England tribes. [Winthrop, *Journal*, i: 52, 72, 122.]

Their territory extended from the *Niantie* on the west to the *Paucatuck* on the east; some 30 miles in length by some 20 in breadth, mostly in Connecticut. The "Pequot war" took place in 1636-8. [De Forest's *Hist. Ind. of Conn.* 58; *R.-I. Hist. Coll.* iii: 161.]

after they subjected themselves to the *English*, the *English* became their Protectors, and defended them against other Nations that would otherwise have destroyed them, &c. After some further discourse, and debate, he brought them at length to consent that if the Government of *Plymouth* would firmly engage to them, *That they, and all of them, and their Wives and Children, should have their Lives spared, and none of them transported out of the Country, they would subject themselves to them, and serve them in what they were able.*

Then Mr. *Church* told them, That he was well satisfied the Government of *Plymouth* would readily concur with what they proposed, and would sign their Articles: And complementing them upon it, how pleased he was with the thoughts of their return, and of the former friendship that had been between them, &c.

The chief Captain rose up, and expressed the great value and respect he had for Mr. *Church*; and bowing to him said, *Sir, If you'll please to accept of me and my men, and will head us, we'll fight for you, and will help you to Philips head before Indian Corn be ripe* And when he had ended, they all expressed their consent to what he said, and told Mr. *Church* they loved him, and were willing to go with him and fight for him, as long as the *English* had one Enemy left in the Country.

Mr. *Church* assured them, That if they proved as good as their word, they should find him their's and their Chil-

dren's fast friend. And (by the way) the friendship is maintain'd between them to this day.¹⁸⁵

Then he proposed unto them, that they should choose five men to go freight with him to *Plymouth*: They told him, No; they would not choose, but he should take which five he pleased: some complements passed about it, at length it was agreed, They should choose Three, and he Two. Then he agreed, with that he would go back to the Island that Night, and would come to them the next Morning, and go thro' the Woods to *Plymouth*. But they afterwards objected, That this travelling thro' the Woods would not be safe for him; the Enemy might meet with them, and kill him, and then they should lose their friend, and the whole design ruined beside. And therefore proposed, That he should come in an English Vessel, and they would meet him and come on board at *Sogkonate-point*,

¹⁸⁵ This was written in 1715 or 1716. In June, 1698, Rev. Grindal Rawson, of Mendon, and Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Taunton, "Preachers to the Indians in their own tongue," visited Little Compton, and reported that they found two plantations of Indians there, at *Saconet* and *Cokefit* (on the borders of Dartmouth); that Samuel Church, alias *Sohchawahham*, taught the first, and had ordinarily 40 hearers, of whom 20 were men; and that, at the second, Daniel Hinckley taught eleven families twice every Sabbath. A schoolmaster, named *Aham*, also labored at *Cokefit*, and there were two Indian rulers at

each place. [See original printed Report to *Comm. for Prop. Gospel*, made July 12, 1698.] In 1700 there were said to be 100 Indian men still living in Little Compton. About 1750, a most destructive fever caused great mortality among them; so that in 1774 the R.-I. census reported there only 1 male and 13 females above 16 yrs., and 5 males and 6 females under that age, — 25 in all. In 1803 there were "not more than 10" there. So far as I can learn in the town, there is not one person with any trace of Indian blood recognizable in his veins there now. [1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* ix: 204; x: 114, 119.]

and Sail from thence to *Sandwich*: which in fine, was concluded upon.

So Mr. *Church* promising to come as soon as he could possibly obtain a Vessel, and then they parted. He returned to the Island, and was at great pains and charge to get a Vessel, but with unaccountable disappointments; sometimes by the falseness, and sometimes by the faint-heartedness of Men that he bargained with, and something by Wind and Weather, &c. [26]

Until at length Mr. *Anthony Low*¹⁸⁶ put into the Harbour¹⁸⁷ with a loaden Vessel bound to the Westward, and being made acquainted with Mr. *Churches* case, told him, *That he had so much kindness for him, and was so pleased with the business that he was engaged in, that he would run the venture of his Vessel & Cargo, to wait upon him.* Accordingly, next Morning they set Sail with a Wind that soon brought them to *Sogkonate-point*; but coming there they met with a contrary wind, and a great swelling Sea.

The *Indians* were there waiting upon the Rocks, but

¹⁸⁶ *Anthony Lowe (Loe)*, son of John, Boston, removed after 1654 to Warwick, R.-I.; in 1658 was fined £3, by Plymouth Court for selling a pistol to an Indian, at Eastham; in 1680 owned land adjoining Nathaniel Peck's in Swansey, and in 1682-3 was living at Swansey, and had an Indian slave named *James*, to whom the Plymouth Colony ordered his freedom and "a good suite of clothes." Whether he afterwards returned to Warwick, and was freeman

there in May, 1704, and constable there in Oct., 1706; or whether that Anthony were his son, I cannot determine. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iii: 125; *Plym. Col. Rec.* iii: 137; vi; 56, 101; *R.-I. Col. Rec.* iii: 498, 571.]

¹⁸⁷ Newport Harbor, as I suppose. There is nothing that can be called a harbor on the east shore of the island. Newport was not more than five or six miles from Capt. Almy's house in Portsmouth.

had nothing but a miserable broken Canoo to get aboard in. Yet *Peter Awashtonks* ventured off in it, and with a great deal of difficulty and danger got aboard. And by this time it began to Rain and Blow exceedingly, and forced them away up the Sound;¹⁸⁸ and then went away thro' *Bristol Ferry*, round the Island to *New-port*, carrying *Peter* with them.

Then Mr. *Church* dismiss'd Mr. *Low*, and told him, *That inasmuch as Providence oppos'd his going by Water, and he expected that the Army would be up in a few days, and probably if he should be gone at that juncture, it might ruine the whole design; would therefore yield his Voyage.*

Then he writ the account of his transactions with the *Indians*, and drew up the Proposals, and Articles of Peace, and dispatch'd *Peter* with them to *Plymouth*; that his Honour the Governour if he saw cause might sign them.

Peter was set over to *Sogkonate* on the Lords day¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ That is the "East Passage," or Narraganset River.

¹⁸⁹ This would seem to have been Sab., 25 June, 1676. The army, by the Court order (note 165, *ante*), were to be ready to march on Wednesday, 21 June; they ought to reach the neighborhood of Rhode-Island by the following Sabbath, and so it would be natural that there should be "great looking for them," by this time. It is on record, also, that *Peter*, with *George* and *David*, alias *Chowahunna*, appeared before the Council at *Plymouth* on the following Wednesday, 28 June, 1676, in "the behalfe of themselves and other

Indians of Saconett, to the number of about 30 men, with their wives and children, and tendered to renew their peace with the English, and requested libertie to sitt downe in quietnes on their lands att Saconett." Their examination is detailed, at length. On being upbraided for the wrong done in joining Philip, &c., "*Chowohumma*, said: Wee cannot make satisfaction for the wronge don; but if our weemen and children can be secured, wee will doe any service wee can by fighting against the enimie." They further said that *Succanowassucke* was the first man that stirred up the Indians to join with

Morning, with orders to take those men that were chosen to go down, or some of them at least with him. The time being expired that was appointed for the *English* Army to come, there was great looking for them. Mr. *Church* on the Monday Morning (partly to divert himself after his fatigue, and partly to listen for the Army) Rid out with his Wife and some of his friends to *Portsmouth*,¹⁹⁰ under a pretence of Cherrying; but came home without any News from the Army: But by Midnight, or sooner, he was roused with an Express from Maj. *Bradford*, who was arrived with the Army at *Pocasset*. To whom he forthwith repaired,¹⁹¹ and informed him of the whole of his proceedings, with the *Sogkonate Indians*. With the Majors

Philip, and that he was at Saconet, and promised to try to surprize him as soon as they should return. The Council proposed that Peter should remain as a hostage, to which he consented. It was finally decided that they should go back, and that such as Maj. *Bradford* desired for the army should join that, and the others give up their arms; that any "murdering" Indians of their number should be delivered up, and that they should not harbor the enemies of the Colony; on which conditions it was promised that "they shall have a place assigned them for their present residence in peace," with further promise for the future, "in case the war doe cease." [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 201-3.]

¹⁹⁰ If *Church* were still an inmate of Capt. *Almy's* house in *Portsmouth*, there seems a little strangeness in his

speaking thus of riding out to *Portsmouth*. He may have removed his family, before this, to Major *Peleg Sanford's*, in *Newport* (now in *Middle-town*), where, it will be seen, they were at the time of *Philip's* capture. Or, as the first settlement of the northern part of the island was around a cove between *Bristol* ferry and the *Stone* bridge (the settlement being first called *Pocasset*; changed to *Portsmouth*, 1639-40), the name of *Portsmouth* may, at the date of which *Church* is here speaking, have been more especially appropriated to the original settlement in the extreme northern portion of the present town, so that he naturally spoke of riding over from *Capt. Almy's* toward the *Stone* bridge, as riding out to *Portsmouth*. [*Arnold's Hist. R.-I.* i: 71, 125, 136, 143.]

¹⁹¹ Tuesday, 27 June, 1676.

consent and advice, he returned again next Morning¹⁹² to the Island, in order to go over that way to *Awashonks*, to inform her that the Army was arrived, &c. Accordingly from *Sachuefet-Neck*,¹⁹³ he went in a Canoo to *Sogkonate*; told her Maj. *Bradford* was arrived at *Pocasset*, with a great Army, whom he had inform'd of all his proceedings with her. That if she would be advis'd and observe order she nor her People need not to fear being hurt by them. Told her, She should call all her People down into the Neck, least if they should be found straggling about, mischief might light on them. That on the Morrow they would come down and receive her, and give her further orders. She promised to get as many of her People together as possibly she could. Desiring Mr. *Church* to consider that it would be difficult for to get them together at such short [27] warning. Mr. *Church* returned to the Island, and to the Army the same Night: The next Morning¹⁹⁴ the whole Army Marched towards *Sogkonate* as far as *Punkateese*; and Mr. *Church* with a few Men went down to *Sogkonate* to call *Awashonks*, and her People to come up to the English Camp; as he was going down, they met with a *Pocasset Indian*, who had killed a Cow and got a Quarter of her on his back, and her Tongue in his Pocket; who gave them an account, That he came from *Pocasset* two days since in company with his Mother

¹⁹² Wednesday, 28 June, 1676.

¹⁹³ *Sachuefet* [*Sachueft*] neck is the south-eastern point of the island of Rhode-Island; the elongated heel of the

foot of which the village of Newport forms the instep. It is distant about 3 miles, by water, due west, from Saconet.

¹⁹⁴ Thursday, 29 June, 1676.

and several other *Indians* now hid in a Swamp above *Nomquid*;¹⁹⁵ disarming of him, he sent him by two Men to Maj. *Bradford*, and proceeded to *Sogkonate*: they saw several *Indians* by the way skulking about, but let them pass. Arriving at *Awashonks* Camp, told her, *He was come to invite her and her People up to Punkateese, where Maj. Bradford now was with the Plymouth Army, expecting her and her Subjects to receive orders, until further order could be had from the Government.* She complied, and soon sent out orders for such of her Subjects as were not with her, immediately to come in; and by Twelve a Clock of the next day,¹⁹⁶ she with most of her Number appear'd before the English Camp at *Punkateese*. Mr. *Church* tender'd the Major to Serve under his Commission, provided the *Indians* might be accepted with him, to fight the Enemy. The Major told him, *his Orders were to improve him, if he pleased, but as for the Indians, he would not be concerned with them.* And presently gave forth orders for *Awashonks*, and all her Subjects both Men, Women and Children to repair to *Sandwich*, and to be there upon Peril, in Six days.¹⁹⁷ *Awashonks* and her chiefs gather'd

¹⁹⁵ *Nomquid* [*Nonequit, Nonquit, Namquit, &c.*], the cove or pond lying between *Punkateese* neck and *Tiverton*.

¹⁹⁶ Friday, 30 June, 1676. Both Hubbard and Mather mention "about 90" as the number of those with *Awashonks* in this submission. [*Narrative*, 97; *Brief Hist.* 39.]

¹⁹⁷ As this took place only two days after Peter and his two companions

made their appearance at Plymouth to confer with the Council, — and we are told that it was "after some time for consideration" that the Council reached its conclusion, — it is not probable that Maj. Bradford had been informed of their decision. (Mather says, *Awashonks* with about 90 came and tendered themselves "before the messengers returned.") He was therefore acting on

round Mr. *Church*, (where he was walk'd off from the rest) expressed themselves concerned that they could not be confided in, nor improv'd. He told them, 'twas best to obey Orders; and that if he could not accompany them to Sandwich, it should not be above a Week before he would meet them there; That he was confident the Governour would Commission him to improve them. The Major hastened to send them away with *Jack Havens*,¹⁹⁸ (an Indian who had never been in the Wars) in the Front with a flag of Truce in his hand. They being gone, Mr. *Church*, by the help of his Man *Toby* (the Indian whom he had taken Prisoner, as he was going down to *Sogkonate*) took said *Toby's* Mother, & those that were with her, Prisoners. Next Morning¹⁹⁹ the whole Army moved back to *Pocasset*. This *Toby* informed them that there were a great many Indians gone down to *Wepoisset*²⁰⁰ to eat Clams, (other Provisions being very scarce with them;) that *Philip* himself was expected within 3 or 4 dayes at the same Place:

his own authority as commander-in-chief, and his object in ordering Awashonks and her tribe to Sandwich was, clearly, to get them out of reach of temptation, at once, and opportunity, to join Philip in further hostilities. His order was not a harsh one in the matter of time; for the distance could not probably be more than 40 miles by the circuitous forest-paths, for which he allowed them six days. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 202: Mather's *Brief History*, 39.]

¹⁹⁸ *Jack Havens* is on the list of fourteen Indians, whose names were entered

on the Court Records under date of 6 March, 1676-7, "whoe haue approued themselues faithfull to the English during the late Rebellion," besides Mamanuett, their Sachem (and family), who is described as "att or about Saconett." [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 225.]

¹⁹⁹ Saturday, 1 July, 1676.

²⁰⁰ *Wepoisset* [*Weypoisset*, *Waypoisset*, &c.,] was the Indian name for the narrow entrance of *Kikemuit* river separating the northern part of Bristol, R.-I., from the south-eastern part of Warren. [*Fessenden's Hist. Warren. R.-I.* 71.]

being asked, *What Indians they were?* He answered, Some *Weetemores Indians*, some *Mount-hope Indians*, some *Narraganset Indians*, and some other Upland *Indians*, in all about 300. The *Rhode-Island Boats* by the Majors order meeting them at *Pocasset*, they were soon imbark'd, it being just in the dusk of the Evening, they could plainly discover the Enemies fires at the Place the *Indian* directed to;²⁰¹ and the Army concluded no other but they were bound [28] directly thither, until they came to the North End of the Island, and heard the word of Command for the Boats to bare away.²⁰² Mr. *Church* was very fond of having this probable opportunity of surprizing that whole Company of *Indians* embraced: But Orders, 'twas said, must be obeyed, which was to go to *Mount-hope* and there to fight *Philip*. This with some other good opportunities of doing spoil upon the Enemy, being unhappily miss'd.²⁰³

²⁰¹ The exact spot where the Indians were digging clams and eating them would seem to have been on the south-eastern curve of what is now called Touisset neck; from whence fires would be visible across the bay at Pocasset; where Maj. Bradford's army could scarcely be distant from them five miles in a straight line.

²⁰² They probably embarked at what was then the Ferry, — now spanned by the "Stone Bridge," — from whence, for two miles and a half, their natural course would lie directly towards the light of the fires. When well up with the north end of Rhode-Island, their course, if they were going to Mount-

Hope Cove, would haul straight to the west, and, if they were to land at Bristol neck, sharp to the south-west.

²⁰³ The narrative does not certainly indicate whether the army kept Sabbath at Mount Hope, or, finding Philip was not there, pushed on at once up Mount-Hope neck and across Miles's bridge to Rehoboth; though the probabilities seem to be strong that they did not march to Rehoboth until they had, at least, searched for the Indians whom they had seen the night before at Weypoisset. I imagine that the "other good opportunities" to which Church refers as being "miss'd," had reference to several fruitless attempts, occupying several

Mr. *Church* obtain'd the Majors Consent to meet the *Sogkonate Indians*, according to his promise. He was offer'd a Guard to *Plymouth*, but chose to go with one Man only, who was a good Pilot. About Sun-set²⁰⁴ he with *Sabin* his Pilot²⁰⁵ mounted their Horses at *Rehoboth*, where the Army now was, and by two Hours by Sun next Morning arrived safe at *Plymouth*: And by that time they had refreshed themselves, the Governour and Treasurer²⁰⁶ came to Town. Mr. *Church* giving them a short account of the affairs of the Army, &c. His Honour was pleas'd to give him thanks for the good and great Service he had done at *Sogkonate*, told him, *He had confirmed all that he promised Awashonks, and had sent the Indian back again*

days in Mount-Hope neck and its region, to damage the Indians, before the army went to the garrison-house at Rehoboth, which (with one other) had escaped destruction on the 28th of March.

²⁰⁴ This could not have been "sun-set" of the next day after leaving Pocasset (Sab., 2 July, 1676), because then Church would have reached Plymouth two hours after sunrise, on Monday, 3 July. But he told the Governor, on the day of his arrival, that "the time had expired that he had appointed to meet the Sogkonates at Sandwich"; and as he had promised them, on the 30th of June, that "it should not be above a week before he would meet them," his promise could not expire until Friday, 7 July: therefore he could not have reached Plymouth until on or after the 7th July. Hence he could not have left

Rehoboth before Thursday, 6 July, the fifth day after leaving Pocasset, and landing at Mount Hope.

²⁰⁵ *Sabin* [*Sabine*] was then a Rehoboth name. Savage mentions eight of the name, all (he thinks) of Rehoboth, and five of whom served in Philip's war either in person or by contributions. Bliss mentions *Jonathan*, as in the Narragansett fight, and *Samuel*, as serving under Maj. Bradford. He also gives the names of five (*Joseph, William, Samuel, Benjamin, and a Widow Sabin*) as making advances of money to sustain the war. Doubtless, Church's guide was one of this patriotic family. [*Gen. Dict.* iv: 1; *Hist. Rehoboth*, 117, 118.]

²⁰⁶ *Josias Winslow* and *Constant Southworth*. The former resided in Marshfield, and the latter in Duxbury. [See notes 20 and 68, *ante*.]

that brought his Letter. He asked his Honour, *Whether he had any thing later from Awashonks?* He told him he had not. Where-upon he gave his Honour account of the Majors orders relating to her and hers, and what discourse had passed *pro & con* about them; and that he had promised to meet them, and that he had encouraged them, that he thought he might obtain of his Honour a Commission to lead them forth to fight *Philip*. His Honour smilingly told him, *That he should not want Commission if he would accept it, nor yet good English men enough to make up a good Army.* But in short, he told his Honour the time was expired that he had appointed to meet the *Sogkonates* at *Sandwich*. The Governour asked him, when he would go? He told him that afternoon, by his Honours leave. The Governour ask'd him, How many Men he would have with him? He answered, Not above half a dozen, with an order to take more at *Sandwich*, if he saw cause; and Horses provided. He no sooner moved it, but had his number of Men tendering to go with him, among which was Mr. *Jabez Howland*,²⁰⁷ and *Nathanael South-*

²⁰⁷ *Jabez Howland* was son of John, who came as attendant of Gov. Carver in the *Mayflower*; was fined at Plymouth, March 5, 1666-7, 3s. 4d, for a breach of the peace, in striking Joseph Billington; served on a trial jury in 1671 and 1677, and on a coroner's jury in 1671 and 1673; was constable of Plymouth in 1675; petitioned for a grant of land in 1675, in virtue of the Court order preferring children born here to stran-

gers; removed to Bristol, R.-I., and was licensed to keep an inn there in 1681, and was selectman there in 1682, 1685, and 1690; was ensign of a military company there in 1684; deputy thence in 1689 and 1690. He married Bethia, dau. of Anthony Thacher, and had ten children. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* ii: 479; *Plym. Col. Rec.* iv: 140; v: 82, 88, 122, 165, 170, 255; vi: 78, 84, 131, 169, 206, 241.]

worth;²⁰⁸ they went to *Sandwich* that Night; where Mr. Church (with need enough) took a Nap of Sleep. The next Morning with about 16 or 18 Men proceeded as far as *Agawom*,²⁰⁹ where they had great expectation of meeting the *Indians*, but met them not; his Men being discouraged about half of them returned; only half a dozen stuck by him, & promised so to do until they should meet with the *Indians*. When they came to *Sippican River*,²¹⁰ Mr. Howland began to tyre, upon which Mr. Church left him, and two more, for a Reserve at the River, that if he should meet with Enemies and be forced back, they might be

²⁰⁸ Nathaniel Southworth, second son of Constant, was born at Plymouth, 1648; surveyor of highways 1673; served on trial jury in 1677; was constable of Plymouth, and served on coroner's jury in 1678; was fined 10s. in 1681, for refusing to aid the constable of Plymouth; served on coroner's jury in 1684; was a selectman of Plymouth in 1689 and 1691, and grand juror in 1690. He was also a lieutenant. He died Jan. 14, 1711. Savage says he lived at Middleborough; but I find no trace of it in the Colony Records. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iv: 143; *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 115, 246, 257, 263; vi: 56, 148, 206, 237, 264.]

²⁰⁹ *Agawam* was the Indian name of the settlement near the Agawam River, in what is now Wareham. The name is still retained by a little village on the low lands through which the river winds into the "Narrows." The name is from *agwe*, "below"; hence signifying sometimes *below*, as descriptive of a

point down stream from another on the same river, and sometimes a *low place*, as descriptive of flats, or low land without reference to higher elevations in the vicinity, as these flat meadows in Wareham, and the "low islands of *Au-guan*" of which Capt. Smith speaks. [*Advertisements for the Unexperienced, &c.*, p. 27.]

²¹⁰ *Sippican* River (confluent with the *Wewantitt*) runs into Buzzard's Bay about half way between the villages of Wareham and Marion; and its lower portion forms the boundary between those two towns. The word *Sippican* [*Sepaconnet*, *Seppikan*] is related to *Sebago*, from the Abnaki, s8bék8, "la mer, eau salée," Rasles, (but *brackish* water, rather than *salt*, perhaps), the equivalent of Eliot's *scippog*, used in *James* iii: 12, for "salt water." The Indians of Massachusetts had no word for *salt*. See, by itself, signifies usually, "four"; hence, doubtless, "disagreeable," "ill-tasted."

ready to assist them in getting over the River. Proceeding in their March, they crossed another River,²¹¹ and opened a great Bay,²¹² where they might see many Miles along-shore, where were Sands and Flats; and hearing a great noise below them towards [29] the Sea. They dismounted their Horses, left them and crep'd among the bushes, until they came near the bank, and saw a vast company of *Indians*, of all Ages and Sexs, some on Horseback running races, some at Foot-ball,²¹³ some catching Eels & Flat-fish in the water, some Clamming, &c. but which way with safety to find out what *Indians* they were, they were at a loss. But at length, retiring into a thicket, Mr. *Church* hollow'd to them; they soon answered him, and a couple of smart young Fellows, well mounted, came upon a full Career to see who it might be that call'd, and came just upon Mr. *Church* before they discovered him;

²¹¹ In the absence of any tradition identifying this stream, and deciding merely by my knowledge of the localities, I conceive this to have been what is now called "Mill Creek," emptying into Aucoot Cove — which is the first inlet on the coast south-west of Sippican Harbor.

²¹² If I am right in the identification of Mill Creek as the stream last referred to, after Church passed over it, a progress of less than a mile would enable him to look out by the south-eastern extremity of Charles Neck and the overlapping Butter's Point of Great Neck (a mile and a half further east), and to "open" Buzzard's Bay, which

here has a breadth of six or seven miles; while it would give him sight of a long coast distance down what is now the eastern and southern shore of Mattapoissett. I judge, therefore, that the sands and flats on which Awashonks and her Indians were now encamped were those between Aucoot Cove and Angelica Point, or between Angelica Point and Ned's Point, in Mattapoissett aforesaid.

