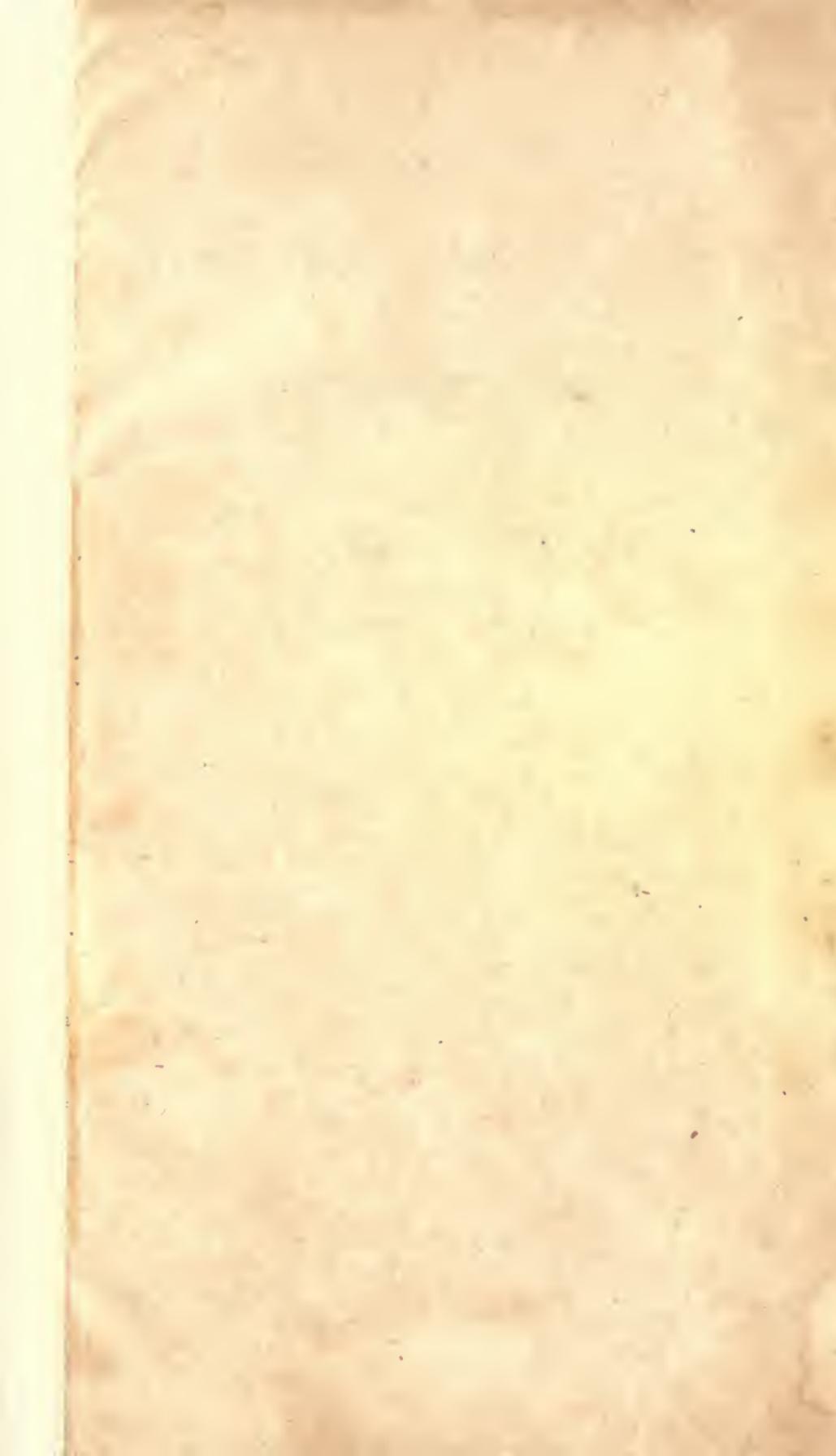






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THE
HISTORY
OF
KING PHILIP'S WAR;
ALSO OF
EXPEDITIONS

AGAINST THE FRENCH AND INDIANS IN THE EASTERN
PARTS OF NEW-ENGLAND, IN THE YEARS 1689, 1690,
1692, 1696 AND 1704. WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF
THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE TOWARDS
COL. BENJAMIN CHURCH.

BY HIS SON, THOMAS CHURCH, ESQ.

TO WHICH IS NOW ADDED,

AN INDEX, COPIOUS NOTES AND
CORRECTIONS.

ALSO,

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A SKETCH OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, LAND-
ING OF THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH, TOGETHER WITH
THE MOST IMPORTANT INDIAN WARS TO THE
TIME OF THE CREEK WAR.

BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

Boston:

HOWE & NORTON, PRINTERS, 14, STATE-STREET.

1825.

District of Massachusetts—to wit:
DISTRICT CLERK'S OFFICE.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the eighth day of August, A. D. 1825, in the fiftieth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Samuel G. Drake, of the said District, has deposited in this Office the Title of a Book the Right whereof he claim as Proprietor, in the Words following, *to wit*:

“The History of King Philip’s War; also of Expeditions against the French and Indians in the Eastern parts of New-England, in the years 1689, 1690, 1692, 1696, and 1704; with some account of the divine providence towards Col. Benjamin Church. By his son, Thomas Church, Esq. To which is now added, an Index, copious Notes and Corrections. Also an Appendix, containing a sketch of the Discovery of America; Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, together with the most important Indian Wars to the time of the Creek War. By SAMUEL G. DRAKE.”

In Conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled “An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the times therein mentioned;” and also to an Act entitled “An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the Benefits thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving and Etching Historical and other Prints.”

JNO. W. DAVIS, *Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*

GIFT

Langfeld



KING PHILIP.



Published by S.G. Drake, Boston.

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It has by many been solicited, that the old history should be given them entire; that is, in the same language and style of the old; others, that it should appear in a more modern style. But it will be recollected, that in the proposals issued for its republication, it was particularly expressed, to publish it "without alteration." By so doing, it was thought, we should best comply with the wishes of the majority of our patrons. And in the language of the author, to let it "go down to posterity with its own internal marks of originality."

It is therefore presented with no material alteration in style; it being plain and simple, and that always becomes a narrative.

A multitude of literal errors have been detected, inasmuch, as the nature of the work would admit.

Much care and attention have been taken in preparing an Index to the whole work. This very essential companion was not added to the former editions, nor was it so necessary as to the present; but it is too much neglected by the generality of Book Makers. In a book of three or four hundred pages, unless a person be very well acquainted with it, he will soon lose as much time in searching for particulars, as would be required to make an Index. This among two or three thousand people is no small *sum* to lose, for "time is money." In short, a book without an Index, "is as a man deprived of the faculty of speech."

Nearly all the Notes have been added to this edition; all, excepting at page 20, 23, 25, 30, the last at 35, that at 40, the first at 46, the one at 47, the second and third at 50, that at 64, the two at 65, the one at 69, the one at 77, that at 83, the first at 95, that at 102, the first at 105, that at 107, the first at 116.

With regard to the Appendix, great pains have been taken to collect the most important facts, and to dispose and treat them in the best manner. And no pains nor expenses have been spared to render the whole work, as good as possible, in its execution.

The publisher takes this opportunity of returning his grateful respects to all who have patronized him in his undertaking, and with pleasure subscribes himself, their much obliged, and very humble servant.

SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

Boston, June 17, 1825.

TO THE READER.

THE subject of this following narrative, offering itself to your friendly perusal, relates to the former and later wars of New-England, which I myself 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 Sogkonate, and since by the English Little-Compton. I was the first Englishman 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-houses, or fencing made. Horses and cattle were to be provided, ground to be cleared and broken up; and the utmost caution to be used, to keep myself 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 received another heart, inclining me to put forth my strength in military service: and through the grace of God I was spirited for that work, and direction in it was renewed to me day by day. And although many of the actions that I was concerned in were very difficult and dangerous, yet myself, and those who went with me voluntarily in the service, had our lives, for the most part, wonderfully preserved, by the overruling hand of the Almighty, from first to last; which doth aloud bespeak our praises: and to declare his wonderful works is our indispensable duty. I was ever

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INTRODUCTION

BY THE EDITOR.

THE first edition of this history was printed at Boston, in 1716, in a quarto form. It was reprinted in Newport, in 1772, and being the most minute, as well as most authentic account of Philip's war, it has always been sought after by all who have known of its existence. And notwithstanding the style, &c. in which it was written, it was read with eagerness until it almost entirely disappeared. Its republication has often been suggested, and by a number of different persons; but for want of exertion, or energy, or both, it did not appear. The present publisher was induced to undertake it from a conviction, that, "every particle of historical truth is precious," but more especially, when relating to such an early period of our history. Therefore, he flatters himself, that this will be taken as a sufficient apology for his appearance before the public at this time, and begs excuse from the fashionable task of the present day, of making apologies about apologies, &c. &c.

It has often been mentioned, and by those supposed to be considerably well acquainted with the history of our country, that Mr. Church's history is all comprised in other works; to such, I will only observe, that some authors have taken up parts of it, but no