²¹³ "A game of football in which he was expert, or of quoits, or a wrestling-bout, or a dance in which women did not mingle, afforded some occasional variety." [Palfrey's *Hist. N. E.* i: 32; Schoolcraft's *Hist. Ind. Tribes*, ii: 78.]

but when they perceived themselves so near *English* Men, and Arm'd, were much surprized, and tack'd short about to run as fast back as they came forward, until one of the Men in the bushes call'd to them, and told them his Name was *Church*, and need not fear his hurting of them. Upon which, after a small pause, they turned about their Horses, and came up to him; one of them that could speak *English*, Mr. *Church* took aside and examin'd, who inform'd him, That the *Indians* below were *Awashonks*, and her company, and that *Jack Havens* was among them; whom Mr. *Church* immediately sent for to come to him, and order'd the Messenger to inform *Awashonks* that he was come to meet her; *Jack Havens* soon came, and by that time Mr. *Church* had ask'd him a few Questions, and had been satisfied by him, That it was *Awashonks*, and her company that were below, and that *Jack* had been kindly treated by them; a company of *Indians* all Mounted on Horse-back, and well Arm'd came riding up to Mr. *Church*, but treated him with all due respects. He then order'd *Jack* to go tell *Awashonks*, that he designed to Sup with her in the Evening, and to lodge in her Camp that Night. Then taking some of the *Indians* with him, he went back to the River to take care of Mr. *Howland*:²¹⁴ Mr. *Church* being a Mind to try what Mettal he was made of, imparted his notion to the *Indians* that were with him, & gave them directions how to act their parts; when he came pretty

²¹⁴ It would be four and a half or five miles back to Sippican River, where Mr. Howland, with his reserve of two men, had been left.

near the Place, he and his *English* Men pretendedly fled, firing on their retreat towards the *Indians* that pursued them, and they firing as fast after them. Mr. *Howland* being upon his guard, hearing the Guns, and by & by seeing the motion both of the *English* and *Indians*, concluded his friends were distressed, was soon on the full Career on Horse-back to meet them, until he perceiving their laughing mistrusted the Truth. As soon as Mr. *Church* had given him the News, they hastened away to *Awasshonks*. Upon their arrival, they were immediately conducted to a shelter, open on one side, whither *Awasshonks* and her chiefs soon came & paid their Respects: and the Multitudes gave shouts as made the heavens to ring. It being now about Sun-setting, or near the dusk of the Evening; The Netops²¹⁵ came running from all quarters loaden with the tops of dry Pines, & the like combustible matter making a hugh pile thereof, near Mr. *Churches* shelter, on the open side thereof: but by this time Supper was brought in, [30] in three dishes, *viz.* a curious young Bass, in one dish, Eels & Flat-fish in a second, and Shell-fish in a third, but neither Bread nor Salt to be seen at Table. But by that time Supper was over, the mighty pile of Pine

²¹⁵ See note 143, *ante*. The word intends friendly Indians. Mr. Drake suggests here that the term may be equivalent to *Sannop* (citing Winthrop [*Journal*, i: 49], and Hubbard [*Gen. Hist. N.E.*, 253]; though the latter has *Sannap*): but Mr. Trumbull says, “*Sannop* had, with the Indians, a more restricted

and a definite application (though it was sometimes used by the English, as equivalent to *Netop*, or ‘Indian’). It signified ‘a brave,’—*vir*, as distinguished from *homo*; and was never applied by an Indian to a *foreigner*, or except to the warriors of his own nation or tribe.” [Drake’s *Church* (2d ed.), 91.]

Knots and Tops, &c. was fired, and all the *Indians* great and small gathered in a ring round it. *Awashonks* with the oldest of her People Men and Women mix'd, kneeling down made the first ring next the fire, and all the lusty, stout Men standing up made the next; and then all the Rabble in a confused Crew surrounded on the outside. Then the chief Captain step'd in between the rings and the fire, with a Spear in one hand and an Hatchet in the other, danced round the fire, and began to fight with it, making mention of all the several Nations & Companies of *Indians* in the Country that were Enemies to the *English*; & at naming of every particular Tribe of *Indians*, he would draw out & fight a new fire brand, & at his finishing his fight with each particular fire-brand, would bow to him and thank him; and when he had named all the several Nations and Tribes, and fought them all he stuck down his Spear and Hatchet, and came out; and another stepped in and acted over the same dance, with more fury, if possible, than the first; and when about half a dozen of their chiefs had thus acted their parts, The Captain of the Guard stepped up to Mr. *Church* and told him, *They were making Souldiers for him, and what they had been doing was all one Swearing of them,*²¹⁶ and having in that manner

²¹⁶ "The principle of enlistment is sufficiently well preserved. . . . Each warrior that rises and joins the war-dance, thereby becomes a volunteer for the trip. He arms and equips himself; he provides his own sustenance; and when he steps out into the ring, and dances,

he chants his own song, and is greeted with redoubling yells. These ceremonies are tantamount to 'enlistment,' and no young man who thus comes forward can honorably withdraw." [*Schoolcraft's Information respecting the Indian Tribes of the U.S.* vol. ii: 59, 60.]

ingaged all the lusty stout men. Awashonks & her chiefs came to Mr. Church; and told him, That now they were all ingaged to fight for the English, and he might call forth all, or any of them at any time as he saw occasion to fight the Enemy; and presented him with a very fine Firelock. Mr. Church accepts their offer, drew out a number of them, and set out next Morning before day for Plymouth, where they arrived safe the same day.

The Governour being informed of it, came early to Town next Morning: and by that time he had *English* Men enough to make up a good Company, when joyned with *Mr. Churches* Indians, that offered their Voluntary Service to go under his Command in quest of the Enemy. The Governour then gave him a Commission, which is as follows,

C*aptain Benjamin Church, you are hereby Nominated, Ordered, Commission'd, and Impowred to raise a Company of Volunteers of about 200 Men, English and Indians; the English not exceeding the number of 60, of which Company, or so many of them as you can obtain, or shall see cause at present to improve, you are to take the command and conduct, and to lead them forth now and hereafter, at such time, and unto such places within this Colony, or else where, within the confederate Colonies, as you shall think fit; to discover, pursue, fight, surprize, destroy, or subdue our Indian Enemies, or any part or parties of them that by the Providence of God you may meet with; or them or any of them by treaty and composition to receive to mercy, if you see reason*

(provided they be not Murderous Rogues, or such as have been principal Actors in those Villanies:) And forasmuch as your Company may be uncertain, and [31] the Persons often changed, You are also hereby impowred with advice of your Company to chuse and Commissionate a Lieutenant, and to establish Serjeants, and Corporals as you see cause: And you herein improving your best judgment and discretion and utmost ability, faithfully to Serve the Interest of God, His Majesty's Interest, and the Interest of the Colony; and carefully governing your said Company at home and abroad: these shall be unto you full and ample Commission, Warrant and Discharge. Given under the Publick Seal, this 24th Day of July, 1676.²¹⁷

Per Jos. Winslow, GOV.

²¹⁷ There is a mistake in the infertion of this commission here, not unnatural when the lapse of time before the record was made, is taken into the account. This is not the commission which Church first received, and on which he first went out (as Judge Davis thought, inferring a misprint in the date, of the 24th for the 14th [Morton's *Memorial*, 449]); but that "enlarged" one which was afterwards given him. This is obvious, first, from its date. If Church arrived at Plymouth on Friday, 7 July (see note 204), he must have found Awashonks at Mattapoisett on Saturday, 8 July, and returned to Plymouth on Sunday, the 9th; in which case the Governor came to town and commissioned him on Monday, the 10th July, and he fet off "the same night into the

woods," on his first expedition as Captain. There are no data for absolute certainty as to this. But the Colony Records make it clear that he must have been out on at least one successful expedition before the *twenty-second* of July, because they contain a Court order of that date, that all volunteers taking prisoners "shall have the one halfe of them for their pains and venture, from the day of the date heerof, *includeing those prisoners alsoe last brought in by Benjamine Church and his companie.*" [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 207.] The Rev. Mr. Walley, also, writing to the Rev. Mr. Cotton [Davis's *Morton's Memorial*, p. 449] under date of 18 July, 1676, says, "I am glad of the success Ben. Church hath; it is the good fruit of the coming in of Indians

Receiving Commission, he Marched the same Night into the Woods, got to *Middleberry*²¹⁸ before day,²¹⁹ and as soon as the light appeared, took into the Woods and Swampy thickets, towards a place where they had some reason to expect to meet with a parcel of *Narraganset Indians*, with some others that belonged to *Mount-hope*: Coming near to where they expected them, Capt. *Church's* Indian Scout discovered the Enemy, and well observing their fires, and postures, Returned with the intelligence to their Captain, who gave such directions for the surrounding of them, as had the direct effect; surprizing them from every side so unexpectedly, that they were all taken, not so much as one escaped. And upon a strict examination, they gave intelligence of another parcel of the Enemy, at

to us; those that come in are conquered and help to conquer others." But Church had done nothing in this campaign which could be so referred to, previous to his setting off into the woods, here spoken of. Therefore Mr. Walley must refer to the results of this expedition to *Namasket* and *Monponset*, which must, by consequence, have taken place between the 10th and 18th of July. It will be seen, also, further on, that Church twice states that he kept up this guerrilla warfare "several weeks"; and then proceeds to narrate, as if taking place subsequently, his setting out for *Bridgewater* in pursuit of Philip; which, by his account, was on Sunday, 30th July. If his first expedition was, as I suggest above, on Monday, the 10th, only *three* weeks would

intervene to make good his "several." Then, in the second place, the very terms of the commission itself show that it was that "enlarged" one to which he subsequently refers; because it gives him authority to "commissionate officers under him," to "march as far as he should see cause, within the limits of the three United Colonies," to "receive to mercy, give quarter or not, &c. &c." [See p. 104.]

²¹⁸ *Middleborough* is a very large town, whose eastern boundary is about 10 miles west of the village of *Plymouth*. *Namasket* was its Indian name, — from *namas*, "fish"; *namas-okke-ut*, "at the fish-place": that portion of the town which still bears the name, being a noted fishing-place among the Indians.

²¹⁹ Tuesday, 11 July, 1676?

a Place called *Munponset-Pond*²²⁰ Capt. *Church* haftning with his Prifoners, thro' the Woods to *Plymouth*, difpofed of them all, excepting only one *Jeffercy*, who proving very ingenious & faithful to him, in informing where other parcels of the *Indians* harboured Capt. *Church* promised him, that if he continued to be faithful to him, he fhould not be Sold out of the Country, but fhould be his waiting man, to take care of his Horfe, &c. and accordingly he Served him faithfully as long as he lived.

But Capt. *Church* was forth-with fent out again; and the Terms for his encouragement being concluded on: *viz. That the Country fhould find them Ammunition & Provision; & have half the Prifoners, & Arms, they took: The Captain and his Englifh Souldiers to have the other half of the Prifoners, and Arms; and the Indian Souldiers the loofe Plunder.* Poor encouragement! But after fome time it was mended.

They foon Captivated the *Munponsets*,²²¹ and brought in, not one efcaping. This ftroke he held feveral Weeks,

²²⁰ *Monponset* (*Moonponset*, *Maunipenfing*) pond is an irregularly oblong fhcet of water — perhaps averaging a mile and a quarter in length by three-quarters of a mile in breadth, and almoft divided into two equal parts by a tongue of land running down from its northern fhore — lying in the northern portion of the town of Halifax, Mafs., near to its junction with Hanfon and Pembroke, and about 10 miles W.N. W. from Plymouth. In regard to the

meaning of its name, Mr. Trumbull fays, “*Monponset* I cannot refolve.”

²²¹ I think *Church* ufes this term here to designate that “parcel” of the “*Nar-raganetts*” who were temporarily encamped at this notable fifhing-place, rather than to indicate that there was any hostile tribe of that name having a permanent refidence fo near to Plymouth, and deriving their designation from this pond. I find no trace of any fuch tribe in the records.

never returning empty handed. When he wanted intelligence of their Kennelling Places, he would March to some place likely to meet with some travellers or rambles, and scattering his Company, would lye close; and seldom lay above a day or two, at the most, before some of them would fall into their hands: Whom he would compel to inform, where their Company was; and so by his method of secret and sudden surprizes took great Numbers of them Prisoners.²²²

The Government observing his extraordinary courage and conduct, and the success from Heaven added to it, saw cause to enlarge his Commission; gave him power to raise, and dismiss his Forces, as he should see occasion; [32] to Commissionate Officers under him, and to March as far as he should see cause, within the limits of the three United Colonies: to receive to mercy, give quarter, or not; excepting some particular & noted Murderers: *viz.* *Philip*, and all that were at the destroying of Mr. *Clark's* Garrison, and some few others²²³

Major *Bradford* being now at *Taunton* with his Army,²²⁴

²²² The arrangement mentioned above, by which those volunteers received one half of the value of the prisoners and arms which were taken, as their pay for service; sheds light upon their especial anxiety to capture the enemy alive.

²²³ This is the commission dated 24th July, and inserted on p. 100. On the 21st July, three days before, the names of eleven Indians were placed on the

Colony Record as "coepartenors in the outrage committed at William Clarke's house, at the Eelriuer, 12 March, 1676." [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 206.]

²²⁴ By the kindness of Mr. Haven of the Antiquarian Society in Worcester, and of Judge Collamore of Royalton, Vt., I am in possession of copies of a letter written from Taunton, on the 16th of this month by Anthony Collamore, one of Bradford's army there, giving

and wanting Provisions; some Carts were ordered from *Plymouth* for their supply, and Capt. *Church* to guard

some account of their procedure, and shedding a little light upon what has been a very obscure portion of the war. As the letter has never, to my knowledge, been printed, I infer it in full:—

“TANTON, this July y^e 16, 1676.
[Sunday.]

“DEARE AND LOVEING WIFE,—After
“my kind love to you presented hoping
“these will find you in health, as blessed
“be God I am at writing hereof. So
“likewise are all our Situate men & y^e
“rest of our army. Y^e seventh [Mr.
“Haven’s copy makes this ‘twelfth,’
“and Judge Collamore queries whether
“it be ‘seventh’ or ‘twelfth;’ but the
“connection favors the former,] day of
“this Instant wee marched from tan-
“ton towards Swanfy & from thence
“to Matapoysett [Gardner’s neck, see
“note 48, *ante*]; & so continued in y^e
“peruite of them untill y^e fourteenth
“day of y^e above-said Month; and wee
“haue killed & taken upwards of a hun-
“dred Indians; but never an English
“Man slain or wounded, only one or
“two bewildered in y^e wood & so taken
“by y^e enemy [* * * MS. illegible
“ * * *], nor have we any of our
“Indians slaine or wounded, but peter
“Mahalen has a small wound in his
“belly; wee intend to be in peruite of
“Phillip tomorrow againe, we have per-
“sued him so close y^t do wee almost
“despaire; wee have followed him very
“close from swamp to swamp, so y^t he
“is enforced to fly with a very small
“quantity of men with him because

“wee shall not find him out; but I
“hope with y^e Blessing of God wee shall
“accomplish our desire y^t is to take
“him; those captives y^t wee have taken
“ * * * * * they tell us y^t Robin
“Bradish & Cornelias y^t stole Mr.
“Cushen’s cow, are gon doune between
“our town & hingum to do Mischiefe
“there; y^e 11th day of this Instant there
“was about a 100 Indians made an on-
“fett on tanton; they had burnt only
“two out houses for there was 200
“English & Indians there present,
“which frustrated them of their de-
“signe; so y^t they have killed never
“a man there; but they have killed
“one man since; pray present my ser-
“vice to my Uncle & Aunt with my duty
“to my father and mother & my love
“to my children & brother & sisters &
“y^e rest of my friends; Sarg^t [Bar-
“ker?—Deane’s *Scituate*, 129, 216] is
“well siting on a rock eating Biskett
“& Cheefe & desires to be remembered
“to his wife; this being all at present
“from

“Yo. ever Lo. Husband,

“ANTHONY COLLYMER.

“pray take an opportunity to gett two
“buthells of corn ground while y^e wa-
“ter lasts.

“I hope there in no fear of y^e In-
“dians making an onfett on our towne
“at present.”

[Anthony Collamore was nephew to Peter, one of the first settlers of Scituate, and received, by his will, a share of his estate. He married, in 1666, Sarah,

them.²²⁵ But he obtaining other guards for the Carts, as far as *Middleborough*, ran before with a small Company, hoping to meet with some of the Enemy, appointing the Carts and their guards to meet them at *Nemascut*²²⁶ about an hour after the Sun rising next Morning: he arrived there about the breaking of the day-light, discovered a company of the Enemy; but his time was too short to wait for gaining advantage; and therefore ran right in upon them, Surprized and Captivated about 16 of them: who upon examination, inform'd, That *Tispaquin*,²²⁷

one of the twin daughters of Isaac Chittenden, and had five children (Mary, Peter, Sarah, Martha, Elizabeth). He was lost on a coasting voyage from Scituate to Boston, 16 Dec., 1693, on a ledge of rocks off Scituate beach, which, to this day, bears the name of Collamore's Ledge. He was commander of the militia of the town at the time, and was buried "under arms." — [Deane's *Scituate*, 239, 240.]

²²⁵ This expedition seems to have taken place 20–27 July. Increase Mather, writing under date of Saturday, 22 July, says: "This week also, Capt. Church, of *Plimouth*, with a small party consisting of about 18 *English* and 22 *Indians* [Hubbard (p. 100) gives the same as the number of the party] had four several engagements with the enemy, &c.;" going on to speak of the capture of Tiahtq's squaw, in a way to identify this as the expedition to which he refers. [*Brief History*, 42.]

²²⁶ See note 218, *ante*. The exact

place in Middleborough here intended, I suppose to be, say 30 rods above the bridge where the road from the Green to the Four Corners crosses the Nemasket River; where were rapids, and near which is now the Lower Factory, or Star Mills.

²²⁷ *Tispaquin* (*Tuspaquin*, abbrev. from *Watuspaquin*, alias the *Black Sachem*) was Sachem of Affawompsett, the territory surrounding the pond of that name in Middleborough. He received his land from "*Pamontaquask*, the Pond Sachem" (who was probably his father), by will dated 29 Oct., 1668. He deeded land, 9 Aug., 1667, to Henry Wood; 17 July, 1669, with his son William, to Experience Mitchel *et al.*; 10 June, 1670, to Edward Gray; 30 June, 1672, to Edward Gray and Josias Winflow; in 1673, to John Saufaman; 11 Mar., 1673, to Felix, Saufaman's son-in-law; 3 July, 1673, to Benjamin Church and John Tompson; 23 Dec., 1673, to Saufaman's daughter, called *Affowetough*; 1 March, 1674–5, he and

a very famous Captain among the Enemy was at *Affawompset*, with a numerous Company.

But the Carts muſt now be guarded, and the opportunity of viſiting *Tiſpaquin* muſt now be laid aſide: The Carts are to be faithfully guarded, leſt *Tiſpaquid* ſhould attack them.

Coming towards *Taunton*, Capt. *Church* taking two Men with him, made all ſpeed to the Town; and coming to the River ſide,²²⁸ he hollow'd, and inquiring of them that came to the River, for Maj. *Bradford*, or his Captains; he was inform'd, they were in the Town, at the Tavern. He told them of the Carts that were coming, that he had the cumber of guarding of them, which had already prevented his improving opportunities of doing Service. Pray'd therefore that a guard might be ſent over to receive the Carts, that he might be at liberty; refuſing all invitations and perſwaſions, to go over to the Tavern, to viſit the

his ſon William bail *Tobias* — accuſed (and afterwards convicted) of Sauſaman's murder — in lands to the value of £100; 14 May, 1675, they ſell *Affawompſett* neck to John Tompſon *et al.*, as a ſecurity againſt the claims of others. In the ſpring of 1676 he was at the head of ſome 300 men, and had a hand in the attempt to burn Scituate, 20 April, and Bridgewater, 8 May. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* xii: 229, 230, 235; v: 159; *Drake's Book of the Ind.* 193, 194, 241, 242.]

²²⁸ The old road from Middleborough to Taunton, on which Church may be

preſumed to have travelled, took ſomething of the general courſe now taken by the Middleborough and Taunton R.R., running ſouth of that *cul-de-fac* in which the Taunton River encloſes a ſouth-eaſt portion of Raynham, ſtriking the river for croſſing a few rods above the place where it receives Little River, and there connecting, as I am informed, with what is now Summer St. From the eaſt bank of the river, where he now “hollow'd,” to the town and the “tavern,” muſt have been probably a third of a mile, or a little more.

Major: he at length obtain'd a guard to receive the Carts; by whom also he sent his Prisoners to be convey'd with the Carts to *Plymouth*, directing them not to return by the way they came, but by *Bridgewater*.²²⁹

Hastening back he purposed to Camp that Night at *Affawompset Neck*.²³⁰ But as soon as they came to the River that runs into the great Pond thro' the thick Swamp at the entering of the Neck;²³¹ the Enemy fired upon them, but hurt not a Man. Capt. *Churches* Indians ran right into the Swamp and fired upon them, but it being in the dusk of the Evening, the Enemy made their escape in the thickets: The Captain then moving about a Mile into the Neck, took the advantage of a small Valley to feed his Horses; some held the Horses by the Bridles, the rest on the guard look'd sharp out for the Enemy, within hearing on every side, and some very near; but in the dead of the Night, the Enemy being out of hearing, or still, Capt. *Church* moved out of the Neck (not the same way he came in, lest he should be Ambuscado'd)

²²⁹ The road from Taunton to Plymouth by Bridgewater, to which Church here refers, appears to have taken a tolerably straight course in a north-north-easterly direction to what is now West Bridgewater, and then bore away a little south of east toward Plymouth—through what are now Halifax, North Plympton, and Kington.

²³⁰ The land, in what is now the town of Lakeville, inclosed between Assawompsett and Great Quitticas Ponds on the east and north, and Long Pond

on the west; some four miles in length, and varying from two miles to 80 rods in width. This narrowest part is at the northern entrance to the neck, where Long Pond and Assawompsett come near together, and are connected by a little brook.

²³¹ The brook referred to in the last note, which crosses the road to New Bedford a little south of what has long been known as Sampson's Tavern; now dignified as the Lakeville House.

toward *Cushnet*,²³² where all the Houses were burnt; and crossing *Cushnet River*,²³³ being extremely fatigued, with two Nights and one Days ramble without Rest or Sleep; and observing good forage for their Horses, the Captain concluded upon baiting, and taking a Nap. Setting Six Men to watch the passage of the River, two to watch at a time, while the other slept, & so to take their turns; while the rest of the Company went into a thicket to Sleep under the guard of two Sentinels more. But the whole Company being very drowsy, soon forgot their danger, and were fast a-sleep, Sentinels, and all. The Captain first awakes, looks up, and judges he had slept four Hours, which being longer than he designed, immediately rouses his Company, and sends away a file to see what were become of the watch at the passage of the River, but they no sooner opened the River in sight, but they discovered a company of the Enemy viewing of their tracts, where they came into the Neck;²³⁴ Capt. *Church* and those with him soon dispers'd into the brush on each side of the way,

²³² *Cushnet* (*Acushnet*, *Accushhaneck*, *Acushenah*, *Cushenah*, *Cushenett*) was the name of the first settlement made at the head of *Acushnet* inlet, three miles north of New Bedford, where the river meets the tide. It is about 11½ miles almost due south of that spot in the neck where *Church* paused to feed his horses. With *Ponagansett* and *Coaksett* it had been constituted a township, named *Dartmouth*, 8 June, 1664; and burned by the Indians in the summer

of 1675, — as, see note 109, *ante*. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* iv: 65.]

²³³ They came down on the east side of the river, and, where it runs into tide-water, crossed to the western side, on their way to *Ruffell's* garrison at *Ponaganfet*.

²³⁴ The neck between the great cedar swamp and the *Pascamanfet* River, on the west, and the head of *Acushnet* inlet (now *New-Bedford Harbor*) on the east.

while the file sent, got undiscovered to the passage of the River, and found their watch all fast a sleep: but these Tidings thoroughly awakened the whole Company. But the Enemy giving them no present disturbance, they examined their Snapfacks, and taking a little refreshment, the Captain orders one party to guard the Horfes, and the other to Scout,²³⁵ who soon met with a Track, and following of it, they were bro't to a small company of *Indians*, who proved to be *Little Eyes*, and his Family, and near Relations, who were of *Sogkonate*, but had forsaken their Country men, upon their making Peace with the *English*. Some of Capt. *Churches* Indians asked him, *If he did not know that Fellow?* Told him, *This is the Rogue that would have killed you at Awashonks Dance;*²³⁶ and signified to him that now he had an opportunity to be revenged on him. But the Captain told them, *It was not English-mans fashion to seek revenge; and that he should have the same quarter the rest had.* Moving to the River side, they found an old Canoo, with which the Captain ordered *Little Eyes* and his company to be carryed over to an Island;²³⁷ Telling him, *he would leave him on that Island until he returned;*

²³⁵ They must have scouted over the ground where the city of New Bedford now stands.

²³⁶ See note 19, *ante*.

²³⁷ Probably what is now called Palmer's Island, on which the inner light-house stands, midway of the channel, just as it narrows between Fair Haven and New Bedford, and in the range of

the southernmost wharves of the latter. Fifth, Pope's, and Crow Islands, nearly a mile further up, would not have enabled Lightfoot to look over upon Sconticut neck, as he seems next day to have done; but the narrow entrance to that neck is in plain sight, two miles due east from the lower extremity of Palmer's.

and lest the English should light on them, and kill them, he would leave his cousin Light-foot²³⁸ (whom the English knew to be their Friend) to be his guard. Little Eyes expressed himself very thankful to the Captain. He leaving his orders with *Light-foot*, returns to the Rivers side towards *Poneganset*, to *Russels Orchard*,²³⁹ coming near the Orchard they clap'd into a thicket and there lodg'd the rest of the Night without any fire; and upon the Morning light appearing, moves towards the Orchard, discovers some of the Enemy, who had been there the day before, and had beat down all the Apples, and carryed them away; discovered also where they had lodg'd that Night, and saw the ground where they set their baskets bloody, being as they supposed and as it was afterwards discovered to be with the flesh of Swine, &c. which they had killed that day: They had lain under [34] the Fences without any fires; and seem'd by the marks they left behind them to be very numerous, perceived also by the dew on the grass that they had not been long gone; and therefore mov'd a-pace in pursuit of them. Travelling three Miles, or more, they came into the Country Road, where the track parted, one parcel steered towards the West end of the great Cedar Swamp, and the other to the East end.²⁴⁰

²³⁸ *Lightfoot* appears to have been one of Awashonks' Indians who volunteered at Mattapoiset (p. 99). Church afterwards gave him the title of captain. He fought with Church in the first expedition east, in 1689.

See note 110, *ante*.

²⁴⁰ The three miles seem to have brought them near to what is now known as the village of North Dartmouth. The eastern path skirting the swamp ran over toward Acushnet; the western would seem to have led up near where Turner's Mills now stand, on

The Captain halted and told his *Indian Souldiers*, *That they had heard as well as he, what some Men had said at Plymouth about them, &c. That now was a good opportunity for each party to prove themselves: The Track being divided they should follow one, and the English the other, being equal in number.* The *Indians* declined the Motion, and were not willing to move any where without him; said, *they should not think themselves safe without him.* But the Captain insifting upon it, they submitted; he gave the *Indians* their choice to follow which track they pleased; they replied, *They were light and able to Travel, therefore if he pleased they would take the West Track.* And appointing the Ruins of *John Cooks* House at *Cushnet*²⁴ for

the western side of the Pascamanfet River, toward Sassaquin's Pond. The distance round to the rendezvous at Acushnet, by the latter, was much the greater, and on this account the *Indians* chose it, because "they were light and able to travel."

²⁴¹ *John Cooke* was son of Francis, and came in the *Mayflower* with his father; married 28 March, 1634, Sarah, daughter of Richard Warren; was deacon of the *Plymouth Church*, but was cast out, in the latter part of Mr. *Reyners*'s ministry, for "having been the author of much dissension and division, and for afterwards running into sectarian and anabaptistical principles"; had a grant of land in *Dartmouth*, in June, 1664; became one of the first settlers of *Acushnet*; was deputy from there in 1666, 1667, 1668, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1683, and

1686; was authorized as a magistrate there in 1667, 1684, and 1689; had a controversy with some of the inhabitants of *Dartmouth* in regard to "Ram Island," which was settled by the Court, 1 July, 1672; died at *Dartmouth*, 23 Nov., 1695, probably the only one of the passengers on board the *Mayflower* who lived through the entire existence of the *Plymouth Colony*! *Backus* says he became a Baptist minister and "preached the doctrine of election, with the other doctrines of sovereign grace in *Dartmouth* for a number of years"; and thinks he founded the Baptist Church, near the borders of *Tiverton* and *Dartmouth*, in 1685. His house — whose ruins are here referred to — was situated on the *Fair-Haven* side of the *Acushnet*, about a mile north of the *New-Bedford* and *Fair-Haven* Bridge, and about a third of a mile east of the river, in what is

the place to meet at ; each Company fet out briskly to try their Fortunes. Capt. *Church* with his *English* Soldiers followed their Track until they came near entring a miery Swamp, when the Capt. heard a Whistle in the Rear, (which was a note for a halt) looking behind him, he saw *William Fobes*²⁴² start out of the Company and made towards him, who hasten'd to meet him as fast as he could; *Fobes* told him they had discovered abundance of *Indians*, and if he pleased to go a few steps back he might see them himself: he did so, and saw them a-crofs the Swamp, observing them, he perceived they were gather-

now called "Brimblecome's Orchard." The site is almost directly opposite the house of Mr. J. M. Howland now standing, and is a few rods south of the Woodside Cemetery. A block-house also stood upon his land, perhaps half way from his house to the river. His farm was bounded on the west by the Acushnet, and ran back toward the east a mile and a half or more, and north and south at least as far, his house being pretty nearly in the center of it north and south. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* i: 447; *Plym. Col. Rec.* iv: 67, 122, 148, 153, 163, 180; v: 93, 97, 114, 144, 165, 256; vi: 10, 36, 61, 106, 147, 186, 217; Ricketfon's *Hist. New Bedford*, 35, 314; Backus's *Hist. N. E.* ii: 16, 18; *Abridgment of do.* 135; MS. letters from Mr. F. B. Dexter and Mr. Geo. H. Taber.]

²⁴² *William Fobes* (*Fobbes*, *Vobes*, *Forbes*) was the fourth son of John Fobes (and Constant, sister of Experience Mitchel), who was one of the early

settlers at Duxbury, and subsequently one of the original proprietors of Bridgewater, where he settled and died about 1661. William married, about 1667, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Constant Southworth of Duxbury, — who seems to have been opposed to the match, putting this item into his will: "I will and bequeath unto my daughter E. S. my next best bed and furniture, with my wife's best bed, provided shee doe not marry William Fobbes; but if shee doe, then to have five shillings." William was, of course, at the time of this Indian campaign, a brother-in-law of Church. He afterwards settled at Little Compton — I do not know whether on the land there allotted to his elder brother, Edward, who took it among the first grantees in his father's right (see note 7), — and went commissary with Maj. Church, in the third expedition east, in 1692. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* ii: 177; Winsor's *Duxbury*, 258, 314; Mitchell's *Bridgewater*, 159.]

ing of *Hurtle-Berries*, and that they had no apprehensions of their being fo near them; The Captain supposed them to be chiefly Women, and therefore calling one Mr. *Dil-lano*,²⁴³ who was acquainted with the ground, and the Indian Language, and another named Mr. *Barns*;²⁴⁴ with these two Men he takes right thro' the Swamp as fast as he could, and orders the rest to hasten after them. Capt.

²⁴³ I think this was *Jonathan Delano* (*DeLauney, DeLa Noye, Delanoy, Dal-lanoy, Dellano, Delanoe*), son of Philip, who came in the *Fortune*, in 1621, and was one of the first settlers of Duxbury. Jonathan was born in 1648, and was consequently near 28 years of age at this time. He married, 26 Feb., 1678, Mercy, daughter of Nathaniel Warren, of Plymouth, and had eleven children. He became one of the early settlers of Dartmouth (probably in his father's right of one share among the 36 original proprietors, in 1652), which would account for his being "acquainted with the ground." He was "commissi- onated" lieutenant (as I judge for his military experience in this war), 20 May, 1690; was constable, town clerk, surveyor, selectman, and, in 1689, deputy from Dartmouth. He died 28 Dec., 1720; and his gravestone still remains in the old Acufhnet burying-ground. [Winfor's *Duxbury*, 251; Ricketson's *New Bedford*, 208, 386; Savage's *Gen. Dict.* ii: 34.]

²⁴⁴ The clew to identification here is flight; but Church's English soldiers on this expedition, were likeliest to be of Plymouth and its vicinity; and the Barnes known to me as best fulfilling

this and other natural conditions, is Jonathan, second son of John, of Plymouth, 1632 (probably of Yarmouth, 1639), who married Mary Plummer. Jonathan was born 3 June, 1643, and was, consequently, at this time, a little more than 33 years of age. In March, 1664-5, with his father, he had a controversy with Mr. Maherbhalahashbaz (an extraordinary christening borrowed from *Isa.* viii: 1.) Dyer, of Newport, R.-I., in regard to a sloop; in which he got the worst of it, to the amount of £13 and his own costs. He married, 4 Jan., 1665, Elizabeth, daughter of William Hedge, of Yarmouth, and had eleven children. 29 Oct., 1671, he was appointed, with the widow, administrator on his father's estate; 3 June, 1673, the Court gave him, with another, liberty to act as guardian of the children of his sister Mary, who had married Robert Marshall; in 1677 he was constable of Plymouth; in 1679 and 1684 he served on coroner's juries, and in 1667, 1672, 1681, 1684, and 1685, on trial juries. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* i: 121; *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 81, 216, 231; vi: 8, 148; vii: 121, 136, 172, 242, 243, 285, 298; viii: 31; Freeman's *Hist. Cape Cod*, ii: 16, 186.]

Church with *Dillano & Barns* having good Horfes, fpur'd on and where foon among the Thickeft of the *Indians*, and out of fight of their own Men: Among the Enemy was an *Indian* Woman (who with her Husband had been drove off from *Rhode-Ifland*) notwithstanding they had an Houfe upon Mr. *Sanford's* Land,²⁴⁵ and had planted an Orchard before the War; yet the Inhabitants would not be fatif-tyed till they were fent off;²⁴⁶ and Capt. *Church* with his Family, living then at the faid *Sanfords*, came acquainted with them, who thought it very hard to turn off fuch old,

²⁴⁵ *Peleg Sanford* [*Sandford, Samford*] was fon of John, who was one of the earlieft fetlers of Rhode-Ifland. He, before 1665, married Mary, daughter of Gov. Brenton; was admitted freeman at Newport, 1666; was made affitant in 1667, and again in later years; 1667 was chofen captain of a troop of horfe; was appointed a Commiffioner to England in the fame year, but did not go; was General Treafurer in 1678, and afterward; was elected Major of all troops on the ifland in 1679; was chofen Governor, on Cranfton's death in 1680, and again in 1681, 1682, and 1683, when he declined; came near being killed by pirates, in 1682; was chofen to go to England for the Colony in 1683, and had an Admiralty commiffion from the king in 1697-8, followed by a correffpondence with Lord Bellemont. It is not known when he died. His houfe was in Newport. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* iv: 15; *R.-I. Col. Rec.* ii: 147, 186, 218, 241, 565; iii: 5, 8, 30, 80, 83, 97, 106, 120, 134, 394.]

²⁴⁶ The following order of the Court, paffed 13 March, 1675-6, will fhew the ftate of feeling then exifting on the ifland in regard to the refidence of *Indians* among them: "This Affembly doe order, that whatfoever perfon in Rhode Ifland, or elfewhere in this Colony, that hath either Indian or *Indians* in his cuftody, from 12 yeares old and upward, fhall be bound in the daytime (if he goeth abroad from his houfe), to have a fufficient keeper in company with him, and to be locked up in the night in a fufficient place of fecurity; and that if any fuch Indian be found without fuch keeper in the day or lockt up in the night as abovefaid, all fuch mafter foe offendinge fhall forfeitt £5; twenty-five fhillings fhall be to him that can take an Indian foe offendinge, and bring him before the Governor, or any magiftrate; or by two fufficient witneffes to teftify againft the offender, and the remainder to the Generall Treafury." This order was publifhed "by beate of drum." [*R.-I. Col. Rec.* ii: 534.]

quiet People: but in the end it prov'd a Providence & an advantage to him and his Family, as you may see afterwards. This *Indian* Woman knew Capt. *Church*, and as soon as she saw him, held up both her hands and came running towards him, crying aloud, *Church, Church, Church*. Capt. *Church* bid her stop the rest of the *Indians*, and tell them, *The way to save their Lives was not to run, but yield themselves Prisoners, and he would not kill them*; [35] so with her help, and *Dillano's*, who could call to them in their own Language, many of them stop'd and surrendred themselves; others scampering and casting away their baskets, &c. betook themselves to the thickets, but Capt. *Church* being on Horse-back soon came up with them, and laid hold on a Gun that was in the hand of one of the foremost of the company, pull'd it from him, and told him he must go back. And when he had turned them, he began to look about him to see where he was, and what was become of his Company, hoping they might be all as well employ'd as himself, but could find none but *Dillano*, who was very busy gathering up Prisoners; the Captain drove his that he had stop'd to the rest, inquiring of *Dillano* for their Company, but could have no news of them. But moving back picked up now and then a skulking Prisoner by the way. When they came near the place where they first started the *Indians*, they discover'd their Company standing in a body together, and had taken some few Prisoners; when they saw their Captain, they hastened to meet him: They told him they found it difficult getting

thro' the Swamp, and neither seeing nor hearing any thing of him, they concluded the Enemy had kill'd him, and were at a great loss what to do. Having brought their Prisoners together they found they had taken and kill'd 66 of the Enemy. Capt. *Church* then ask'd the old Squaw, *What company they belonged unto?* She said, They belonged part to *Philip*, and part to *Qunnappin*²⁴⁷ and the *Narraganset-Sachem*,²⁴⁸ discovered also upon her declaration that both *Philip* and *Qunnappin* were about two Miles off in the great Cedar Swamp;²⁴⁹ he enquired of her, *What company they had with them?* She answered, *Abundance of Indians: The Swamp, she said, was full of Indians from one end unto the other, that were settled there, that there were near an 100 men came from the Swamp with them, and left them upon that plain to gather Hurtle-berry's, and promised to call them as they came back out of Sconticut-Neck,*²⁵⁰ *whither they went to kill Cattel and Horses for*

²⁴⁷ *Quinnappin* (*Panoquin*, *Sowagonish*, &c.) was a Narraganfett, and nephew of *Miantinnomoh*. He became an ally of Philip, — one of his three wives being a sister of *Wootonekannske*, Philip's wife, — was in the Narraganfett swamp fight, and aided in the attack on Lancaster, 10 Feb., 1675; purchasing Mrs. Rowlandson of the Narraganfett who captured her at that time. He was taken soon after the time of his present mention, and was shot at Newport, on sentence of a Court-martial, 25 August, 1676. [Drake's *Book of Ind.* 239; *R.-I. Hist. Coll.* iii: 173.]

²⁴⁸ Possibly *Punham*, who was killed

at Dedham, 25-27 July, and who — doubtless with his followers — was likely to have been at this time with Philip. [Drake's *Book of Ind.* 257.]

²⁴⁹ That, as I suppose, which is still called by this name, two or three miles north-west of the city of New Bedford, and through which the road to Turner's Mills now passes.

²⁵⁰ The southern portion of the town of Fair Haven, projecting like a finger pointing toward the Elizabeth Islands, — some 3 miles long by an average breadth of near $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, and forming the eastern boundary of New-Bedford Harbor.

Provisions for the company. She perceiving Capt. Church move towards the Neck, told him, *If they went that way they would all be kill'd.* He ask'd her, *Where-about they crossed the River?* She pointed to the upper passing place.²⁵¹ Upon which Capt. Church passed over so low down as he thought it not probable they should meet with his Track in their return;²⁵² and hastened towards the Island, where he left *Little Eyes*, with *Light-foot*.²⁵³ Finding a convenient place by the River side for the Securing their Prisoners,²⁵⁴ Capt. Church and Mr. Dillano went down to see what was become of Capt. *Light-foot*, and the Prisoners left in his charge. *Light-foot* seeing and knowing them, soon came over with his broken Canoo;²⁵⁵ and inform'd them, *That he had seen that day about 100 Men of the Enemy go down into Sconticut Neck, and that they were now returning again:* Upon which they three ran down immediately to a Meadow where *Light-foot* said the *Indians* had passed; where they not only saw their Tracks, but also them: Where-upon they lay close until the En-

²⁵¹ The "upper passing place" was where Church and his company had crossed, the night before, probably about where the bridge now is, at the Head of the River. [See note 233, *ante*.]

²⁵² Any lower crossing could hardly have been accomplished, even at ebb tide, without some swimming or the aid of a canoe. The likeliest place for this lower crossing seems to be from Belville to Island Marth, where the river narrows so that they would have needed

to swim not more than 100 yds. This is just north of the Wamsutta Mills in New Bedford.

²⁵³ See note 238, *ante*.

²⁵⁴ Probably just above Mill Creek, which flows into the Acushnet just below the present New-Bedford and Fair-Haven bridge.

²⁵⁵ He doubtless landed near Fort Phœnix; then, with Church and Dillano, ran along to the road up out of Sconticut neck and the meadow.

emy came into the said [36] Meadow, and the fore-moſt fat down his load and halted, until all the company came up, and then took up their loads & march'd again the ſame way that they came down into the Neck, which was the neareſt way unto their Camp; had they gone the other way along the River,²⁵⁶ they could not have miſſed Capt. *Churches* Track, which, would doubtleſs have expoſ'd them to the loſs of their Priſoners, if not of their lives. But as ſoon as the Coaſt was clear of them, the Captain ſends his *Light-foot* to fetch his Priſoners from the Iſland, while he and Mr. *Dillano* returns to the company, ſent part of them to conduct *Light-foot* & his company to the aforeſaid Meadow, where Capt. *Church* and his company met them; croſſing the Enemies Track they made all haſt, until they got over *Mattapoſet-river*,²⁵⁷ near about four Miles beyond the ruines of *Cooks* Houſe, where he appointed to meet his *Indian* company, whither he ſent *Dillano*, with two more to meet them; ordering them, that if the *Indians* were not arrived, to wait for them. Accordingly, finding no *Indians* there, they waited until late in the Night, when they arrived with their booty.²⁵⁸ They

²⁵⁶ The neareſt path from Sconticut neck to the Acuſhnet croſſing, probably was then very nearly where the road now is; which averages a diſtance of about a mile from the eaſtern ſhore of the Acuſhnet. Church's path hugged that ſhore, and, as he croſſed lower down, his track nowhere touched theirs.

²⁵⁷ *Mattapoſet* River empties into

Mattapoſet Harbor, and its courſe for its laſt 5 miles averages about 4 miles eaſt of the Acuſhnet, on whoſe ſhore ſtood Cook's houſe.

²⁵⁸ The weſtern path around the great cedar ſwamp required much longer time than the eaſtern, over which Church had come; and the *Indians* had that in mind in chooſing it. (See note 240, *ante*.)

dispatch'd a Post to their Captain to give him an account of their Success; but the day broke before they came to him: And when they had compared Successes, they very remarkably found that the number that each Company had taken and slain, was equal. The *Indians* had kill'd 3 of the Enemy, and taken 63 Prisoners, as the *English* had done before them, both *English* and *Indians* were surpriz'd at this remarkable Providence, and were both parties rejoicing at it; being both before afraid of what might have been the event of the unequal Success of the parties.²⁵⁹ But the *Indians* had the fortune to take more Arms than the *English*. They told the Captain, *That they had missed a brave Opportunity by parting; They came upon a great Town of the Enemy, viz Capt. Tyasks²⁶⁰ company, (Tyasks was the next man to Philip) They fired upon the Enemy before they were discovered, and ran upon them with a shout; the Men ran and left their Wives and Children, and many of them their Guns:*²⁶¹ *They took*

²⁵⁹ The reference is to the prejudice — which Church referred to when he made to the Indians of his party the proposition to go by themselves — still existent in the Colony against the Indians as soldiers in that war; a prejudice paralleled in obstinate persistence by that so long entertained by many against the colored troops in our recent struggle.

²⁶⁰ *Tyasks (Tiashq)* I find nothing of more than is here narrated, except that Mather says of this fight, "*Tiashq* Philip's Chief Captain ran away leav-

ing his Gun behind him, and his *Squaw*, who was taken"; and Hubbard says, "In June last," — his chronology, of course, is in fault, — "one *Tiashq*, a great captain of his [Philip's], his wife and child, or children, being taken; though he escaped himself, at first, yet came since and surrendered himself." [*Brief Hist.* 42; *Narrative*, 106.]

²⁶¹ Mr. Drake says, in his late edition of Mather's *Brief History* (p. 181, note), that "the place where these prisoners were taken was probably in some part of what is since Rochester." It is haz-

Tyasks *Wife and Son, and tho't that if their Captain & the English company had been with them they might have taken some hundreds of them: And now they determined not to part any more.*

That Night *Philip* sent (as afterwards they found out) a great Army to way-lay Capt. *Church* at the entring on of *Affawompsset* Neck, expecting he would have returned the same way he went in; but that was never his method to return the same way that he came; & at this time going another way he escaped falling into the hands of his Enemies. The next day they went home by *Scipican*,²⁶² and got well with their Prisoners to *Plymouth*.

He soon went out again; and this stroke he drove many Weeks;²⁶³ and when he took any number of Prisoners, he would pick out some that he took a fancy to, and would tell them, *He took a particular fancy to them, and had chose them for himself to make Souldiers of; and if any would behave themselves well, he would do well by them, and they should be his men and not Sold out of the Country.* [37] If he perceived they look'd furly, and his *Indian* Souldiers

ardous for a neophyte to venture to differ from one so long and largely familiar with Indian affairs; but I think if Mr. Drake would take with him Church's account over the country traversed, he would agree with me in fixing the place of *Tiathq's* capture as somewhere on the northern and western skirts of the "great cedar swamp," in what is now New Bedford.

²⁶² It would be a short four miles from

their present position, on the east bank of the *Mattapoisett* River, to that point in the road to *Plymouth*, by *Sippican*, where *Church* discovered *Awathonks* and her party. [See note 212, *ante*.]

²⁶³ This is to be taken as a general remark, covering Church's relation to this summer of the war, and not as intimating that many weeks passed before the period of the next incident which he specifically sets down.

call'd them treacherous Dogs, as some of them would sometimes do, all the notice he would take of it, would only be to clap them on the back, and tell them, *Come, come, you look wild and furly, and mutter, but that signifies nothing, these my best Souldiers were a little while ago as wild and furly as you are now; by that time you have been but one day along with me, you'l love me too, and be as brisk as any of them.* And it prov'd so. For there was none of them but (after they had been a little while with him, and see his behaviour, and how chearful and successful his Men were) would be as ready to Pilot him to any place where the *Indians* dwelt or haunted (tho' their own Fathers or nearest Relations should be among them) or to fight for him, as any of his own Men.

Capt. *Church* was in two particulars much advantaged by the great *English Army*²⁶⁴ that was now abroad. One was, that they drove the Enemy down to that part of the Country, *viz.* to the Eastward of *Taunton* River by which means his business was nearer home. The other was that when ever he fell on with a push upon any body of the Enemy (were they never so many) they fled expecting the great Army. And his manner of Marching thro' the Woods was such, as if he were discovered, they appeared

²⁶⁴ Besides the Plymouth troops under Major Bradford, to whom Church has herein referred; Major Talcot was in the field with some 250 English and 200 Mohegans from Connecticut, and two companies from Massachusetts, un-

der Capts. Brattle and Mofely, were associated with Bradford's men; besides Henchman's forces, which were scouring the interior woods. [Palfrey's *Hist. N. E.* iii: 197; Barry's *Hist. Mass.* i: 444, 445.]

to be more than they were. For he always Marched at a wide distance one from another, partly for their safety: and this was an *Indian* custom, to March thin and scatter. Capt. *Church* inquired of some of the *Indians* that were become his Souldiers, *How they got such advantage often of the English in their Marches thro' the Woods?* They told him, That the *Indians* gain'd great advantage of the *English* by two things; The *Indians* always took care in their Marches and Fights, not to come too thick together. But the *English* always kept in a heap together, that it was as easy to hit them as to hit an House. The other was, that if at any time they discovered a company of *English* Souldiers in the Woods, they knew that there was all, for the *English* never scattered; but the *Indians* always divided and scattered.

Capt. *Church* now at *Plymouth*, something or other happen'd that kept him at home a few days, until a Post came to *Marshfield* on the Lords day Morning,²⁶⁵ informing the Governour that a great army of *Indians* were discovered, who it was supposed were designing to get over the River towards *Taunton* or *Bridgewater*, to Attack those Towns that lay on that side the River.²⁶⁶ The Governour hastned to *Plymouth*, raised what Men he could by the way, came to *Plymouth* in the beginning of the forenoon Exercise;

²⁶⁵ Sunday, 30 July, 1676.

²⁶⁶ Philip had been in the neighborhood of Affawompset Pond, in Middleborough, on the southern and eastern side of Taunton (*Titicut*, i.e. *Keh-teih-tuk-gut* [*Eliot*, Gen. xv: 18], "on-the-

great-river") River. In order to get at Taunton and Bridgewater, which were on the northern and western side, it was needful for him to cross; and, both for easier crossing and to avoid the "great army," he would move north to do it.

sent for Capt. *Church* out of the Meeting-house, gave him the News, and desired him immediately to Rally what of his Company he could; and what Men he had raised should joyn them. The Captain bestirs himself, but found no Bread in the Store-house, and so was forc'd to run from House to House to get House-hold Bread for their March; but this nor any thing else prevented his Marching by the beginning of the afternoon Exercise; March-[38]ing with what Men were ready, he took with him the Post that came from *Bridgewater* to Pilot him to the Place, where he tho't he might meet with the Enemy.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ Mitchell [in 2 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vii: 157, and in his *Hist. Bridgewater*, 39] gives an extract from an old manuscript which he supposes to have been written by Comfort Willis, who was "Town Trooper" at this time, which gives some details slightly at variance with Church's account of the matter, but which, if genuine, must take precedence in authenticity. He says, "On Saturday [29 July], Capt. Hayward, Sergt. Packard, John Willis, and Isaac Harris, went out to see if the Indians were coming down upon them, and they saw an Indian, which made them think the enemy was at hand; and they immediately pressed Comfort Willis and Joseph Edson to go post to the Governor the same day at night to tell him of it. And he [the Governor] went to Plymouth with them the next day, [Sunday, 30 July] to send Capt. Church with his company. And Capt. Church came with them to Monponset [Halifax] on the Sabbath, and

came no further that day; and he told them he would meet them the next day. And Comfort Willis and Joseph Edson came home at night, and told their friends of it, and Ensign Howard, Samuel Edson, Josiah Edson, Joseph Edson, John Washburn, Samuel Washburn, Thomas Washburn, John Field, Nicholas Byram, Samuel Allen, Samuel Allen, jr., John Gordon, John Hayward, John Packard, John Ames, Comfort Willis, Guido Bailey, Nathaniel Hayward, John Whitman, John Packard, and Samuel Leach went out on Monday, supposing to meet with Captain Church; but they came upon the enemy, and fought with them, and took seventeen of them alive, and also much plunder, and they all returned, and not one of them fell by the enemy, and received no help from Church."

I incline to accept the version of this MS., and I reconcile its statements with those of Church by supposing him, in his reminiscence of the events, forty

In the Evening they heard a smart firing at a distance from them, but it being near Night, and the firing but of short continuance, they mis'd the place and went into *Bridgewater* Town.²⁶⁸ It seems, the occasion of the firing, was, That *Philip* finding that Capt. *Church* made that side of the Country too hot for him, design'd to return to the other side of the Country that he came last from.²⁶⁹ And coming to *Taunton* River with his company,²⁷⁰ they fell'd

years after, to have dropped out one day from his reckoning, — if his language was meant to be taken, as it would naturally be, as implying that “in the evening” was the evening of the same day on which he left Plymouth. I think that he went no further than Monponset on the Sabbath; that on Monday he scouted fouth-westward toward Bridgewater, along the upper skirt of those great cedar swamps which still occupy so many miles of the northern part of Middleborough, and where he would be likeliest to find Philip, but failed to fall in with him; that the “smart firing at a distance” which he heard, was that of Comfort Willis’s party (*Increase Mather* says it was “about 3 h. p. m.”); and that “missing the place” of that, he went into Bridgewater Town on *Monday* evening, 31 July. Hubbard and both the Mathers fix the date of the expedition of the Bridgewater men — as the old MS. does — on Monday, 31 July; while, if the apparent statement of Church were taken, it would fix it on Sunday, the 30th. Four to one, and that one dictating so long afterward, must carry

the day. [Hubbard’s *Narrative*, 101; *Brief History*, 44; *Magnalia* (ed. 1853) ii: 575.]

²⁶⁸ *Bridgewater* Town then was what is now known as West Bridgewater; the first settlement having been made on Town River, less than three miles east of the present eastern boundary line of Easton.

²⁶⁹ That is, on the western side of Titicut River, toward the Nipmuck country, north-westerly, or toward the Narragansett country on the fouth-west.

²⁷⁰ After long inquiry, I have failed to get any evidence, of much value, fixing the position of this crossing-place where the tree was felled. The only tradition of any fort which has come to my knowledge, with regard to it, was furnished me by Williams Latham, Esq., of Bridgewater, who informs me that Mr. Stillman B. Pratt, late editor of the *Middleborough Gazette*, once told him that the tree was felled near the junction of the Nemasket, with the Taunton River. This spot is about three quarters of a mile a little east of fouth of the present Titicut Station on the Old-Colony and Fall-

a great Tree a-crofs the River for a Bridge to pafs over on; and juft as *Philips* old Uncle *Akkompoin*,²⁷¹ and fome other of his chiefs were paffing over the Tree, fome brisk *Bridgewater* Lads, had Ambush'd them, fired upon them, and killed the old man, and feveral others, which put a ftop to their coming over the River that Night.

Next Morning²⁷² Capt. *Church* moved very early with his Company which was increafed by many of *Bridgewater* that lifted under him for that Expedition, and by their Piloting, he foon came very ftill, to the top of the great Tree which the Enemy had fallen a-crofs the River; and the Captain fpy'd an *Indian* fitting upon the ftump of it on the other fide of the river; and he clap'd his Gun up, and had doubtlefs difpatch'd him, but that one of his own *Indians* called haftily to him, Not to fire, for he believed it was one of his own men; upon which the *Indian* upon

River Railroad. I diftruff this tradition, however, and am of opinion that Philip kept up feveral miles further on the eaft bank of Town River, before croffing, for thefe reafons: (1) it feems to me, intrinfically, quite as probable that he would do fo; (2) the fream would be much lefs in width, and could be much eafier croffed upon a tree, in the manner fuggelted; (3) the requifites of the fubfequent narrative feem to me to require them to be further north on the fream next day than they would have been if the tree had been as low down as Titicut; and (4) that my fuppoftion would bring their "firing" up more nearly within Church's hearing,

in his natural route from Monponfet. I fhould be inclined, then, to place the probable pofition of the tree much nearer to Sprague's Hill than to Titicut.

²⁷¹ *Unkompoin* [*Uncompowett*] figned a treaty of friendship with the Englifh at Plymouth, 6 Aug, 1662, with Philip, and is there ftyled "Vnkell to the abouefaid fachem." With Philip, he claimed land in Swanfey, in 1668. Mather fays he was "one of his [Philip's] chief Councillors." Mr. Drake fays he was alfo called *Woonkaponehunt* and *Wohkorpahenitt*. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* iv: 26; v: 79; *Brief Hift.* 44; *Book of Ind.* 199, 203, 204.]

²⁷² Tuefday, 1 Aug.

the stump look'd about, and Capt. *Churches Indian* seeing his face perceived his mistake, for he knew him to be *Philip*; clap'd up his Gun and fired, but it was too late, for *Philip* immediately threw himself off the stump, leap'd down a bank on the side of the River, and made his escape. Capt *Church* as soon as possible got over the River, and scattered in quest of *Philip*, and his company; but the Enemy scattered and fled every way; but he pick'd up a considerable many of their Women and Children, among which was *Philip's Wife*, and Son of about Nine Years Old.²⁷³ Discovering a considerable new Track

²⁷³ Philip's wife's name, Mr. Drake says, was *Wootonekanuske*; and he adds that she was a sister of one of the three wives of Quinnapin. Judge Davis gives an interesting account of the discussion that took place in the Colony in regard to the disposition to be made of Philip's son. The Court seem — as they often did, on questions concerning which they had doubt, and the more especially when those questions were of a moral nature — to have consulted the principal Reverend Elders. Samuel Arnold (pastor of the church in Marshfield) and John Cotton (Plymouth) write, 7 Sept., 1676, thus: "Upon serious consideration, we humbly conceive that the children of notorious traitors, rebels and murderers, especially of such as have bin principal leaders and actors in such horrid villainies, and that against a whole nation, yea the whole Israel of God, may be involved in the guilt of their parents, and may, *salva republica*, be adjudged to death, as to us

seems evident by the scripture instances of *Saul*, *Achan*, *Haman*, the children of whom were cut off by the sword of Justice for the transgressions of their parents, although, concerning some of those children, it be manifest that they were not capable of being coactors therein." Increase Mather, of Boston, wrote to Mr. Cotton, 30 Oct., 1676: "It is necessary that some effectual course should be taken about him [Philip's son]. He makes me think of Hadad, who was a little child when his father (the chief sachem of the Edomites) was killed by Joab; and, had not others fled away with him, I am apt to think, that David would have taken a course, that Hadad should never have proved a scourge to the next generation." Rev. James Keith, of Bridgewater, also wrote to Mr. Cotton, 30 Oct., 1676, but as follows: "I long to hear what becomes of Philip's wife and son. I know there is some difficulty in that *Psalms*, cxxxvii: 8, 9, though I think it

along the River, and examining the Prisoners, found that it was *Qunnappin* and the *Narragansets*, that were drawing off from those parts towards the *Narraganset* Country, he inquired of the Prisoners, *Whether Philip were gone in the same Track?* they told him, *They did not know, for he fled in a great fright when the first English Gun was fired, and they had none of them seen or heard any thing of him since.* Capt. *Church* left part of his Company there to secure the Prisoners they got, and to pick up what more they could find; and with the rest of his company hastened in the Track of the Enemy to over-take them, if it might be, before they got over the River, and ran some Miles along the River until he came unto a place where the *Indians* had waded over;²⁷⁴ and he with his Company waded over after them up to the Arm-pits; being almost as wet before with Sweat as the River could make them: Following about a Mile further, and not overtaking them, and the

may be considered, whether there be not some speciality and somewhat extraordinary in it. That law, *Deut.* xxiv: 16, compared with the commended example of *Amaziah*, 2 *Chron.* xxv: 4, doth sway much with me in the case under consideration. I hope God will direct those whom it doth concern to a good issue, &c. &c." By a letter from Mr. Cotton to Dr. Mather, 20 March, 1677, which contains this passing remark, "Philip's boy goes now to be sold," it is made almost certain that, with his mother, he shared the fate of so many of his nation, and went to spend his spared life in Cadiz, or the

Bermudas. [Davis's *Morton's Mem.* 454.]

²⁷⁴ While bathing, when a boy, in this river, I have often waded across on a bar which a local tradition assigns as the place where the Indians crossed on this occasion. It is, if I remember correctly, perhaps a mile and a quarter up stream from the junction of the Nemaasket with the Taunton, and nearly due west of the residence of the late Cephas Thompson, Esq., in Middleborough. If the position of the tree was where I suppose it to have been (see note 270, *ante*), this suits very well the demands of the narrative.

Captain being under a necessity [39] to return that Night to the Army, came to an halt, told his Company, *he must return to his other men.* His *Indians* Souldiers moved for leave to pursue the Enemy (tho' he return'd;) said, *The Narraganfets were great Rogues, and they wanted to be revenged on them for killing some of their Relations;* named, *Tokkamona*²⁷⁵ (*Awashonks* Brother) and some others. Capt. *Church* bad them go & prosper, and made *Light-foot* their chief,²⁷⁶ and gave him the title of Captain, *Bid them go and quit themselves like men.* And away they scampered like so many Horses. Next Morning²⁷⁷ early they returned to their Captain, and informed him, *That they had come up with the Enemy, and kill'd several of them, and brought him Thirteen of them Prisoners;* were mighty proud of their Exploit, and rejoiced much at the opportunity of avenging themselves. Capt. *Church* sent the Prisoners to *Bridgwater*, and sent out his Scouts to see what Enemies or Tracks they could, discovering some small Tracks, he follows them, found where the Enemy had kindled some fires, and roasted some flesh, &c. but had put out their fires and were gone. The Captain followed them by the Track, putting his *Indians* in the Front; some of which were such as he had newly taken from the

²⁷⁵ *Takanumma*, "a Sachem at Saconett," appeared at Plymouth Court, 3 Nov., 1671, "with Philip, cheife Sachem," and engaged subjection "to the Kinges ma^{ty} of England, this gou'ment, and the lawes thereof," &c., agreeing to pay yearly one wolf's head to the

Treasurer, and Philip engaged for his "performance of the said engagement in all points thereof." [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 80.

²⁷⁶ See note 238, *ante*.

²⁷⁷ Wednesday, 2 August, 1676.

Enemy, and added to his Company. Gave them order to March softly, and upon hearing a whistle in the Rear to fit down, till further order. Or upon discovery of any of the Enemy to stop, for his design was, if he could, discover where the Enemy were, not to fall upon them (unless necessitated to do it) until next Morning. The *Indians* in the Front came up with many Women and Children, and others that were faint and tired, and so not able to keep up with the Company; these gave them an account that *Philip* with a great number of the Enemy were a little before. Capt. *Churches* *Indians* told the others, *They were their Prisoners, but if they would submit to order and be still no one should hurt them*: They being their old acquaintance, they were easily persuaded to conform. A little before Sun-set there was a halt in the Front until the Captain came up, and they told him, *They discovered the Enemy*: He order'd them, to dog them, and watch their motion till it was dark. But *Philip* soon came to a stop, and fell to breaking and chopping Wood, to make fires: and a great noise they made. Capt. *Church* draws his company up into a ring, and sat down in the Swamp²⁷⁸

²⁷⁸ I find no data in any of the accounts of this pursuit for an accurate determination of the locality of this swamp; our only guide being general conjecture founded upon the lay of the land, the time taken, and the probabilities of the case. We must assume as the point of departure some place on *Titicut* River where it divides the present towns of Bridgewater and Middle-

borough, probably not far from the position of the State Alms House in the former. From this point, where the *Indians* waded across to the Bridgewater side, they unquestionably shaped their general course for the *Narragansett* country. But in doing so they must make a detour to the west to avoid the "army" in Taunton; as following the nearest route along the western bank of

without any noise or fire: The *Indian* Prisoners were much surprized to see the *English* Souldiers; but the Captain told them, *If they would be quiet and not make any disturbance or noise, they should meet with civil treatment, but if they made any disturbance, or offered to run, or make their escape, he would immediately kill them all; so they were very submissive & obsequious.* When the day broke,²⁷⁹ Capt. Church told his Prisoners, *That his Expedition was such at this time that he could not afford them any guard: Told them, They would find it to be their interest to attend the orders he was now about to give them; which was, That when the fight was over, which they now expected; or as*

the river would bring them directly upon that town. A glance at the configuration of the country will make it most probable, then, that they passed between *Nunkatest* (*Nippenicket*) and *Gushee* ponds, over into the north part of what is now Raynham, and thence into the north part of what is now Taunton, between *Winniconnet* and *Watson's* ponds, and so south-west, about as the division line between Taunton and Norton runs, toward Rehoboth. I assume that from 15 to 18 miles through those rough wood-paths and swamps would be as much as such a mixed company, many of whom were "faint and tired," could accomplish in a day. This, by the route which I have indicated, would bring them near to three cedar swamps; one now called *Crooked-Meadow* Swamp, through which the town line between Taunton and Norton runs; one called *Seekonk* Swamp,

in the southern angle of Norton; and a smaller one, three-quarters of a mile into Rehoboth, and some two miles north of *Squannakonk* Swamp, where *Annawon* was afterwards taken. It is my impression that the latter best meets all the conditions of the case. Philip seems to have camped on an upland on the edge of or within the swamp, as was their custom. Mr. Drake, in his edition of Church, places the swamp which sheltered them in *Mattapoisett* neck in *Swansey*. But that must have involved a return march on the part of Church and his prisoners of 25 to 30 miles back to *Bridgewater*, which was more than they could well accomplish before "that night"; besides that from *Swansey* Church's natural route would have led through Taunton, where he would most likely have delivered his prisoners, as on a subsequent occasion.

²⁷⁹ Thursday, 3 August, 1676.

soon as the firing ceased, they must follow the Tracks of his Company and come to them. (An [40] Indian is next to a blood-hound to follow a Track.) He said to them, *It would be in vain for them to think of disobedience, or to gain any thing by it, for he had taken and killed a great many of the Indian Rebels, and should in a little time kill and take all the rest, &c.* By this time it began to be so light, as the time that he usually chose to make his onset. He moved sending two Souldiers before to try if they could privately discover the Enemies postures. But very unhappily it fell out, that the very same time *Philip* had sent two of his as a Scout upon his own Track, to see if none dog'd them; who spy'd the two *Indian* men, and turn'd short about, and fled with all speed to their Camp: and Capt. *Church* pursued as fast as he could; the two *Indians* set a yelling and howling, and made the most hideous noise they could invent, soon gave the Alarm to *Philip* & his Camp; who all fled at the first tydings, left their Kittles boiling & Meat roasting upon their wooden Spits, & run into a Swamp with no other Break-fast, than what Capt. *Church* afterwards treated them with. Capt. *Church* pursuing, sent Mr. *Isaac Howland*²⁸⁰ with a party on one side of the Swamp, while him-

²⁸⁰ *Isaac Howland* was youngest son of John, and brother of Jabez (see note 207, *ante*); was one of the first settlers of Middleborough; married Eliza, daughter of George Vaughan; was surveyor of highways at M., in 1672; selectman

at M., in 1674, 1684, 1685, 1686; admitted freeman in 1681; was a member of the "grand enquest," in 1682; served on a trial jury, in 1683; was licensed to keep an ordinary at M., in 1684; was deputy for M., in 1689, 1690, 1691; re-

felf with the reft ran on the other-side, agreeing to run on each fide, until they met on the further end: placing fome men in feure Stands at that end of the Swamp where *Philip* entered, concluding that if they headed him and beat him back, that he would take back in his own Track. Capt. *Church* and Mr. *Howland* foon met at the further end of the Swamp (it not being a great one) where they met with a great number of the Enemy, well armed, coming out of the Swamp. But on fight of the *English* they feemed very much furprized, & tack'd fhort. Capt. *Church* called haftily to them, and faid, *If they fired one Gun they were all dead men; for he would have them know that he had them hem'd in, with a force fufficient to command them; but if they peaceably furrender'd they fhould have good quarter,*²⁸¹ &c. They feeing both *Indians* and *English* come fo thick upon them, were fo furprized that many of them flood ftill and let the *English* come and

ceived £7 of Thomas Jofen, of Little Compton, for “a yoak of oxen, unjuftly detained.” [Savage’s *Gen. Dict.* ii: 479; *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 93, 145; vi: 62, 86, 129, 131, 168, 186, 198, 206, 212, 222, 240, 246, 263, 268.]

²⁸¹ Hubbard fays, “In this engagement God did appear in a more then ordinary manner to fight for the *English*, for the *Indians* by their number, and other advantages of the place, were fo conveniently provided, that they might have made the firft fhoot at the *English*, and done them much damage; but one of their own Country-men in

Capt. *Churches* Company, efpying them, called aloud unto them in their own Language, telling them, *that if they fhoot a Gun, they were all dead men;* with which they were fo amazed, that they durft not once offer to fire at the *English*, which made the victory the more remarkable.” [Narrative, 102.] Mather [*Brief History*, 44] adds that the *Indian’s* name was *Matthias*. As *Church* could not himfelf fpeak *Indian*, this is probably the correft verfion of what took place; or perhaps he fpoke in *English*, and his *Indian* foldiers repeated his words in their tongue.

take the Guns out of their hands, when they were both charged and cock'd. Many both Men, Women and Children of the Enemy were imprifoned at this time; while *Philip, Tifpaquin, Totofon,*²⁸² &c. concluded that the *Engliſh* would purfue them upon their Tracks, ſo were way-laying their Tracks at the firſt end of the Swamp, hoping thereby to gain a ſhot upon Capt. *Church* who was now better imploy'd in taking his Priſoners & running them into a Valley, in form ſomething ſhap'd like a Punch-bole, and appointing a guard of two files trible armed with Guns taken from the Enemy. But *Philip* having waited all this while in vain, now moves on after the reſt of his company to ſee what was become of them. And by this time Capt. *Church* was got into the Swamp ready to meet him; and as it happen'd made the firſt diſcovery, clapt behind a Tree until *Philips* company came pretty near, and then fired upon them, kill'd many of them, and a cloſe ſkirmiſh followed. Upon this *Philip* having grounds ſufficient to ſuſpect the event of his com[41]pany that

²⁸² *Tatofon* (*Totofon, Tantozen*) is ſaid to have been the ſon of *Sam Barrow*, whoſe death is mentioned further on. There is a tradition that his camp was upon what — it is thought by corruption from his name — is now called *Towſer's* neck, an upland peninſula projecting into Great-Bear Swamp, about a mile and a half ſouth-weſt of the village of Rochefter, Maſs., and a ſhort diſtance eaſt of the road to Mattapoiet. *Tatofon* was witneſs to a deed

of lands upon *Weequancett* neck in 1666; with others “engaged his Fidelitie” to the Colony at Plymouth, 6 July, 1671; led the party that murdered Clark's Garrifon, 12 March, 1676 (ſee note 156, *ante*), whereupon “four coates” were offered to *Capt. Amos* as a reward if he would “bring him in”; and ſeems to have died miſerably, ſoon after *Philip's* death, as will appear further on. [*Drake's Book of the Ind.* 244; *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 72, 205, 206, 209.]

went before them, fled back upon his own Track; and coming to the place where the Ambush lay, they fired on each other, and one *Lucus* of *Plymouth*,²⁸³ not being so

²⁸³ *Thomas Lucas (Lucafe)* has a singularly and persistently bad record. He first appears before the Court, 3 Feb., 1656, when he had a controversy with the widow Dotey, and was cast in 3s.; 2 Oct., 1658, he was fined 10s. for a second conviction of drunkenness, and 5s. for retailing strong liquors; 6 Oct., 1659, he was fined 10s. for being drunk; 7 Mar., 1659-60, he was fined 30s. for abusive conduct toward James Cole, sen.'s wife and James Cole, jr.'s child; 2 Oct., 1660, he was fined 10s. for being drunk twice; 5 Mar., 1660-1, he was bound in £20 to find sureties for good behavior, but presenting himself in Court, "distempered with drinke," and with "vnbecoming behauiour" he was committed to prison and fined 40s.; 7 May, following, he was found drunk, and broke his bonds, and his case was referred to the next Court, which "upon some considerations" remitted £10 of his forfeiture; 3 Mar., 1662-3 he was sentenced to be "whipt" for drunkenness, but the sentence was suspended if he did not offend again; 1 Mar., 1663-4, he got his whipping, and was also bound over in £20, for abusing his wife and reviling others; 8 June, 1664, he was put in the stocks for swearing; 9 June, 1665, was imprisoned 24 hours for the same offence; 3 Oct., 1665, he was fined 10s. for being drunk; 2 Mar., 1668-9, his wife testified that he had not abused her since he was bound over;

and he, promising amendment, was released of that presentment; 7 June, 1670, he was fined 3s. 4d. for breaking the king's peace; 3 June, 1673, he was arrested for being drunk, but "released with admonition"; 1 June, 1675, "for being distempered with drinke, it being soe often, and that hee hath borne severall p'ticular punishments gradually, and can not be reclaimed, it was ordered concerning him that all that fell drinke be strictly ordered and prohibited to let him haue none"; 30 Oct., 1675, for being drunk, and for reviling some deceased magistrates, he was "whipt att the post." The only countervailing records concerning him — so far as they are such — which I have found, are that, 5 Mar., 1651-2, he gained £3 12s. in a jury trial from Richard Hawes; 15 July, 1660, he affixed his mark to the verdict of a coroner's inquest on the death of James Peirse; and that, 29 Oct., 1669, a jury gave him costs when sued by Joseph Bartlett, for 258 lbs. of "beefe delivered att his house." He was clearly a miserable, drunken, profane, quarrelsome fellow, and his life — as Church intimates by carelessness (he could hardly have been drunk so early in the morning) — found fit ending. He had five children, viz: John, born 15 July, 1656; Mary, born 15 Mar., 1658; Benoni, born 30 Oct., 1659; Samuel, born 15 Sept., 1661; and William, born 13 Jan., 1662.

careful as he might have been about his Stand, was kill'd by the *Indians*. In this Swamp skirmish Capt. *Church* with his two men which always ran by his side as his guard, met with three of the Enemy, two of which surrendered themselves, and the Captains guard seized them, but the other being a great stout furly fellow, with his two locks ty'd up with red, and a great Rattle-snake skin hanging to the back part of his head, (whom Capt. *Church* concluded to be *Totoson*) ran from them into the Swamp. Capt. *Church* in person pursued him close, till coming pretty near up with him, presented his Gun between his Shoulders, but it missing fire, the *Indian* perceiving it, turn'd and presented at Capt. *Church*, and missing fire also; their Guns taking wet with the Fog and Dew of the Morning; but the *Indian* turning short for another run, his foot trip'd in a small grape-vine, and he fell flat on his face; Capt. *Church* was by this time up with him, and struck the Muzzle of his Gun an inch and half into the back part of his head, which dispatch'd him without another blow. But Capt. *Church* looking behind him saw *Totoson* the *Indian* whom he tho't he had kill'd, come flying at him like a dragon: But this happened to be fair in sight of the guard that were set to keep the Prisoners, who spying *Totoson*, and others that were following of him, in the very seasonable juncture made a shot upon them, and rescued their Captain; tho' he was in no small

[*Plym. Col. Rec.* iii: 110, 150, 173, 181, 51, 55, 66, 101, 106; v: 16, 39, 118, 169, 196, 200, 206, 207, 212, 220, 223; iv: 33, 182; vii: 57, 157; viii: 23.]

danger from his friends bullets, for some of them came so near him that he tho't he felt the wind of them. The skirmish being over, they gathered their Prisoners together, and found the number that they had killed and taken was 173²⁸⁴ (the Prisoners which they took over Night included) who after the skirmish came to them, as they were ordered.

Now having no Provisions, but what they took from the Enemy, they hastened to *Bridgewater*, sending an express before to provide for them, their Company being now very numerous. The Gentlemen of *Bridgewater* met Capt. *Church* with great expression of honour and thanks, and received him and his Army with all due respect and kind treatment.

Capt. *Church* drove his Prisoners that Night into *Bridgewater* Pound,²⁸⁵ and set his *Indian* Souldiers to guard them. They being well treated with Victuals and drink, they had a merry Night; and the Prisoners laugh'd as loud as the Souldiers, not being so treated a long time before.

Some of the *Indians* now said to Capt. *Church*, *Sir, You have now made Philip ready to dye, for you have made him*

²⁸⁴ Hubbard says Church had in his own force but "30 Englishmen and 20 reconciled Indians," and that he took and killed "about" 153 of the enemy. [*Narrative*, 102.] Increase Mather says the same [*Brief History*, 44], and so does his son, Cotton. [*Magnalia*, ed. 1853, ii: 575.] But, in this, Church's memory, and notes, are the best authority; the more especially as the fact that his

pay, and that of his company, depended on the number, would fix it in his mind.

²⁸⁵ The pound was situated on the north bank of the Town River, in what is now West Bridgewater, within five rods of the river, and ten rods below the old town bridge; opposite to the site formerly occupied by the office of William Baylies, Esq.

as poor, and miserable as he us'd to make the English; for you have now killed or taken all his Relations. That they believed he would now soon have his head, and that this bout had almost broke his heart.

The next day Capt. *Church* moved and arrived with all his Prisoners safe at *Plymouth*.²⁸⁶ The great *English* army were now at *Taunton*, and Maj. *Talcot*²⁸⁷ [42] with the *Connecticut* Forces being in these parts of the Country, did considerable spoil upon the Enemy.²⁸⁸

Now Capt. *Church* being arrived at *Plymouth*, received thanks from the Government for his good Service, &c. many of his Souldiers were disbanded; and he tho't to rest himself awhile, being much fatigued and his health impaired, by excessive heats and colds, and wading thro' Rivers, &c. But it was not long²⁸⁹ before he was call'd

²⁸⁶ Friday, 4 August, 1676.

²⁸⁷ *John Talcott* (*Tailecoat*, *Taylor*) was son of John (who came in the "Lion," to Cambridge, in 1632, and removed with Hooker to Hartford); was born in England; after serving in various offices was made chief military officer of Hartford Co., 26 June, 1672; was made Major, 7 Aug., 1673, and, 26 Nov., 1673, Commander-in-chief of all forces then raising against New York; 15 May, 1676, he was similarly appointed over the troops raised for Philip's war, and was very active and successful in his command. He died, 23 July, 1688. He had 14 children, by Helena Wakeman and Mary Cook. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iv: 250; *Colonial Records of*

Connecticut, ii: 183, 206, 218, 279, 443, 444, 447-55, 458-65.]

²⁸⁸ Maj. Talcott, with the Connecticut forces, after having killed and taken many of the Indians in the Narragansett country, returned to Connecticut about 5 July. Having recruited his men a short time, he took his station at Westfield, where he fell with great success upon Indians fleeing westward. [Trumbull's *Hist. Conn.* i: 348.]

²⁸⁹ Church's language here, and a little further on, is misleading; as it would seem to imply a much greater lapse of time than really took place. He returned to Plymouth from his last Bridgewater expedition, as we have seen, on Friday, 4 Aug., 1676. As

upon to Rally, upon advice that some of the Enemy were discovered in *Dartmouth* woods. He took his *Indians*, and as many *English* Volunteers as presented, to go with him, and scattering into small parcels. Mr. *Jabez Howland* (who was now, and often his Lieutenant and a worthy good Souldiers)²⁹⁰ had the fortune to discover and imprison a parcel of the Enemy. In the Evening they met together at an appointed place, and by examining the Prisoners, they gain'd intelligence of *Totosons* haunt;²⁹¹ and being brisk in the Morning, they soon gain'd an advantage of *Totosons* company, tho' he himself with his Son of about Eight Years old made their escape, and one old Squaw with them, to *Agawom*²⁹² his own Country. But *Sam Barrow*,²⁹³ as noted a Rogue as any among the Enemy, fell into the hands of the *English*, at this time. Capt. *Church* told him, *That because of his inhumane Murders and Barbarities, the Court had allow'd him no quarter, but was to be forthwith put to Death, and therefore he was to prepare for it.* *Barrow* reply'd, *That the Sentence of*

Philip was killed one week from the next day, and as Church must have been at least one day on the route to Pocasset and Rhode-Island, only four week-days are left after the Sabbath following his return from Bridgewater, for the expedition toward Dartmouth woods. It would seem, then, that Church only laid still over Saturday and Sunday, — which, literally, was “not long,” — and “rallied” for Dartmouth on Monday, 7 Aug.

²⁹⁰ See note 207, *ante*.

²⁹¹ See note 282, *ante*. If this refers to *Towser's* neck in Rochester, the party probably did not cross the Acushnet River at this time.

²⁹² See note 209, *ante*.

²⁹³ *Sam. Barrow* is stated to have been *Totoson's* father (see note 282, *ante*). I find nothing else concerning him, except that he appears to figure upon the Colony Records in the list of the party destroying Clark's Garrison, under the name of *Sanballott*. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 206.]

Death against him was just, and that indeed he was ashamed to live any longer, and desired no more favour than to Smoke a Whiff of Tobacco before his Execution. When he had taken a few Whiffs, he said, *He was ready*; upon which one of Capt. *Churches* Indians funk his Hatchet into his Brains. The famous *Totofon* arriving at *Agawom*, his Son which was the last which was left of his Family (Capt. *Church* having destroyed all the rest) fell sick: The wretch reflecting upon the miserable condition he had bro't himself into, his heart became as a stone within him, and he dy'd.²⁹⁴ The old Squaw flung a few leaves and brush over him, and came into *Sandwich*, and gave this account of his death, and offered to shew them where she left his body; but never had the opportunity, for she immediately fell sick and dy'd also.

Capt. *Church* being now at *Pl mouth* again weary and worn, would have gone home to his Wife and Family, but the Government being Solicitous to ingage him in the Service until *Philip* was slain, and promising him satisfaction and redrefs for some mistreatment that he had met with: He fixes for another Expedition; he had soon Volunteers enough to make up the Company he desired and Marched thro' the Woods, until he came to *Pocasset*.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴ It is presumable that this son of eight years, who thus fell sick, died before his father; as the squaw apparently made no further mention of him.

²⁹⁵ He must have left Plymouth by Thursday night, 10 Aug., or very early

on Friday morning, at the latest, thus to have reached *Pocasset* in time to cross the ferry, and ride 8 miles down the island, while it was yet light enough on the afternoon of Friday, the 11th, to "spy" horsemen coming "at a great pace," at a distance.

And not seeing nor hearing of any of the Enemy, they went over the Ferry to *Rhode-Island*, to refresh themselves. The Captain with about half a dozen in his company took Horse & rid about eight Miles down the *Island*, to Mr. *Sanfords*²⁹⁶ where he had left his Wife; who no

²⁹⁶ See note 245, *ante*. Since that was in type, I have gained some additional facts, which may be set down here.

Maj. Sanford lived about half a mile south of (the present) Portsmouth line, in what is now Middletown (then Newport); which made his farm about "eight miles down the Island" from Tripp's Ferry. [*MS. letter* of Mr. Richard Sherman.]

In 1682, he rendered an account, amounting to £103 9s. 9d., to Plymouth-Colony Court, for services rendered the wounded men of the army, after the great Narragansett Swamp fight. (See p. 60, &c., *ante*.) Some items of that account are of interest enough to warrant its insertion here, as casting light upon that portion of the war. [I copy from *Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 118-120, supplying conjecturally some missing words, and condensing some items.]

"Peleg Sanford, Esq. his Account, appointed to be recorded, at June Court, 1682.

"Rhode-Island, anno 1675. Gen. Josiah Winflow's Debit.

	£	s.	d.
"To treatment of 28 wounded men fr. — Dec. vntell			
y ^e 25 th day	4	04	0

	£	s.	d.
"To Almy for 244 lbs. of mutton	3	01	0
"To Almy, 10 yds. duffles for wounded	3	00	0
"To Almy, 2½ cord of wood for do	1	00	0
"To firkin of butter—66 lbs. at 6d pr. lb. (firkin 18d)	1	14	6
"To 45½ lbs. mutton delivered at the house of Mr. Brinton & Rob ^t . Carr for tenders of wounded men	5	12	9
"To 12 lb. candles & 10 lb. butter, to do houses, . .	0	12	10
"To 6 bushels Ind. Corn, to do,	1	04	0
"To 2 gall. mallaffas to do,	0	05	0
"To 102 lb. falt beefe & 7 lb. porke to do	1	07	6
"To 16½ cords wood, at 8s, & 4 load of wood	7	16	0
"To 3 qts rum to Lowell .	0	03	9
"To 15 lbs. flax, with 6 lb. sent to the garison . . .	0	15	0
"To Capt. Green, for bear for the wounded	0	02	6
"To cath for buriall of Linkhorn, Harrifs, Sumerfbury, and one more . . .	1	10	0
"To 74 lb. fugar among wounded	1	17	0

fooner saw him but [43] fainted with the surprize; and by that time she was a little revived, they spy'd two Horsemen coming a great pace. Capt. *Church* told his company that those men (by their riding) came with Tydings. When they came up they prov'd to be Maj. *Sanford* and Capt. *Golding*; ²⁹⁷ who immediately ask'd Capt. *Church*, *What he would give to hear some News of Philip?* He reply'd, *That was what he wanted.* They told him, *They*

	£	s.	d.
"To 28½ gall. rum to Doctor for wounded	7	03	1½
"To 2 fat sheep to Doct. Hawkins for wounded that went in y ^e vessell with him	0	18	0
"To 8 yds duffles to Serg ^t . Witherly, Jam̄s Bell & other Tanton men, y ^t came wounded to my houfe Dec. 24	2	08	0
"To cash to J. Bell to bear his charges home	0	04	0
"To Serg ^t . Witherell, Jam̄s Bell & White for diatt, lodg'g & attendance, 2 one month & 1 three weeks, at 8s. per week	4	08	0
"To Left. Saauge, Doct. Cuttler, & their men &c. &c.	15	03	0
"To Doct. Hawkins diet &c about a month.	1	12	0
"To Lieut. Vpham, fr. 24 Dec. to 14 March, & his kinsman for diet &c. at 8s each, his sifter also a considerab ^l p ^t of y ^e time	9	02	0

	£	s.	d.
"To do. Vpham 1½ gall. rum, & 15 lb. mutton when he went away	0	11	3
"To estate W ^m Brenton for hire of room fr. 24 Dec. to 17 Oct. 1676, y ^e day that Serjañ Witherell went out of it, at £5 pr year.	4	01	7½
"To do. Witherly for fun- dryes, as p. his acct	3	12	11
"To damage sustained in my bedding and other household stufte, with things péloined by in- comers, which here charge £20, att present, for thought the damage be far more	20	00	0
	£103	9	9

"Dated in New Port, on Rhode Island, y^e 26th day Jan. 1677."

[There were credits given, amounting to £22 9s. 0d. The balance of the share of Plymouth in the account was then paid.]

²⁹⁷ See note 93, ante.

had rid hard with some hopes of overtaking of him, and were now come on purpose to inform him, That there was just now Tydings from Mount-hope; An Indian came down from thence (where Philips Camp now was) on to Sandpoint²⁹⁸ over against Trips,²⁹⁹ and hollow'd, and made signs to be fetch'd over; and being fetch'd over, he reported, That he was fled from Philip, who (said he) has kill'd my Brother just before I came away, for giving some advice that displeas'd him.³⁰⁰ And said, he was fled for fear of meeting with the same his Brother had met with. Told them also, That Philip was now in Mount-hope Neck. Capt. Church thank'd them for their good News, and said, he hop'd by to Morrow Morning to have the Rogues head. The Horfes that he and his company came on standing at the door, (for they had not been unfaddled) his Wife must content her self with a short visit, when such game was a-head; they immediately Mounted, set Spurs to their Horfes, and away. The two Gentlemen that bro't him the Tydings, told him, *They would gladly wait upon him to*

²⁹⁸ *Sandy Point* is on the Bristol side of Bristol Ferry, near where the light-house now stands. [MS. letter of Mr. Richard Sherman.]

²⁹⁹ *Tripp's* was the name then, or soon after (long before Church dictated, at least), current for Bristol Ferry, which was run by Abial Tripp, who lived on the Portsmouth side, and who, with John Burden, received the formal right to the "ferry privilege" for seven years, 2 Aug., 1698, which was renewed, 19 June, 1705, "as formerly," for seven

years. [R.-I. Col. Rec. iii: 535; MS. letter of Mr. Richard Sherman.]

³⁰⁰ "He caus'd one of his Confederates to be killed for propounding an expedient of peace." [Hubbard's *Narrative*, 103.] Increase Mather says, "One of *Philip's* men (being disgusted with him for killing an *Indian* who had propounded an expedient for peace with the *English*) ran away from him, and coming to Road-Island, informed that Philip was now returned again to *Mount-Hope*, &c." [*Brief History*, 46.]

see the event of this Expedition. He thank'd them, and told them, he should be as fond of their company as any Mens; and (in short) they went with him. And they were soon as *Trips Ferry* (with Capt *Churches* company) where the deserter was; who was a fellow of good sense, and told his story handfomely: he offered Capt. *Church* to Pilot him to *Philip*, and to help to kill him, that he might revenge his Brothers death. Told him, That *Philip* was now upon a little spot of Upland that was in the South end of the miery Swamp just at the foot of the Mount,³⁰¹ which was a spot of ground that Capt. *Church* was well acquainted with. By that time³⁰² they were got over the Ferry, and came near the ground half the Night was spent, the Capt. commands a halt, and bringing the company together, he asked Maj *Sanford* & Capt. *Goldings* advice, what method was best to take in making the onset, but they declining giving any advice, telling him, *That his great Experience & Success forbid their taking upon them to give advice.* Then Capt. *Church* offered Capt. *Golding*, that he should have the honour (if he would please accept of it) to beat up *Philips* headquarters. He accepted the offer and had his allotted number drawn out to him, and the Pilot. Capt. *Churches* instructions to him were to be very careful in his approach to the Enemy, and be sure not to shew himself until by day light they

³⁰¹ "Philip was surpris'd and killed by Col. Church at a little knoll on the south-west side, at the foot of Mount Hope." [Fessenden's *Warren, R.-I.*, 40.]

³⁰² The distance of the swamp in which Philip was concealed was not much more than two miles from the landing of the ferry on the Bristol side.

might see and discern their own men from the Enemy. Told him also, That his custom in the like cases was to creep with his company on their bellies, until they came as near as they could; and that as soon as the Enemy discovered them they would cry out; and that was the word [44] for his Men to fire and fall on. Directed him when the Enemy should start and take into the Swamp,³⁰³ they should pursue with speed, every man shouting and making what noise they could; for he would give orders to his Ambuscade to fire on any that should come silently. Capt. *Church* knowing it was *Philips* custom to be fore-most in the flight, went down to the Swamp and gave Capt. *Williams* of *Situate*³⁰⁴ the command of the right wing of the Ambush, and placed an *English-man* and an *Indian* together behind such shelters of Trees, &c. that he could find, and took care to place them at such distance as none might pass undiscovered between them, charg'd 'em to be careful of themselves, and of hurting their friends: And to fire at any that should come silently thro' the Swamp: But it being some-what further thro' the Swamp than he

³⁰³ Philip was on an upland island in the midst of the swamp; of course when alarmed he would run into the swamp in the endeavor to escape through it, — their habitual course on such occasions.

³⁰⁴ *John Williams* (oldest child of John, of Scituate) bore arms in 1643, and was a householder in 1647; was Captain in Philip's war; was Deputy from Scituate, in 1676, 1681, and 1691; was fined 40s. 1 July, 1672, for "doing

feruill worke" on the Sabbath; had various controversies and lawsuits, and died 22 June, 1694, aged 70, leaving one of the largest estates at that time existing in the country; his farm having been said to be the best in the Old Colony. He appears never to have married. [Deane's *Scituate*, 385; Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iv: 562; *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 99, 214; vi: 24, 61, 173, 174, 198, 202, 259.]

was aware of, he wanted men to make up his Ambuscade; having placed what men he had, he took Maj. *Sanford* by the hand, said, *Sir, I have so placed them that 'tis scarce possible Philip should escape them.* The same moment a Shot whistled over their heads, and then the noise of a Gun towards *Philips* camp. Capt. *Church* at first tho't it might be some Gun fired by accident: but before he could speak, a whole Volley followed, which was earlier than he expected. One of *Philips* gang going forth to ease himself, when he had done, look'd round him, & Capt. *Golding* thought the *Indian* looked right at him (tho' probably 'twas but his conceit) so fired at him, and upon his firing, the whole company that were with him fired upon the Enemies shelter, before the *Indians* had time to rise from their sleep, and so over-shot them. But their shelter was open on that side next the Swamp, built so on purpose for the convenience of flight on occasion.³⁰⁵ They were soon in the Swamp and *Philip* the foremost, who starting at the first Gun threw his *Petunk*³⁰⁶ and Powder-horn over his

³⁰⁵ A kind of *shed* wigwam, in the New-England sense of that adjective, with the open side toward the swamp.

³⁰⁶ *Petunk*, literally, "that into which something is put," i. e., the pouch, or haversack, which the Indian always carried by way of pocket. Eliot uses the word (in 1 *Sam.* xvii: 40,) for David's "scrap"; and for "purse" (in *Luke* xxii: 35), and uniformly translates "quiver" by *petan*, a word of nearly the same signification. Roger Williams [*Key R.-I. Hist. Coll.* i: 33]

says (under the head of *Nókehick*, i. e., "parched meal"), "I have travelled with neere 200 of them at once, neere 100 miles through the woods, every man carrying a *little Basket* of this at his *back*, and sometimes in a hollow *Leather Girdle* about his middle, sufficient for a man for three or four daies. With this readie provision, and their *Bow* and *Arrowes* [this was printed in 1643, before the Indians had acquired the use of fire-arms], are they ready for *War*, and *travell* at an *houres* warning.

head, catch'd up his Gun, and ran as fast as he could scamper, without any more clothes than his small breeches and stockings, and ran directly upon two of Capt. Churches Ambush; they let him come fair within shot, and the *English* mans³⁰⁷ Gun missing fire,³⁰⁸ he bid the *Indian*³⁰⁹ fire away, and he did so to purpose, sent one Musket

With a *spoonfull* of this *meale* and a *spoonfull* of water from the *Brooke*, have I made many a good dinner and supper." [Compare Schoolcraft's *Information respect. Ind. Tribes*, i: 80.]

³⁰⁷ Baylies [*Hist. Mem. New Plym.* iii: 168] says that this Englishman's name was Francis Cook. But the Mafs. Historical Collections [2d *Series* iv: 63] for 1816, (14 years before Esq. Baylies published), contain a note from John Lothrop, affirming that the name of this foldier of Church was *Caleb* Cook. The latter Christian name is supported by the fact, that the Colony Records show the existence, in 1676, of a Caleb Cook, then aged 25; while Francis, who came in the *Mayflower*, had been dead 13 years; his grandson Francis, born 5 Jan., 1663, died at less than two years of age; and no other Francis appears.

Caleb Cook was oldest son of Jacob (youngest son of *Mayflower* Francis) and Damaris, daughter of Stephen Hopkins, and was born 29 Mar., 1651; he served on a coroner's jury at Plymouth, 20 Oct., 1675, in the case of John Fallowell; is down for a fine of £1 10s., 12 June, 1685; and served on a trial jury in the July Court of 1686. He had a great grandson, Silvanus, of Kington, Mafs., who held in his pos-

session the gun with which the Indian shot King Philip (which, according to family tradition, Cook exchanged with him for his own), and who gave the lock to one of the Lothrop's, from whom John Lothrop gave it to the Cabinet of the Mafs. Historical Society, where it still is. Many years after, the barrel was presented by John Cook, of Kingston, to the Cabinet of the Pilgrim Society in Plymouth, in which custody it remains. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* i: 446; *Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 182; vi: 196; viii: 165; Ruffell's *Pilgrim Mem.* 105.]

³⁰⁸ Hubbard adds that "the morning being wet and rainy,"—which Church's subsequent statement about the sun and the dew does not confirm,—"the English man's gun would not fire, the Indian having an old Musket with a large touch-hole, it took fire the more readily." [*Narrative*, 105.]

³⁰⁹ Church's testimony is conclusive as to the identity of this Indian with that one known as *Alderman* among the colonists; and both Hubbard and Mather assert the same. I doubt, however, the truth of the common averment that *Alderman* was the Indian whose brother Philip had killed, and who guided Church's party to the swamp. Neither Church, Hubbard, nor Mather say that,—however, on a casual reading,

Bullet thro' his heart, and another not above two inches from it; he fell upon his face in the Mud & Water with his Gun under him. By this time the Enemy perceived they were way laid on the east side of the *Swamp*, tack'd short about. One of the Enemy who seem'd to be a great furly old fellow, hollow'd with a loud voice, & often called out, *iootash, iootash*,³¹⁰ Capt. *Church* called to his *Indian*

the latter two might appear to say it. A careful examination of their words shows that they only assert that Philip was slain by one of his own race, who had kept himself neutral until now; and speak of his killer as *an* Indian, rather than *the* Indian, to whom they had before referred. It seems to me more natural if *Alderman* had been his informant and guide, that *Church* should have mentioned the remarkable fact distinctly, when describing his agency in the death of the chieftain. *Hutchinson* appears to be responsible for the first statement absolutely identifying the pilot with the slayer; saying [*Hist. Mass.* i: 277], "One of his own men, whom he had offended, and who had deserted to the English, shot him through the heart," which he might easily base, by a misapprehension, upon *Hubbard* and *Mather*. *Trumbull* [*Hist. Conn.* i: 349] repeats (probably from *Hutchinson*) the statement: "The Indian who had been guide to the party, shot him through the heart." *Drake*, *Thatcher*, *Fowler*, *Arnold*, and others have followed *Trumbull*. *Jones's* letter to *Gov. Leet*, published by *Mr. Trumbull* [*Col. Rec. Conn.* ii: 470], is probably the freiest document bearing on the

question; and his language naturally implies a distinction in his mind between the guide and the killer.

Hubbard [*Narrative*, 106] says *Alderman* was "of Sakonet." But *Mather* [*Brief Hist.* 47] with more particularity adds, "the *Indian* who thus killed *Philip*, did formerly belong to the Squaw-Sachim of *Pocasset* (*Weetamoe*), being known by the name of *Alderman*. In the beginning of the war, he came to the Governor of *Plymouth*, manifesting his desire to be at peace with the *English*, and immediately withdrew to an Island, not having engaged against the *English* nor for them, before this time." I find no confirmation of this statement on the Court Records.

³¹⁰ *Iootash* is a verb in the imperative, 2d person, singular, and means "FIGHT!" *Eliot* would have written *Ayenteash*. He has *Ayenteak*, for the plural "fight ye," (in 1 *Sam.* iv: 9.) *Roger Williams* spells this last [*Key*, chap. xxix] "*Fühetteke*, Fight, which is their word of encouragement which they use when they animate each other in warre; for they use their tongues in stead of drummes and trumpets." [*R.-I. Hist. Coll.* i: 148.]

*Peter*³¹¹ and ask'd him, *Who that was that called so?* He answered, It was old *Annowon Philips* great Captain,³¹² calling on his Souldiers to stand to it and fight stoutly. Now the Enemy finding that place of the *Swamp* which was not Ambush'd, many of them made their escape in the *English Tracks*.³¹³ The Man that had shot down *Philip*, ran with all speed to Capt *Church*, and informed him of his exploit, who commanded him to be Silent about it, & let no man more know it, until they had drove the *Swamp* [45] clean; but when they had drove the *Swamp* thro' & found the Enemy had escaped, or at least the most of them; and the Sun

³¹¹ Probably *Peter*, son of *Awashonks*. [See note 12, *ante*, and p. 87.]

³¹² *Annowon* (*Annowan*, *Anowon*) was one of *Massafoit's* chiefs, and fo one of *Philip's* oldest braves. The only record which I find of him, previous to his connection with this war, is his appearance as a witness, in 1672, to two sales of land by *Philip* to *William Brenton* and others. His capture and fate will soon be referred to. [Drake's *Book of Ind.* 200.]

His name suggests a probable derivation from *Nanawunnum*, "he rules" or "has authority" (*Eliot*), or the verbal *Nananuwaen*, "a ruler," "an overfeer." *Roger Williams* has *Naunbuwheant*, "a nurse" or "keeper." [*R.-I. Hist. Coll.* i: 52.] The primary signification of the verb is "to keep with care," "to take care of."

³¹³ *Hubbard* says *Philip* had "a few of his best friends" with him; and that "5 of his trustiest followers — of whom one was said to be the Son of his chief

Captain, that had shot the first gun at the English the year before" — were killed. *Mather* says that "he, with 7 of his men," were in this swamp and that "5 of his men were killed with him, — one of which was his chief Captain's Son, being (as the *Indians* testify) that very *Indian* who shot the first gun at the *English* when the War began." *Win. Jones* says, — writing a fortnight after, from *New Haven*, and repeating the testimony to him of "one *James Shore*, come in this week to *Fairfield*, in a vessel from *Rhod Island*," — "*Philip* in labouring to escape was shot at 1st by y^e *English*, but missed, and then shot downe by an *Indian*. All y^e rest, but one more killd and one or two wounded, escaping." *Church's* own language would seem to imply that there were more than seven men with *Philip*; that more than one besides *Philip* was stopped; and that many of them got away. [*Narrative*, 103; *Brief Hist.* 47; *Col. Rec. Conn.* ii: 471.]

now up, and so the dew gone, that they could not so easily Track them, the whole Company met together at the place where the Enemies Night shelter was; and then Capt. *Church* gave them the news of *Philips* death; upon which the whole Army gave Three loud *Huzza's*. Capt *Church* ordered his body to be pull'd out of the mire on to the Upland, so some of Capt. *Churches* Indians took hold of him by his Stockings, and some by his small Breeches, (being otherwise naked) and drew him thro' the Mud unto the Upland, and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beast, he look'd like.³¹⁴ Capt. *Church* then said, *That forasmuch as he had caused many an English-mans body to lye unburied and rot above ground, that not one of his bones should be buried.* And calling his old *Indian* Executioner, bid him behead and quarter him.³¹⁵ Accordingly, he came with

³¹⁴ This is the plain prose comment of an observer upon the facts as they appeared to him. Dr. Palfrey has well referred to it, in his very just remarks on the poetic exaggeration with which most of our later literature has dealt with Philip. [*Hist. N. E.* iii: 223.]

³¹⁵ The idea in New England at that time seems to have been that Philip was a rebel against King Charles 2d, and, as such, deserved the State punishment of treason, which, in England, until the 30th year of George 3d, was 1. To be drawn (latterly, on a hurdle, so as to avoid the extreme torment of being dragged over the ground) to the gallows; 2. To be hanged by the neck, and cut down alive; 3. To have the entrails cut out and burned, while the

sufferer still lived; 4. To be beheaded; 5. That the body be cut into four quarters; 6. That the head and quarters be at the king's disposal. [4, *Blackstone's Comm.* 92.] Church's action, in the light of the public sentiment of that day, was far from indicating an inhuman revenge, or a cruel disposition. It could scarcely be expected that these remote and backwoods colonies were to go beyond the mother country in refinement. And it was not yet 17 years since Parliament had voted the *disinterment* of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, and their decaying remains had been hanged at Tyburn, and their heads stuck on poles on the top of Westminster Hall fronting Palace Yard; while nearly 20 years later than Philip's

his Hatchet and stood over him, but before he struck he made a small Speech directing it to *Philip*; and said, *He had been a very great Man, and had made many a man afraid of him, but so big as he was he would now chop his Afs for him*; and so went to work, and did as he was ordered. *Philip* having one very remarkable hand being much scarr'd, occasioned by the splitting of a Pistol in it formerly. Capt. *Church* gave the head and that hand³¹⁶ to

death, Evelyn entered in his Diary (10 April, 1696), "The quarters of Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend, lately executed on the plot, with Perkins's head, were set up at Temple-Bar; a dismal sight." Indeed, Walpole wrote to Montague, 16 Aug., 1746, "passed under the new heads at Temple Bar, where people make a trade of letting spying-glasses at a halfpenny a look"; and it is on record that Goldsmith joked Johnson in regard to similar adornments of that structure; and, as late as 1 April, 1772, a news-writer set down: "yesterday one of the rebels' heads on Temple Bar fell down. There is only one head now remaining." These facts should have protected our fathers from Peter Oliver's malignant sneer about "orthodox vengeance." [See *Diary of Sam. Pepys*, ed. 1856, i: 129, 152; *Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. 1857, ii: 340; Cunningham's *Hand Book of London*, 437, 542; *Puritan Commonwealth*, 145.]

³¹⁶ Increase Mather [*Brief Hist.* 47] says, "his head being cut off and carried away to *Plymouth*, his Hands were brought to *Boston*." Cotton Mather

[*Magnalia*, ed. 1853, ii: 576] says, "this Agag was now cut into quarters, which were then hanged up, while his head was carried in triumph to *Plymouth*." Niles [*Hist. Ind. and Fr. Wars*, 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vi: 190] says Philip "was cut into quarters, and hanged up in the woods, and his head carried to *Plymouth*." The story, carried from this country to London by the master of a vessel soon sailing from Rhode-Island [Abbott's *Wars of the Colonies*, 131], adds, "they quartered his body, and hung it upon four trees." By collating these we probably get all the facts.

The head was placed upon a pole at *Plymouth*, where it is said to have remained exposed for more than 24 years [Felt's *Eccles. Hist. N. E.* ii: 638; Thacher's *Plymouth*, 389]; at any rate Cotton Mather said, in his *Magnalia* (first published in 1702, 26 years after), "it was not long before the hand which now writes, upon a certain occasion took off the jaw from the exposed skull of that blasphemous leviathan." [ed. 1853, i: 566.] It is hardly probable that there is any truth in the tradi-

Alderman, the *Indian* who shot him, to show to such Gentlemen as would bestow gratuities upon him; and accordingly he got many a Penny by it. This being on the last day of the Week,³¹⁷ the Captain with his Company returned to the Island, tarried there until Tuesday; and then went off and ranged thro' all the Woods to *Plymouth*,³¹⁸ and received their *Præmium*, which was *Thirty Shillings per head*, for the Enemies which they had killed or taken, instead of all Wages; and *Philips* head went at the same price.³¹⁹ Methinks it's scanty reward, and poor encourage-

tion mentioned by Dr. Fobes in his description of Raynham [1 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* iii: 171], that Philip's head was "deposited for a considerable time" in the cellar under the "Leonard house" in that town.

³¹⁷ Saturday, 12 August, 1676.

³¹⁸ Leaving Rhode-Island on Tuesday, the 15th, Church and his company must have "ranged thro' all the woods" two days before reaching Plymouth; for the Mathers and Niles agree that the head reached Plymouth on Thursday, the 17th, which had been set apart as a day of Thanksgiving for successes against the Indians, perhaps before they had heard of Philip's death. [*Brief Hist.* 47; *Magnalia*, ed. 1853, ii: 576; 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vi: 190.]

³¹⁹ Assuming Hubbard and Mather's statement to be true, that 5 besides Philip were killed, and that there were no prisoners taken, — no mention being made of any, — the sum total of receipts for division would be £9. This, at 4s. 6d. a piece, — which Church says was

each one's share, — would make the number of the party exactly 40. At 4s. 6d. each, their week's work would average a little less than 7d. 3grs. per day, besides the honor! Hoyt, strangely confusing this with one day of the Bridgewater expedition, says, "130 were killed and captured." [*Antiquarian Researches*, 140.] This would have swelled their compensation to an aggregate of £195!

It may here be added, that there is, in the Cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a wooden dish, which is traditionally represented to have been a trophy of this expedition, and which was authenticated to the Society by the following receipt [*Proceedings Mafs. Hist. Soc.* 1863-4, 267.]: "Plymouth Sep. 14, 1803, Rec^d. of Isaac Lothrop Eight Dollars, in full for a wooden bowle, formerly belonging to that illustrious Soldier known by the name of King Philip, son of the celebrated Indian Sachem, Massasoiet, and was a portion of the trophy assigned to Eleazer Rich-

ment; tho' it was better than what had been some time before. For this March they received *Four Shillings and Six Pence* a Man, which was all the Reward they had, except the honour of killing *Philip*. This was in the latter end of *August*, 1676³²⁰

Capt. *Church* had been but a little while at *Plymouth*, before a Post from *Rehoboth* came to inform the Government, that old *Annawon*, *Philips* chief Captain was with his company ranging about their Woods, & was very offensive & pernicious to *Rehoboth* & *Swansey*.³²¹ Capt. *Church* was immediately sent for again, & treated with to engage one Expedition more; he told them, *Their encouragement was so poor he feared his Souldiers would be dull about going again*: But being a hearty friend to the cause, he Rally's again, goes to Mr. *Jabesh Howland* his old Lieutenant,³²² and some of his Souldiers, that us'd to go out with him; told them how the case was circumstanced, and that he had intelligence of old *Annawon's* walk, & haunt, and wanted hands to hunt him; they did not want

ard, Great Grandfather of the Subscriber, who made one of the party, that terminated the existence of the once princely proprietor.

“ELEAZER ^{his} RICHARD.”
mark.

Church's narrative furnishes no evidence, either way, in regard to the genuineness of this relic. I find, however, no trace, either in Savage's fertile pages, or the Colony Records of Plymouth, Massachusetts, or Rhode-Island, of any

Eleazer Richard (or Richards or Richardson) as then living in New England; nor any evidence that any person of that surname served under Church in this campaign.

³²⁰ Church speaks here even more vaguely than he was apt to do, of the time of events.

³²¹ “By their shooting at the English Horses, and other cattle.” [Hubbard's *Narrative*, 107.]

³²² See note 207, *ante*.

much intreating; but told him, *They would go with him, as long as there was an Indian left in the Woods.* He moved³²³ & ranged thro' the Woods [46] to *Pocasset*. It being the latter end of the Week, he proposed to go on to *Rhode-Island* and rest until Monday. But early on the Lords day Morning,³²⁴ there came a Post to inform the Cap-

³²³ He must have left Plymouth about Wednesday or Thursday (6th or 7th September), 1676? Hubbard says he had with him "but 5 Englishmen and 20 Indians." [*Narrative*, 107.]

³²⁴ The question of the date of this expedition is one of the most perplexing ones in the history of the time; strangely enough, so far as I can learn, no record of it, or of any circumstance which would exactly identify it, having a place in any of the early histories or contemporaneous records. Mr. Drake, in his second edition of this narrative (1827, p. 142), is the first to attempt to fettle it. He does so on the strength of the fact that Annawon was taken on a Monday night, when the moon was shining, "not long after dark." He states that the moon was at the full in 1676, on Saturday, the 26 August, whence he infers that Monday, 28 August, was the date of the capture (see also note to Mr. Drake's ed., Mather's *Brief History*, 1862, p. 180), which would throw back the date of the starting of the expedition from Plymouth to Wednesday or Thursday, the 23d or 24th. Dr. Palfrey [*Hist. N. E.* iii: 206] adopts this as the true date, and Arnold [*Hist. R.-I.* i: 417] speaks vaguely of Annawon's capture as "a

few nights after the death of Philip." But John Foster's Almanac for 1676 gives the full moon of August of that year as being on "the 13th day, at 26m. past 6 in the morn"; while Sherman's Almanac for the same year, states it as on the "13th day, at 25m. past 6 in the morn." This was the Sabbath, the next day after the day of the death of Philip. Church (see p. 152, *ante*) says he staid at Rhode-Island until Tuesday, the 15th, and then "ranged thro' all the woods to Plymouth," which he could scarcely have reached before Friday or Saturday, the 18th or 19th. Then he was "a little while at Plymouth," a phrase which might cover two or three weeks, while it would scarcely have been used for a less time than *one* week (which lesser time he would more likely have styled "a few days"), before the "post from Rehoboth" came with news of Annawon, and he was "sent for" and "treated with" for "one expedition more"; and began to gather soldiers to go out again. From all this, it seems very clear that the August moon must have disappeared long before he could have been ready to start on this expedition. If this were so, we are thrown over into September for the true date of this expedition; and

tain, That early the same Morning a Canoo with several *Indians* in it passed from *Prudence Island*³²⁵ to *Poppasquash*

the probabilities of the case would seem to fix the capture of Annawon as being on the first Monday evening of September, on which the moon was shining a few hours after dark. Foster gives the full moon for September, 1676, as on "the 11 day, 54 m. past 6, P.M.," and Sherman gives it as on "the 11 day, 55 m. past 6 at night." This was on Monday evening, four weeks and two days after the death of Philip. On the previous Monday evening (4 Sept.), the moon (then just in her first quarter) must have set from one to two hours before midnight, and, in the dense forests surrounding Squannaconk Swamp, her (then) feeble light must have ceased to be available for much help to vision at least an hour before her setting; so that (there) it would be hardly safe to presume on seeing by moonlight on the evening of 4 Sept., much later than 9 P.M. But it was "pretty dark" before Church arrived; then followed the capture, the parley with all the companies, the preparation for the supper, the supper, and the message to the outlying Indians, and the return of the messengers; then Church laid down with the intention of sleeping two hours, laid a little while and grew wakeful, and roused to look after his guard, then lay looking at the equally wakeful Annawon, "perhaps an hour"; then Annawon got up and retired into the thick woods "out of sight and hearing," and was gone a long time; "at length" Church heard him coming back, and *then*, "the moon

now shining bright," he saw him coming with something in his hands, &c. All this detail of delays makes it almost certain that the hour of Annawon's converse with Church must have been well on toward midnight, at least; so that it is impossible that the date could have been that of 4 Sept. Besides, Church's expression, "the moon shining *bright*," is most consonant with the *full* moon; so that I am led to conclude that the true date of this capture is that of the Monday of the September full moon, viz., 11 Sept., 1676.

It is worthy of notice in this connection, that Hubbard [*Narrative*, 106] expressly says that Church took *Tispaquin* "in September," yet places his capture *before* that of *Annawon*, saying, "the next that was seized after the former (ie., *Tispaquin*) was one called *Annawon*, &c." Church himself, in this narrative (see p. 175), inverts this order; but I am strongly inclined to believe that Hubbard was right, and that, if Church had fat down to the work of his annals at an earlier date, and before the freshness of his memory had faded, he would so have arranged them.

³²⁵ *Prudence* is the island in Narragansett Bay, some 7 or 8 miles in length, of irregular shape, lying west of the northern part of Rhode-Island, and, in its southern half, separated from it by a channel averaging perhaps a mile and a half in width. Its Indian name was *Chibacuweset* (*Chippacursett*).

Neck.³²⁶ Capt. *Church* tho't if he could possibly surprize them, he might probably gain some intelligence of more game; therefore he made all possible speed after them: the Ferry-boat³²⁷ being out of the way, he made use of

Canonicus, in 1634, gave it to John Oldham, if he would settle on it; which he did not. In 1637, Roger Williams and John Winthrop purchased it, and Williams gave it its present name. [Winthrop's *Journal* i: 147; Letter of Williams, 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* i: 165; Arnold's *Hist. R.-I.* i: 105.]

³²⁶ *Poppasquash* (*Papooſquash*, *Papafquash*, *Pappasqua*) Neck is a thumb-like promontory, perhaps 2½ miles in length by an average of ¾ in breadth, projecting from the western side of the town of Bristol into the bay. Plymouth Court, 1 June 1669, granted 100 acres of it "to Mr. John Gorum, if it can be purchased of the Indians"; and 5 July, 1669, granted the remainder to the "towne of Swanſey, for the promoting of a way of trade in this collonie." 1 July, 1672, "Mr. Conſtant Southworth, Mr. James Browne, and Mr. John Gorum are appointed by the Court, to purchase a certaine p'cell of land of the Indians, granted by the Court to the said John Gorum, lying att Papafquash neck." 13 July, 1677, the Court "rattified, established, settled, and confirmed the aforeſaid 100 acres of land" to John Gorum's heirs and ſucceſſors for ever. It ſeems ſoon after to have paſſed to Nathaniel Byfield, who is ſaid to have occupied nearly the whole of it as his farm for over 40 years, until his removal to Boſton in

1724. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 20, 24, 95, 241; Shepard's *Hist. Dis. Bristol, R.-I.*, 49.]

As to the name, Mr. Trumbull ſays, "This name was alſo given to a tract of land now in Voluntown, Conn., in a grant of 1681, as *Papafquachuke*; the *uke* repreſenting *ohke* i.e., "place." Two derivations are equally probable, and plauſible, from *papafku*, 'double'—which is applicable to the ſouthern end of Briſtol, divided by the bay, or, as it may be tranſlated, 'opposite to,' 'over againſt.' Otherwiſe, from *pohpohquſſu* or *pahpahkſſas*, of Eliot; *pawpockſu* of Roger Williams, i.e., 'the partridge.' With the addition of *ohke* it would be 'the partridge country,' or 'Partridge Point,' or rather 'Quail Point,' as we ſhould tranſlate it in Connecticut. I think the latter the more probable derivation; though I do not *know* that a quail ever flew within a dozen miles of Poppasquash."

The diſtance for a canoe, acroſs from Prudence, would not be much more than 1½ miles, and the croſſing would be in full view from Rhode-Iſland and probably not more than 3 miles diſtant from it.

³²⁷ The ferry to Briſtol at Tripps; the ſame which he croſſed on his laſt expedition after Philip. His object was to go up ſome 4 miles through what is now the town of Briſtol, and

Canoo's: But by that time they had made two freights, and had got over the Captain, and about 15 or 16 of his *Indians*, the Wind sprung up with such violence that Canoo's could no more pass.³²⁸ The Capt. seeing it was impossible for any more of his Souldiers to come to him, he told his *Indians*, *If they were willing to go with him, he would go to Poppasquash, and see if they could catch some of those Enemy Indians.* They were willing to go, but were sorry they had no *English* Souldiers;³²⁹ so they March'd thro' the thickets that they might not be discovered, until they came unto the Salt Meadow, to the Northward of *Bristol Town*,³³⁰ that now is. Then they heard a Gun, the Capt. look'd about, not knowing but it might be some of his own Company in the rear; so halting till they all came up, he found 'twas none of his own Company that fired. Now tho' he had but a few Men, was minded to send some of them out on a Scout. He moved it to Capt. *Lightfoot*³³¹ to go with three more on a Scout; he said he was willing provided the Captains man *Nathanael* (which was an *Indian* that they had lately taken) might be one of them, because he was well acquainted with the Neck,³³²

endeavor to surprize the Indians as they should pass out of Poppasquash neck toward the main land.

³²⁸ See note 175, *ante*.

³²⁹ It will appear, further on, that his Lieutenant and English soldiers subsequently crossed and joined him next day.

³³⁰ Probably those just north-west of Silver Creek.

³³¹ See note 238, *ante*.

³³² He means here, evidently, Mount-Hope neck, and not Poppasquash neck. Church himself with his party proceeded to search the latter for the enemy; and Lightfoot with his three companions must have scouted off toward what are now Warren and Swanfey, in the direction of Kikemuit.

and coming lately from among them, knew how to call them.³³³ The Capt. bid him choofe his three companions, and go; and if they came a-crofs any of the Enemy not to kill them if they could poffibly take them alive; that they might gain intelligence concerning *Annawon*. The Capt. with the reft of his company moved but a little way further toward *Poppafquafti*, before they heard another Gun, which feemed to be the fame way with the other, but further off. But they made no halt until they came unto the narrow of *Poppafquafti* Neck;³³⁴ where Capt. *Church* left three men more, to watch if any fhould come out of the Neck, and to inform the Scout when they returned which way he was gone. He parted the remainder of his company, half on one fide of the Neck, and the other with himfelf went on the other fide of the Neck, until they met; and meeting neither with *Indians* nor Canoo's returned big with expectations of Tydings by their Scout: But when they came back to the three men at the narrow of the Neck, they told their Captain the Scout was not returned, had heard nor feen any thing of them, this fill'd them with tho'ts what fhould become of them; by that time they had fat down & waited an hour longer, it was very dark, and they defpaired of their returning to them. Some of the *Indians* told their Captain, *They feared his new man Nathanael*

³³³ The *Indians* were accuftomed to have fome call—like a wolf's howl, a loon's cry, or fomething of that fort—by which they could fignal each other in the woods. This was changed as

often as there was danger of its becoming known to their enemies. *Nathanael*, being recently captured, would know what that fignal of his tribe now was.

³³⁴ Perhaps 120 rods in width.

had met with his old Mount-hope friends, and was turned Rogue. They concluded to make [47] no fires that Night, (and indeed they had no great need of any) for they had no Victuals to cook, had not so much as a morsel of Bread with them. They took up their lodging scattering, that if possibly their Scout should come in the Night, and whistle (which was their sign) some or other of them might hear them. They had a very solitary, hungry Night; and as soon as the day broke³³⁵ they drew off thro' the brush to a hill without the Neck, and looking about them they espy'd one *Indian* man come running somewhat towards them, the Captain ordered one man to step out of the brush and show himself. Upon which the *Indian* ran right to him, and who should it be but Capt. *Lightfoot*, to their great joy. Capt. *Church* ask'd him, *What News?* He answered, *Good News, they were all well and had catch'd Ten Indians, and that they guarded them all Night in one of the Flankers of the old English Garrison;*³³⁶ *that their prisoners were part of Annawons company, and that they had left their Families in a Swamp above Mattapoiset Neck.*³³⁷ And as they were Marching towards the old Garrison *Lightfoot* gave Capt. *Church* a particular account of their Exploit, viz. *That presently after they left him, they heard another Gun, which seem'd to be towards the Indian*

³³⁵ Monday, 11 September, 1676.

³³⁶ That on the shores of the *Kike-muit*, about which Church had been so exercised the year before. (See note

65, ante.) He must have thought its use had been found at last.

³³⁷ The neck of this name (Gardner's neck) in Swansey.

burying place,³³⁸ & moving that way, they discovered two of the Enemy fleeing of an Horse. The Scout claping into the brush, Nathanael bid them sit down, and he would presently call all the Indians thereabout unto him. They hid, and he went a little distance back from them and sat up his note & howled like a Wolf: One of the two immediately left his Horse & came running to see who was there; but Nathanael howling lower and lower drew him in between those that lay in wait for him, who seized him; Nathanael continuing the same note, the other left the Horse also following his mate, & met with the same. When they caught these two they examined them apart, and found them to agree in their Story, that there were Eight more of them come down into the Neck to get Provisions, and had agreed to meet at the burying place that evening. These two being some of Nathanaels old acquaintance, he had great influence upon them, and with his inticing Story, (telling what a brave Captain he had, how bravely he lived since he had been with him, & how much they might better their condition by turning to him, &c.) per-

³³⁸ Concerning this, Gen. Fessenden says, "In regard to the location of the 'Old Indian burying-ground,' I have long since endeavored to find the site of it. A farmer informed me that when he was a boy, about the year 1800, the people straightened the direct road from this place (Warren, R.-I) to Bristol; and, on the top of a hill, about half way between the two places (2 miles from each), they dug through a burying-ground, and carried off for interment

more than one cart-load of human bones. There are now no appearances of a cemetery there. This was doubtless a burying-ground; but whether it was *the* burying-ground cannot be determined." [MS. letter.] The probability seems urgent that this was an *Indian* burying-place, as all which have been used by the white settlers are doubtless well known. If so, it is reasonable to infer that it was that to which reference is here made.

*swaded and ingaged them to be on his side, which indeed now began to be the better side of the hedge. They waited but a little while before they espy'd the rest of theirs coming up to the burying place, and Nathanael soon howl'd them in as he had done their mates before. When Capt. Church came to the Garrifon, he met his Lieutenant and the rest of his company;*³³⁹ and then making up good fires they fell to roasting their Horfe-beaf,³⁴⁰ enough to last them the whole day, but had not a morsal of Bread; tho' Salt they had which they always carryed in their Pockets, which at this time was very acceptable to them. Their next motion was towards the place where the Prifoners told them they had left their Women and Children,³⁴¹ and surprized them all, and some others that were newly come to them. And upon examination they held to one Story, that it was hard to tell where to find *Annawon*, for he never roosted twice in [48] a place. Now a certain *Indian* Souldier that Capt. *Church* had gain'd over to be on his side, pray'd that he might have liberty to go and fetch in his Father, who he said was about four Miles from that place, in a *Swamp*³⁴² with no other than one Young *Squaw*; Capt. *Church* in-

³³⁹ Lieut. Howland and his squad, on getting across the ferry and following Church, may have fallen in with one of Lightfoot's scouts, or may have gone to the old garrison, at a venture, as a likely place of meeting him, or news from him.

³⁴⁰ Which the Indians had just killed.

³⁴¹ A swamp in Swansey, probably

not far from what is now Swansey village.

³⁴² *Manwhague* swamp in the south-eastern corner of Rehoboth, answers this requisition of distance; besides lying near the rout to *Squannakonk* swamp, where *Annawon* was, and whence these Indians whom Church had captured had come.

clined to go with him, thinking it might be in his way to gain some intelligence of *Annawon*; and so taking one *English* Man and a few *Indians* with him leaving the rest there, he went with his new Souldier to look his Father; when he came to the *Swamp*, he bid the *Indian* go see if he could find his Father: he was no sooner gone but Capt. *Church* discover'd a Track coming down out of the Woods, upon which he and his little company lay close some on one side of the Track & some on the other. They heard the *Indian* Souldier make a howling for his Father; and at length some body answered him, but while they were listning, they thought they heard some body coming towards them, presently saw an old man coming up with a Gun on his Shoulder, and a young Woman following of him in the Track which they lay by: They let them come up between them, and then started up and laid hold on them both. Capt. *Church* immediately examined them a part,³⁴³ telling them, *What they must trust too if they told false Stories*: He ask'd the young Woman, *What company they came last from?* She said, *from Capt. Annawons*. He asked her, *How many were in company with him when she left him?* She said, *50 or 60*. He ask'd her *How many Miles it was to the place where she left him?* She said, *She did not understand Miles, but he was up in Squannaconk Swamp?*³⁴⁴ The old man who had been one of *Philips*

³⁴³ Through one of his Indian foldiers eastern side of the town of Rehoboth, as an interpreter. Mafs., about midway between its north-

³⁴⁴ *Squannaconk* swamp is on the ern and southern boundaries, and

Council, upon examination, gave exactly the same account. Capt. Church ask'd him, *If they could get there that Night?* He said, *If they went presently and travelled stoutly, they might get there by Sun set.*³⁴⁵ He ask'd *Whither he was going?* He answered, *That Annawon had sent him down to look for some Indians, that were gone down into Mount-hope Neck to kill Provisions:* Capt. Church let him know that those *Indians* were all his Prisoners. By this time came the *Indian* Souldier & brought his Father and one *Indian* more. The Captain was now in great strait of mind what to do next he had a mind to give *Annawon* a visit, now knew where to find him, but his company was very small, but half a dozen men beside himself, and was under a necessity to send some body back to acquaint his Lieutenant & company³⁴⁶ with his proceedings. However he asked his small company that were with him, *Whither they would willingly go with him and give Annawon a visit?* They told him, *They were always ready to obey his commands, &c.* But withal told him, *That they knew this Capt.*

nearly touches, at some points, the west line of Dighton; *Little Squannakonk* and *Bad-Luck* swamps lie between it and Reservoir pond on the south, out of which flows the main feeder of Palmer's (Warren) River. Mr. Drake says [edition of Mather's *Brief History*, 180], that *Squannakonk* probably signifies the "Swamp of Night," or "Night-swamp." But Mr. Trumbull says, "I can make nothing of this name. It is certainly corrupted, and has lost at least one (initial) syllable."

³⁴⁵ It could scarcely have been more than 9 or 10 miles to Annawon's camp; but the way was, unquestionably, — through that miry country, — tedious and difficult, and the day was evidently waning; as Church had already marched, with many delays, from the narrow of Poppasquash neck, a distance which, by their sinuous route, could hardly have been less than fifteen miles.

³⁴⁶ Whom he had left at the swamp above *Mattapoissett* neck.

Annawon was a great Souldier; that he had been a valiant Captain under Afuhmequon. Philips Father,³²⁷ and that he had been Philips Chieftain all this War; a very subtle man, and of great resolution, and had often said, that he would never be taking alive by the English; and moreover they knew that the men that were with him were resolute fellows, some of Philip's chief Souldiers; and therefore feared whether it was practicable to make an attempt upon him with so [49] small a handful of assistants as now were with him. Told him further, That it would be a pitty that after all the Great Things he had done, he should throw away his Life at last, &c. Upon which he replied, That he doubted not *Annawon* was a subtle & valiant Man: that he had a long time but in vain fought for him, and never till now could find his quarters; and he was very loth to mis of the opportunity; and doubt not but that if they would chearfully go with him, the same Almighty Providence that had hitherto protected and befriended them would do so still, &c. Upon this with one consent they said, *They would go.* Capt. *Church* then turned to one *Cook* of *Plymouth*,³²⁵ (the only

³²⁷ *Massasoit* had two names, each of which, in accordance with the humor of the times, had a various spelling. Bradford wrote one *Massasoit* and *Massasoiet*; Winslow wrote it *Masasoit* and *Massaffowat*; Prince says, "I find the ancient People from their Fathers in *Plymouth Colony* pronounce his name *Ma-sas-so-it*"; to which Thatcher adds (as if from Belknap, what Belknap does not say), "with the

accent on the second syllable." The other was written *Wooamequin*, *Wafamegin*, *Uffamequen*, *Afuhmequin*, *Oofamequen*, *Osamekin*, *Oxfamequin*, *Oxfamequine*, &c. &c. [Bradford's *Hist. Plym.* 94, 102; Young's *Chronicles Plym.* 191, 313; Prince's *Annals*, 101; Belknap's *Amer. Biog.* ii: 212; Thatcher's *Ind. Biog.* i: 117; Drake's *Book of Ind. S.*]

³²⁵ Beyond question this was Caleb

English Man then with him) and ask'd him, *What he thought of it?* Who replyed, *Sir, I am never afraid of going any where when you are with me.* Then Capt. *Church* asked the old *Indian*, if he could carry his *Horle* with him? (for he conveyed a *Horle* thus far with him:) He reply'd that it was impossible for an *Horle* to pass the Swamps. Therefore he sent away his new *Indian* Soldier with his Father and the Captains *Horle* to his Lieutenant, and orders for him to move to *Taunton* with the Prisoners, to secure them there, and to come out in the Morning in the *Rehoboth* Road, in which he might expect to meet him, if he were alive and had success.³⁴² The Captain then asked the old fellow, If he would Pilot him unto *Annawon*? He answered, that he having given him his life he was obliged to serve him. He bid him move on then; and they followed: The old man would out-travel them, so far sometimes that they were almost out of sight; looking over his Shoulder and seeing them behind, he would halt. Just as the Sun was setting, the old man made a full stop and sat down, the company coming up also sat down, being all weary. Capt. *Church* asked, *What news?* He answered, That about that time in the Evening Capt. *Annawon*, sent out his Scouts to see if the Coast were clear, and as soon as it began to grow dark the Scouts return. And then (said he) we may move

Cook, who so narrowly missed being the slayer of Phillip. (See note 307. ante.)

³⁴² It was probably twelve or thirteen

miles from the swamp where Lieut. Howland and his company were, north-easterly up the west bank of the *Titticut* (Taunton) River to Taunton.

again securely. When it began to grow dark the old man stood up again, Capt. *Church* asked him, if he would take a Gun and fight for him? He bowed very low and pray'd him not to impose such a thing upon him, as to fight against Capt. *Annawon* his old friend. But says he, I will go along with you, and be helpful to you, and will lay hands on any man that shall offer to hurt you. It being now pretty dark they moved close together; anon they heard a noise, the Captain stay'd the old man with his hand, and asked his own men what noise they thought it might be? they concluded it to be the pounding of a Mortar. The old man had given Capt. *Church* a description of the Place where *Annawon* now lay, and of the Difficulty of getting at him: being sensible that they were pretty near them, with two of his *Indians* he creeps to the edge of the Rocks,³⁵⁰ from whence he could see their Camps; he saw

³⁵⁰ A continuous tradition has preserved the identity of this spot. It is an out-cropping ledge of rocks in a bit of upland in the northern part of *Squannakonk* swamp in Rehoboth. It may now be reached by the old turn-pike from Taunton to Providence, and is between the houses on that road now occupied by Seneca Blifs and Noah Fuller; on the left side as you go toward Providence, and about 6½ miles from Taunton. This portion of the swamp is owned by Nathan Pratt of Taunton, who married a daughter of Dea. Blifs, its former proprietor. The building of this road through the northern end of the swamp, with the natural

change of years, has made the position more accessible than of old, although wet ground still surrounds the rock. The traveller will find, perhaps 80 rods beyond Mr. Blifs's house (which stands in the angle where another road crosses the pike), a tree on the left, larger than any near it, which bears the marks of being often used as a hitching-post; with a path leading thence south-easterly into the woods. Following that path, say 80 paces, he will begin to ascend the ledge which slopes up before him at an angle of perhaps 40 degrees, and the length of which lies across his way up, and apparently not far from north-east and south-west. From pacing it,

three companies of *Indians* at a little distance from each other, being easy to be discovered by the light of their fires. He saw also the great *An*[50]*nawon* and his company, who had formed his Camp or Kennelling-place, by falling a Tree under the side of the great clefts of Rocks, and fitting a row of birch bushes up against it, where he himself, and his Son, and some of his chiefs had taken up their lodging, and made great fires without them, and had their Pots and Kittles boiling, and Spits roasting. Their Arms also he discovered, all set together in a place fitted for the purpose standing up an end against a stick lodged in two crotches, and a Mat placed over them, to keep them from the wet or dew. The old *Annawons* feet and his Sons head were so near the Arms as almost to touch them: But

I judge that this ledge may average 125 feet in length by 75 feet in width, terminating on its southern and western side in rugged cliffs from 30 to 40 feet in height. The rock is a pudding-stone, thick set with pebbles, and has evidently felt the effect of convulsion, or other rough treatment, along its southern and south-western edge, which is jagged, and from which huge bowlders, now lying at its base, have been torn. About two-thirds of the way west, along this southern face, is a deep recess, accessible from above with difficulty by the aid of the bushes growing in the clefts, which answers well to Church's description of the spot in which Annawon was now encamped. The growth of trees around the rock has recently been felled; and the first feeling of the visitor

is one of surprise that a retreat so exposed on the southern side as this now seems to be, should have answered the conditions of Annawon's camp. But, on reflection, one will see, that, with the swamp as it then was, the rock could be reached only from the upland isthmus which connected it with the main land, which lay probably in the direction from which the path now approaches the spot; while the side which now seems exposed was not only protected by the surrounding water and mire, but shut in and concealed by the old forest growth. From the edge of the cliff, Church could look down upon Annawon, his son, and chiefs, almost directly under him, and upon the three companies around their fires, scattered along its southern face.

the Rocks were so steep that it was impossible to get down, but as they lowered themselves by the bows, and the bushes that grew in the cracks of the Rock. Capt. *Church* creeping back again to the old man, asked him, If there was no possibility of getting at them some other way? He answered, no, That he and all that belonged to *Annawon* were ordered to come that way, and none could come any other way without difficulty or danger of being shot. Capt. *Church* then ordered the old man and his daughter to go down fore-most with their baskets at their backs, that when *Annawon* saw them with their baskets he should not mistrust the intregue; Capt. *Church* and his handful of Soldiers crept down also under the shadow of these two and their baskets, and the Captain himself crept close behind the old man, with his Hatchet in his hand, and step'd over the young mans head to the Arms, the young *Annawon* discovering of him, whip'd his blanket over his head and shrunk up in a heap: The old Capt. *Annawon* started up on his breech, and cryed out *Howoh*,³⁵¹ and despairing of escape³⁵² throw himself back again, and lay silent until Capt. *Church* had secured all the Arms, &c. And having secured that company, he sent his *Indian* Soldiers to the

³⁵¹ *Howoh!* i.e. *Awàun ewò?* "Who is that?" [Roger Williams's *Key. R.-I. Hist. Coll.* i: 29.] or *Howan?* "who?" e.g., *Howan yeuoh wag Edom &c.*, "Who is this that cometh from Edom, &c.?" [*Eliot, Isaiah* lxiii: 1.] This seems to have been the usual challenge: "Who's there?"

³⁵² *Annawon* probably had no idea that *Church* would have the boldness thus to beard him in his den, without an abundant force surrounding and irresistibly enclosing him on every side; as was represented to be the fact to the other companies, by his *Indian* soldiers.

other fires & companies, giving them instructions, what to do and say. Accordingly, they went into the midst of them: When they discovered themselves who they were, told them that their Capt. *Annawon* was taken, and it would be best for them quietly and peaceably to surrender themselves, which would procure good quarter for them: Otherwise if they should pretend to resist or make their escape, it would be in vain, and they could expect no other but that Capt. *Church* with his great Army, who had now entrapp'd them, would cut them to pieces: told them also if they would submit themselves, and deliver up all their Arms unto them, and keep every man his place until it was day; they would assure them that their Capt. *Church* who had been so kind to themselves when they surrendered to him, should be as kind unto them. Now they being old acquaintance, and many of them Relations did much the readier give heed to what they said, and complied & surrendered up their Arms unto them, both their Guns and Hatchets, &c. and were forthwith carryed to Capt. *Church*. Things being so far settled, Capt. *Church* asked *Annawon*, What he had for Supper, for (said he) I am come to Sup [51] with you. *Taubut*³⁵³ (said *Annawon*) with a big voice; and looking about upon his Womer, bid them hasten and get Capt. *Church* and his company some Supper; then turned to Capt. *Church* and asked him, Whether he would

³⁵³ *Taubut*: Literally, "It is satisfactory," "très bien," e.g., *Taubut paumf maütaman*, "I am glad you are well;" *Taubot ne paumf maunthéttit*, "I am glad they are well." [Roger Williams *R.-I. Hist. Coll.* i: 27.]

eat Cow-beaf or Horfe-beaf, The Captain told him Cow-beaf would be moft acceptable: It was foon got ready, and pulling his little bag of Salt out of his Pocket, which was all the Provifion he brought with him; this feafon'd his Cow-beaf fo that with it and the dry'd green-corn, which the old Squaw was pounding in the Mortar,³⁵⁴ while they were fliding down the Rocks, he made a very hearty Supper. And this pounding in the Mortar proved lucky for Capt. *Churches* getting down the Rocks, for when the old Squaw pounded they moved, and when fhe ceafed to turn the corn, they ceafed creeping, the noife of the Mortar prevented the Enemies hearing their creeping: and the corn being now drefsed fupplied the want of Bread, and gave a fine relifh with the Cow-beaf. Supper being over, Capt. *Church* fent two of his men to inform the other companies, that he had killed *Philip*, and had taken their friends in *Mount-hope Neck*,³⁵⁵ but had fpared their lives, and that he had fubdued now all the Enemy (he fuppofed) excepting this company of *Annawons*, and now if they would be orderly and keep their places until Morning, they fhould have good quarter, and that he would carry them to *Taunton*, where they might fee their friends again, &c. The Mefengers

³⁵⁴ "The mode of pounding dry maize, by the grain-raifing tribes, varied confiderably. It was a fpecies of work left wholly to the women, who generally exercifed their ingenuity in its reduction. When circumftances favored it, mortars and peftles of ftone were employed. The mortar was fome-

times a depreflion in the face of a rock." [Schoolcraft's *Inf. refpe&ing the Ind. Tribes* iii: 466.]

³⁵⁵ That is, thofe whom Annawon had fent down to Poppafquafh, and the regions beyond it, after provifions; whom Church had captured the day before.

return'd, that the *Indians* yielded to his propofals. Capt. *Church* tho't it was now time for him to take a Nap, having had no sleep in two days and one night before; told his men that if they would let him sleep two hours, they fhould sleep all the reft of the night. He lay'd himfelf down and endeavoured to fleep, but all difpofition to fleep departed from him. After he had lain a little while he looked up to fee how his Watch managed, but found them all faft a-fleep. Now Capt. *Church* had told Capt. *Annawons* company, as he had ordered his *Indians* to tell the others, that their lives fhould all be fpared, excepting Capt. *Annawons*, and it was not in his power to promife him his life, but he muft carry him to his Mafters at *Plymouth*,³⁵⁶ and he would intreat them for his life. Now when Capt. *Church* found not only his own men, but all the *Indians* faft a-fleep *Annawon* only excepted, whom he perceived was as broad awake as himfelf; and fo they lay looking one upon the other perhaps an hour; Captain *Church* faid nothing to him, for he could not fpeak *Indian*, and tho't *Annawon* could not fpeak *English*; at length *Annawon* raifed himfelf up, caft off his blanket, and with no more clothes than his fmall breeches, walked a little way back from the company: Capt. *Church* tho't no other but that he had occafion to eafe himfelf, and fo walked to fome dif-

³⁵⁶ It will be remembered, that *Church's* commiffion (fee p. 101, *ante*) expreffly excepted from his power of "receiving to mercy" fuch as were "Murderous Rogues, or fuch as have

been *principal Actors* in thofe Villanies." Compare the action of *Plymouth Court*, 7 July, 1676; and alfo 4 November following. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 205; xi: 242.]

tance rather than offend him with the flink: but by and by he was gone out of fight and hearing; and then Capt. *Church* began to suspect some ill design in him, and got all the Guns close to him, and crouded himself close under young *Annawon*, that if he should any where [52] get a Gun he should not make a shot at him without indangering his Son; lying very still a while waiting for the event: at length, he heard some body coming the same way that *Annawon* went. The Moon now shining bright, he saw him at a distance coming with something in his hands, and coming up to Capt. *Church*, he fell upon his knees before him, and offer'd him what he had bro't, and speaking in plain *English*, said, *Great Captain, you have killed Philip, and conquered his Country for I believe, that I & my company are the last that War against the English, so suppose the War is ended by your means; and therefore these things belong unto you.* Then opening his pack, he pull'd out *Philips* belt curiously wrought with *Wompom*,³⁵⁷ being Nine

³⁵⁷ *Wompom* (plural *Wompompeag*) was the Indian name for the *white* beads used as currency, or for the payment of tribute from tribe to tribe; from *wompi*, "white." The *black*, or, more properly, the *purple* beads, made from the margin of the shell of the round clam (*Venus mercenaria*), were called *suckauhock*, "dark-colored-shell." These beads when strung, in bands or girdles, were called, generally, *peag*; when loose, *seawhooog* (*sawhoog*, Roger Williams's *Key. R.-I. Hist. Coll.* i: 131); by the Dutch and other traders, *seawan*,

sewan, i.e., "scattered," "loose." The English, not understanding, or disregarding, the distinction of colors, assumed the name of the cheaper and more common *wompompeag* as generic, and called all shell-money *wompom*.

Dr. Palfrey says these beads were a quarter of an inch long, and in diameter less than a pipe-stem, drilled lengthwise. Gookin and Roger Williams testify, that the white beads (or *wompom* proper) were rated at half the value of the black. Palfrey adds that the former passed for a farthing each in transac-

inches broad,³⁵⁸ wrought with black and white *Wompom*, in various figures and flowers, and pictures of many birds and beasts. This when hung upon Capt. *Churches* shoulders it reach'd his ancles. And another belt of *Wompom* he presented him with, wrought after the former manner, which *Philip* was wont to put upon his head; it had two flags on the back part which hung down on his back: and another small belt with a Star upon the end of it, which he used to hang on his breast; and they were all edg'd with red hair, which *Annawon* said they got in the Muh-hogs³⁵⁹ Country. Then he pulled out two horns of glazed Powder, and a red cloth Blanket: He told Capt. *Church*, these were *Philips* Royalties³⁶⁰ which he was wont to

tions between the natives and the colonists; that is, 960 to the pound sterling. A law was passed, however, in the Mass. Colony, 2 June, 1641, to this effect: "It is ordered that *wampampege* shall passe currant at 6 a penny for any summe under £10, for debts hereafter to bee made." In Sept., 1648, the commissioners of the United Colonies, from the fact that the Indians and traders cheated in dealing with wampum, "smaule & great uncomly & disorderly mingled," recommended an order that none should "bee payed or Refcaiued" but what is "in som measure strunge futably;" but the General Courts did not agree to it. In 1660 it was rated at 5s. a fathom. [*Palfrey's Hist. N. E.* i: 31; *Mass. Col. Rec.* i: 329; *Plym. Col. Rec.* ix: 136, 149; x: 251; 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* i: 152; *R.-I. Hist. Coll.* i: 130.]

³⁵⁸ "They [*peag*] were used for ornament as well as for coin, and 10,000 have been known to be wrought into a single war-belt four inches wide." [*Palfrey's Hist. N. E.* i: 32.] "They make girdles curiously, of one, two, three, foure and five inches thicknesse and more, of this money, which (sometimes to the value of £10 and more) they weare about their middle and as a scarf about their shoulders and breasts. "Yea, the Princes make rich Caps and Aprons (or small breeches) of these Beads thus curiously strung into many formes and figures: their blacke and white finely mixt together." [*Roger Williams's Key. R.-I. Hist. Coll.* i: 131.]

³⁵⁹ Mohawk's country.

³⁶⁰ It is an interesting question what became of these "royalties" after they were thus passed into the hands of

adorn himself with when he sat in State. That he tho't himself happy that he had an opportunity to present them to Capt. *Church*, who had won them, &c. spent the remainder of the night in discourse; and gave an account of what mighty success he had formerly in Wars against many Nations of *Indians*, when served *Afuhmequin*,³⁶¹ *Philip's* Father, &c. In the Morning³⁶² as soon as it was light, the Captain March'd with his Prisoners out of that *Swampy* Country towards *Taunton*, met his Lieutenant and Compa-

Church. I find no note of their preservation in Church's household, nor any evidence that the tradition to which Mr. Drake refers, tracing them to the custody of a family in Swansey, [*Book of Ind.* 239] has any foundation in fact. It is most reasonable to suppose that Church turned them over to the Government, and evidence has just been brought to light which indicates that most, if not all, of the articles here referred to, were sent as presents by the Plymouth Governor to King Charles the Second. Dr. Palfrey has deposited with the Mass. Historical Society the copy of a letter obtained by him from the State-Paper Office [*Colonial Papers* No. xlvi, Art. 149], from Josias Winslow to the king, of date "New Plymouth, 26 June, 1677," in which the Governor craves His Majesty's acceptance "of these few Indian rarities, being the best of our spoiles, and the best of the ornaments and treasure of sachem Philip the grande Rebel, the most of them taken from him by Capt. Benjamin Church (a person of great loyalty and the most successful of our com-

manders) when hee was slayne by him; being his Crowne, his gorge, and two belts of their owne making of their golde and silver." [*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1863-4, p. 481.] This description accords very well with that given by Church. The "crowne" was, doubtless, the belt "which *Philip* was wont to put upon his head"; the "gorge" [*gorget*, "a crescent-shaped plate worn round the neck by officers on duty,"—*Worcester*] may have been the "small belt with a Star upon the end of it, which he used to hang upon his breast."

³⁶¹ It has been usual to regard *Massa-soit* as a man of peace. Mr. Thatcher says he "did not distinguish himself as a warrior; nor is he known to have been once engaged in any open hostilities, even with the inimical and powerful tribes who environed his territory." [*Ind. Biog.* i: 140]. But this testimony of Annawon, as well as other evidence which might easily be cited, intimates that he was much like other Indians in that respect.

³⁶² Tuesday, 12 September?

ny, about four Miles out of Town,³⁶³ who expressed a great deal of joy to see him again, and said, 'twas more than ever he expected. They went into *Taunton*, were civilly and kindly treated by the Inhabitants, refreshed and rested themselves that night. Early next Morning,³⁶⁴ the Captain took old *Annawon*, and half a dozen of his *Indian* Soldiers, and his own man, and went to *Rhode-Island*, sending the rest of his Company and his Prisoners by his Lieutenant to *Plymouth*. Tarrying two or three days upon the Island, he then went to *Plymouth*, and carried his Wife and his two Children with him.

Capt. *Church* had been but a little while at *Plymouth*, before he was informed of a parcel of *Indians*, that haunted the Woods between *Plymouth* and *Sippican*, that did great damage to the *English* in killing their Cattel, Horses and Swine; and the Captain was soon in pursuit of them: Went out from *Plymouth* the next Monday³⁶⁵ in the afternoon; next Morning early³⁶⁶ they discovered a Track; the

³⁶³ Church would most likely strike the old Taunton and Providence road, then a trail, near the east flank of "Great-Meadow Hill," a half-mile north of the rock where he had encamped; from whence it would be nearly eight miles to Taunton. As he met his Lieutenant about half way, they must have come together a little east of the *Segreganset* River, probably not far from the present residence of G. Dean.

³⁶⁴ [Wednesday, 13 September?] As his occasions led him to Rhode-Island, Church doubtless took Annawon with

him from motives of kindness to that chief, lest the Plymouth authorities might make short work with him before his return.

³⁶⁵ See note 314, *ante*. It is my impression that this expedition is here misplaced, really belonging in the last week of August or the first week of September, before Annawon's capture. This Monday may, then, have been Monday, 28 Aug., or possibly the 4th September.

³⁶⁶ Church himself gives small clew to the geography of this expedition. It is obvious, however, that the marau-

Captain sent two *Indians* on the Track to see what they could discover, while he and his Company followed gently after, but [53] the two *Indians* soon returned with Tidings that they had discovered the Enemy sitting round their fires, in a thick place of brush. When they came pretty near the place, the Captain ordered every man to creep as he did; and surround them by creeping as near as they could, till they should be discovered, and then to run on upon them and take them alive, if possible, (for their Prisoners were their pay:) They did so, took every one that was at the fires, not one escaping. Upon examination they agreed in their Story, that they belonged to *Tispaquin*,³⁶⁷ who was gone with *John Bump*,³⁶⁸ and one more,

of whom he was in search were "between Plymouth and Sippican"; and as he did not leave Plymouth until afternoon, he could not have been many miles on his way (unless he marched all night, which is not probable) when he discovered their track. Hubbard says [*Narrative* 107] that "the place was near *Lakenham* upon *Pocasset* Neck." He was probably right in the place, and wrong in its relative position. *Lakenham* was the name very early given to the meadows lying east of Six-mile Brook and near Wenham Pond, on the road to Nemaquett, in what is now Carver; at least 28 miles, air-line distance, from *Pocasset*, yet exactly where Church would be likeliest to be, on a scout for Indians lurking between Plymouth and Sippican. It is about 6 miles from Plymouth.

³⁶⁷ See note 227, ante.

³⁶⁸ Few family names have had a more curious transformation, in the process of popular use, than that which is here attached to this Indian. Originally the Huguenot *Bompasse* (from *Bon-pas*), it became corrupted first to *Bumpass*, then to *Bumpus*, and finally to *Bump*! Edward, who came over in the Fortune, in 1621, founded a very worthy family, which still holds its own in the Old Colony. Mr. Drake, in his edition of Church, supposes that the Indian here referred to may have derived his name from some association with members of this family. It seems to me more probable, that his genuine Indian name so resembled theirs in sound as to have become confused with it. There was a John *Wampes*, who appears on the list of "divers Indians inhabiting at *Agawaam*, *Sepecan*, and *Weweante*, with other Places adjoyn-

to *Agawom*³⁶⁹ and *Sippican*³⁷⁰ to kill Horfes, and were not expected back in two or three days. This fame *Tispaquin* had been a great Captain, and the *Indians* reported that he was such a great *Pouwau*,³⁷¹ that no bullet could enter him, &c. Capt. *Church* said, He would not have him killed, for there was a War broke out in the Eastern Part of the Country, and he would have him saved to go with them to fight the *Eastern Indians*.³⁷² Agreeably he left two old Squaws of the Prisoners, and bid them tarry there until their Capt. *Tispaquin* returned, and to tell him, that *Church* had been there, and had taken his Wife, Children, and company, and carryed them down to *Plymouth*; and would spare all their lives, and his too, if he would come down

ing," who "engaged their Fidelitie to the Gou'rment of New Plymouth, 6 July, 1671." *Bompasse* and *Wampees*, as then popularly pronounced, could not, I think, have seemed very unlike; and it is my impresson that this was the fame John; who, like *Tautozen* in the fame list, proved faithles to the fidelity which he engaged. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 72.]

³⁶⁹ See note 209, *ante*.

³⁷⁰ See note 210, *ante*.

⁷¹ *Pawwan* (*Powow*). Eliot uses this word in the form in which *Church* writes it, for a "witch," or "wizard," or "magician." [e.g., *Exod.* xxii: 18; *Dan.* iv: 7.] Roger Williams gives *Powwaw*, and defines: "these doe begin and order their service, and Invocation of their Gods, and all the people follow, and joyne interchangeably in a laborious bodily service, unto

sweating, especially of the Priest, who spends himselfe in strange Antick Gestures, and Actions even unto fainting." [*Key. R.-I. Hist. Coll.* i: 111.] De Vries says of the Indians at *Cayenne*, "Their priests they call *peoyos*; we call them forcerers." So the word must have had a wide range, territorially, and a very respectable antiquity. Though not exactly a simple or primitive word, its etymology is too obscure to be given without a preliminary treatise on Indian roots.

³⁷² Wakely (Hubbard calls him *Waterly*) and his family, were murdered by the Indians at Falmouth, Me., in the second week of September; and other outbreaks at Saco, Scarborough, Wells, Kittery, &c., soon followed. [Hubbard's *Narrative of Troubles, &c., from Pascataqua to Pemmaguid*, 16; Palfrey's *Hist N. E.* iii: 207.]

to them and bring the other two that were with him, and they should be his Souldiers, &c. Capt. *Church* then returned to *Plymouth*, leaving the old Squaws well provided for, and Bisket for *Tispaquin* when he returned: Telling his Souldiers, that he doubted not but he had laid a Trap that would take him.³⁷³ Capt. *Church* two days after went to *Boston*; (the Commiffioners then fitting)³⁷⁴ and waited upon the Honourable Governour *Leverett* who then lay Sick;³⁷⁵ who requested of Capt. *Church* to give him some account of the War: who readily obliged his Honour therein, to his great Satisfaction, as he was pleased to exprefs himself; taking him by the hand, and telling him, if it pleased God he lived, he would make it a brace of a hundred pounds advantage to him out of the *Massachusetts* Colony, and would endeavour the rest of the Colonies should do Proportionably;³⁷⁶ but he dyed within a Fort-

³⁷³ This language is to be interpreted honorably. Church does not mean that he had laid a trap to take the Black Sachem by a false promise, as might seem, in the light of subsequent events; but that, in offering him a Captaincy under him to fight the Eastern Indians, he had held out an inducement sufficient to secure his capitulation, as the result proved.

³⁷⁴ The Commiffioners of the three Confederate Colonies.

³⁷⁵ *John Leverett* was the only son of Elder Thomas Leverett, and was born in England in 1616, and came to New England with his parents in Sept., 1633; joined Boston Church 14 July, 1639; joined the Ancient and Honorable

Artillery Company, 1639, holding successively all its offices; was freeman 13 May, 1640; 27 May, 1663, he was chosen Major-General, and every year afterwards, until he was chosen Governor, in 1673, which office he held until his death; besides being selectman, deputy, assistant, &c. &c. No fact can be better established than that he died 16 March, 1678-9, or about 2 years and 5 months later than the date to which Church would here assign his decease; another proof that the old warrior dictated from a memory not always accurate in minutiae. [See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* iv: 125-32.]

³⁷⁶ Gov. Leverett, on behalf of the General Court of Mafs., wrote to the

night after, and so nothing was done of that nature. The same day³⁷⁷ *Tispaquin* came in and those that were with him, but when Capt. *Church* return'd from *Boston*, he found to his grief that the heads of *Annawon*, *Tispaquin*, &c. cut off, which were the last of *Philips* friends.³⁷⁸ The General Court of *Plymouth* then fitting³⁷⁹ sent for Capt. *Church* who waited upon them accordingly, and received their Thanks for his good Service, which they Unanimously Voted, which was all that Capt. *Church* had for his aforesaid Service.

Afterwards in the Year 1676. in the Month of *January*³⁸⁰ Capt. *Church* received a Commission³⁸¹ from Govern-

Governor of *Plymouth*, 17 Oct., 1676, in regard to sending an expedition east against the hostile Indians there, "Wherein," he says, "wee desire & expect yo^r concurrence wth us, & assistance of us wth some English, & also some of your Indians, & *Capt. Church*, whom we have spoken with here, & finde him ready to serve God & the country; request therefore your speedy sending of him, & such as you shall see meet, to assist in that designe." [*Mafs. Col. Rec.* v: 126.] I find no response to this on the *Plymouth* Records.

³⁷⁷ That is, the same day which *Church* refers to in his account of setting his trap for *Tispaquin*.

³⁷⁸ Hubbard says the *Plymouth* authorities tested *Tispaquin* on his reputation of being impenetrable by bullets, but "he fell down at the first shot." [*Narrative*, 107.] The fact probably

was, that the Court, having committed themselves to the policy of extermination, so far as the ringleaders of late butcheries were concerned, did not see fit to gratify *Church* by making exceptions in these eminent cases. The Home Government at London — if we may judge by the records of the times — would have been even more unyielding.

³⁷⁹ The Court met 1 Nov., 1676.

³⁸⁰ In the Old Style the month of *January*, 1676, came after, instead of before, *November* and *December*; the year beginning with 25th *March*, instead of 1st *January*.

³⁸¹ After the *Annawon* expedition, *Church*'s old company seems to have disbanded; and, from the issue of this new commission to him at this time, the force of the old would seem to have expired.

nour *Winslow*, to Scoure the Woods of some of the lurking Enemy, which they were well informed were there.

Which Commiffion is as follows: [54]

B*Eing well informed that there are certain parties of our Indian Enemies, (remains of the People, or Allies of Philip, late Sachem of Mount-hope, our Mortal Enemy) that are still lurking in the Woods near some of our Plantations, that go on to disturb the Peace of His Majesty's Subjects in this & the Neighbouring Colonies, by their frequent Robberies, and other Insolences. Capt. Benjamin Church is therefore hereby Nominated, Ordered, Commissioned, and Impowred to raise a Company of Volunteers, consisting of English and Indians; so many as he shall judge necessary to improve in the present Expedition, and can obtain; And of them to take the Command, and Conduēt, and to lead them forth unto such place or places within this or the Neighbouring Colonies, as he shall think fit, and as the Providence of God, and his Intelligence may lead him; To Discover, Pursue, Fight, Surprize, Destroy, and Subdue our said Indian Enemy, or any party or parties of them, that by the Providence of God they may meet with; Or them, or any of them to receive to Mercy, if he see cause (provided they be not Murderous Rogues, or such as have been principal Actors in those Vilanies.) And for the Prosecution of this design, liberty is hereby granted to the said Capt. Church, and others, to Arm and set out such of our friendly Indians, as he is willing to Entertain. And forasmuch as all these our Enemies that have been taken, or at any time may be taken by our Forces,*

have by our Courts and Councils been rendred lawful Captives of War, and condemned to perpetual Servitude; this Council do also determine and hereby declare, That all such Prisoners as by the blessing of God the said Captain and Company, or any of them, shall take, together with their Arms, and other Plunder, shall be their own, and to be distributed amongst themselves, according to such agreement as they may be at one with another: And it shall be lawful, and is hereby warrantable for him and them to make Sale of such Prisoners as their perpetual Slaves; or otherwise to retain and keep them as they think meet, (they being such as the Law allows to be kept:) Finally, the said Capt. Church herein improving his best judgment and discretion, and utmost ability, faithfully to Serve the Interest of God, his Majesties Interest, and the Interest of the Colony; and carefully governing his said Company at home and abroad; these shall be unto him full and ample Commission, Warrant and Discharge. Given under the Publick Seal. January 15th. 1676.

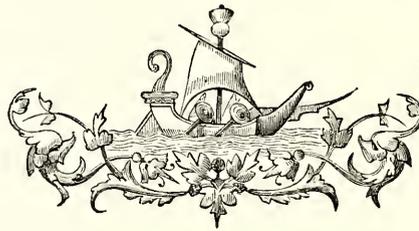
Per Josiah Winflow, GOV.

Accordingly Capt. *Church* accompanied with several Gentlemen and others went out, and took divers parties of *Indians*; and in one of which Parties there was a certain old man whom Capt. *Church* seem'd to take particular notice of, and asking him where he belonged, who told him to *Swansey*; the Captain ask'd his name, who replyed, his name was *Conscience*; *Conscience* said the Captain (smiling) then the War is over, for that was what they

were searching for, it being much wanting; and then returned the said *Conscience* to his Post again at *Swansey*, to a certain person the said *Indian* desired to be Sold to,³⁸² and so return'd home.

³⁸² 22 July, 1676, it had been ordered by the Plymouth Council of War: "Whereas it is apprehended that the p'mition of Indian men that are captiues to fettle and abide within this collonie may proue prejudiciall to our com̄on peace and safety, considering that there hath neuer bin any lycence for such foe to doe, it is ordered by the councell and the authoritie thereof, that noe Indian male captiue shall reside in this gou'ment that is about

14 yeers of age att the begiining of his or there captiuity, and if any such captiues about that age are now in the gou'ment, which are not desposed of out of this jurisdiction by the 15th of October next, shall forthwith be desposed of for the vse of this gou'rment." [*Plym. Col. Rec.* v: 210.] Whether this had been repealed, or whether this old *Conscience* was made an exception, on account of his age, or name, I am not able to say.





CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS.





Chronological Table of Events.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	Year.	E V E N T .	Page.
T.	22 July	1673	Saconet grantees met at Plymouth, and Benj. Church with them	3
F.	10 Apr.	1674	Grantees met at Duxbury, and drew lots for their shares	5
—	—	,,	Church goes down to view his lots, and concludes to settle on them	3
—	—	,,	Builds on his lot No. 19	5
F.	29 Jan.	167 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Sassamon</i> found murdered at <i>Assawompsett</i> .	12
T.	15 June	1675	<i>Awashonks</i> has a dance, to which she invites Church. He starts for Plymouth, calling on <i>Petanannet</i> and <i>Weetamoe</i>	7-14
W.	16 June	,,	He arrives at Plymouth, and calls on the Governor	14
S.	20 June	,,	<i>Philip</i> allowed his Indians to plunder in Swansey	15
M.	21 June	,,	A messenger reaches the Governor at Plymouth, who orders the Captains of the towns to march that day to Taunton	16
T.	22 June	,,	Church leads a party of English and friend Indians, ahead of the main army, to Brown's and Myles's Garrisons	17
Th.	24 June	,,	First blood, in Philip's War, shed either at Swansey or Fall River	18-19
M.	28 June	,,	A skirmish at Miles's Bridge, in which William Hammond was killed	20

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	Year.	E V E N T.	Page.
T.	29 June	1675	The troops, marched into Mount-Hope Neck to <i>Keekkamuit</i> , by a blunder, fired upon each other, wounding Ensign Savage; found eight English heads, and <i>Philip's</i> staved drums	22-24
—	— July	„	The English begin to build a fort at <i>Keekkamuit</i>	25
W.	7 July	„	Captain Fuller and Church, with six files, start for Pocasset, and get over Bristol Ferry to Rhode Island	27
Th.	8 July	„	Get over to Pocasset in the night	27
F.	9 July	„	Pease-field Fight	28-40
—	—	„	Church goes back to Rhode-Island for provisions	40
—	—	„	A fruitless expedition starts in pursuit of <i>Weetamoe</i>	40-42
—	—	„	It starts again in a sloop for Fall River, has a skirmish, and gets back	42-44
Th.	15 July	„	Our forces go from Mount Hope Neck Fort to Rehoboth	44
F.	16 July	„	To Gardner's Neck	44
S.	17 July	„	To Taunton	44
M.	19 July	„	They march to Pocasset, and attack <i>Philip</i> , <i>Philip</i> gets away by rafts across the Taunton river, and flees to the <i>Nipmuk</i> Country	44-47
—	—	„	<i>Acushnet</i> (Dartmouth) destroyed by the Indians	44
—	—	„	Another Fort built at Pocasset	47
—	—	„	Remainder of the summer "improved" in nursing these Forts, while the Indians were recruiting in the <i>Nipmuk</i> Country and west as far as Albany	48
F.	10 Dec.	„	Church starts from Boston with Governor Winslow on an expedition against the Narragansetts, and gets to Rehoboth [to Myles's Garrison?]	49

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Day of Week.	Day of Month.	Year.	E V E N T.	Page.
S.	11 Dec.	1675	Goes down with Richard Smith the nearest way over the ferries, to Wickford, R.-I., and surprises 18 of the enemy as a present to the Governor the same night	50-51
♄.	12 Dec.	„	Massachusetts and Plymouth troops, who had “marched round the country,” arrived	
T.	14 Dec.	„	Two forays were made; 9 Indians killed, 12 taken, and 150 wigwams burned . . .	52
W.	15 Dec.	„	Several stragglers from the main body of the English were cut off	52
Th.	16 Dec.	„	Captain Prentice with his troop of horse goes down to <i>Pettaquamscut</i> , and finds that the Indians had burned Bull’s Garrison, killing 10 men and 5 women and children	52
F.	17 Dec.	„	The Connecticut troops arrive at the ruins of Bull’s	52
S.	18 Dec.	„	The Massachusetts and Plymouth forces march over and join them at 5 P.M.	52
♄.	19 Dec.	„	About 1 P.M. they reach the edge of the swamp where the Narragansett fight took place, and the action began	52-59
M.	20 Dec.	„	Church and the other wounded men suffer terribly with the night-march to Wickford in the extreme cold. Captain Belcher “mercifully” arrives with a vessel “loaden” with provisions.	59
—	— Dec.	„	Church and other wounded carried over to Rhode-Island. Massachusetts and Plymouth troops remained, and were re-enforced,	60-61
Th.	27 Jan.	167 $\frac{1}{2}$	Connecticut forces reached Wickford again. Whole army, 1600 strong, started for the <i>Nipmuk</i> Country	61
F.	28 Jan.	„	Attacked <i>Punham’s</i> town in Warwick . . .	61-64
—	1-7 Feb.	„	Army returned home for want of provisions . .	64
Th.	10 Feb.	„	Lancaster surprised	66
M.	21 Feb.	„	Medfield burned	66

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Day of Week.	Day of Month.	Year.	E V E N T.	Page.
T.	29 Feb.	167 $\frac{5}{8}$	Plymouth Council of War met at Marshfield; and Church advised the sending of 300 soldiers, one-third to be friend Indians; but the Council demurred	66-69
—	8-11 Mar.	„	Church removes his family from Duxbury to Rhode-Island	69-70
§.	12 Mar.	„	Clark's Garrison, in Plymouth, destroyed	71
—	26-28 Mar.	1676	Rehoboth burned	66
F.	21 Apr.	„	Captain Wadsworth and his Company swallowed up at Sudbury	66
F.	12 May	„	Church's second son, Constant, born	71
F.	19 May	„	Captain Turner surprises the Indians at the great falls of the Connecticut, but is himself killed	65
T.	6 June	„	Church arrives at Plymouth, and meets the General Court	72
Th.	8 June?	„	Goes back, and on his way hails the Saconet Indians	73-75
F.	9 June?	„	Church goes to Newport to get permission to go and see <i>Awashonks</i>	77
S.	10 June?	„	Goes across with Daniel Wilcocks to Treaty Rock, and meets <i>Awashonks</i> and her Indians	78-85
W.	21 June	„	Plymouth army to be ready to start for Taunton	87
—	11-24 June	„	Fruitless efforts to get a vessel, and failure of Anthony Low to aid the business	86-87
§.	25 June	„	<i>Peter</i> is started from Rhode-Island for Saconet and Plymouth, to carry <i>Awashonks's</i> submission	87
M.	26 June	„	Army arrives at Pocasset	88
T.	27 June	„	Church goes over to see Major Bradford and the army	88
W.	28 June	„	Went back to go to <i>Awashonks</i> to inform her of the arrival of the army. Saw her, and told her what to do, and returned to the army. <i>Peter</i> and his two Saconet companions appear before the Court at Plymouth	87

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS.

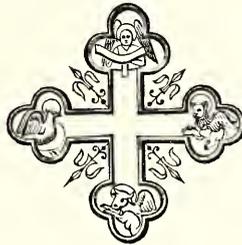
Day of Week.	Day of Month.	Year.	E V E N T.	Page.
Th.	29 June	1676	Army march to <i>Punkateese</i> . Church goes down to Saconet	89
F.	30 June	„	<i>Awashonks</i> with her subjects make submission at <i>Punkateese</i> to Major Bradford, and are ordered to report at Sandwich in six days, where Church agrees to meet her within a week	90
S.	1 July	„	Army goes back to Pocasset and over to Mount Hope, missing the Indians digging clams at <i>Weypoiset</i>	91-92
T.	6 July	„	The army having got comfortably back to Miles's Garrison, Church has leave to keep his promise with the Saconets	93
F.	7 July?	„	He reaches Plymouth, and the same afternoon starts for Sandwich. Major Bradford's army marches after Philip	93, 105
S.	8 July?	„	He finds <i>Awashonks</i> at <i>Mattapoisset</i> (Mass.),	95-100
Æ.	9 July?	„	He returns to Plymouth	100
M.	10 July?	„	The Governor commissions him, and he marches the same night for the woods	101-102
T.	11 July?	„	Captures a lot of Indians in Middleborough. An onset is made upon Taunton by the Indians	102, 105
—	12-23 July	„	Captures the <i>Monponsets</i> , &c., &c.	103-104
Æ.	16 July	„	Anthony Collymer writes to his wife	105
—	17-22 July	„	Church guards some carts to Taunton, and pursues and captures Indians through <i>Assawompset</i> neck, <i>Acushnet</i> , <i>Ponaganset</i> , <i>Mattapoisset</i> , and <i>Sippican</i> , to Plymouth	104-121
Th.	24 July	„	Church's commission is enlarged	104
Æ.	30 July	„	A post from Bridgewater announces that an army of Indians is threatening to cross the <i>Titicut</i> to their town; Church starts "by the beginning of the afternoon exercise," and goes to <i>Monponset</i> (in Halifax) that night	123-125

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Day of Week.	Day of Month.	Year.	E V E N T.	Page.
M.	31 July	1676	The "brisk Bridgewater lads" attack the Indians; and Church, scouting towards the town, hears the firing, but does not join in the pursuit	124-125
T.	1 Aug.	"	Church pursues the enemy; sees Philip; crosses on the felled tree, and back at the wading-place; and takes many prisoners	126-129
W.	2 Aug.	"	Pursues further to a swamp in Rehoboth	129-130
Th.	3 Aug.	"	Back, with his prisoners, to Bridgewater	131-137
F.	4 Aug.	"	Back safe to Plymouth, with his captives	138
—	7-9 Aug.?	"	An expedition toward Dartmouth, and the capture of <i>Sam Barrow</i>	139
F.	11 Aug.	"	Starts on another expedition to Pocasset, and goes over the ferry to see his wife at Major Sanford's; hears that Philip is at Mount Hope, and hastens immediately to attack him	140-144
S.	12 Aug.	"	Philip is killed	145-151
g.	13 Aug.	"	Church back at Rhode-Island	152
T.	15 Aug.	"	Starts on his return to Plymouth	152
—	1-6 Sept.?	"	Goes out towards <i>Agawom</i> (in Wareham), after <i>Tispequin</i>	175-178
F.	8 Sept.	"	Starts again for Rhode-Island after <i>Annarwon</i>	153
g.	10 Sept.	"	A post informs him of Indians on <i>Poppa-squash</i> neck (in Bristol); he starts and scouts after them	154-158
M.	11 Sept.	"	Church takes prisoners, follows their guide, reaches <i>Annarwon's</i> camp in <i>Squannakonk</i> swamp (in Rehoboth) about dark, and captures him with all his men, &c., &c.	159-173
T.	12 Sept.	"	Takes his prisoners to Taunton, where they refresh and rest over night	174-175
W.	13 Sept.	"	Taking <i>Annarwon</i> , Church goes back to Rhode-Island, sending the rest of his company and prisoners to Plymouth	175
—	15-20 Sep.	"	Starts for Plymouth, with his wife and children, and <i>Annarwon</i>	175

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Day of Week.	Day of Month.	Year.	E V E N T.	Page.
—	— Nov.	1676	Church waits on Governor Leverett in Boston	178
	”	”	The General Court of Plymouth Colony tender him a vote of thanks	179
M.	15 Jan.	1678	Church is again commissioned by Governor Winslow, and goes out, and takes “divers parties of Indians,” including old <i>Conscience</i> of Swansea; which ends these Annals of the War	179-182





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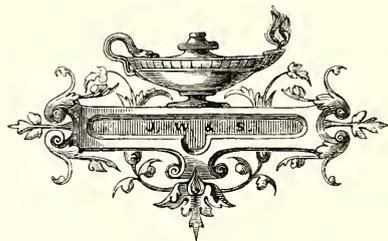
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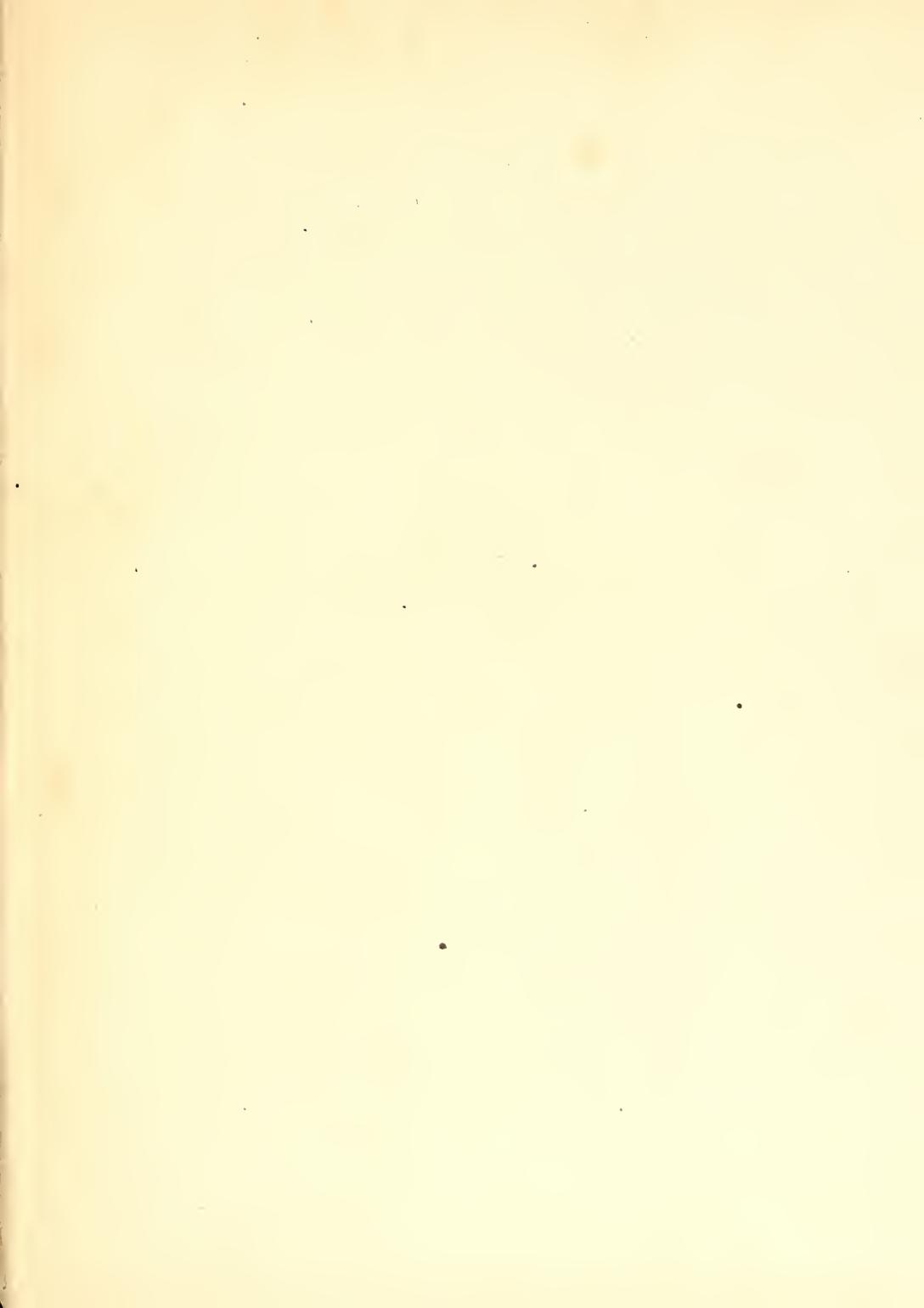
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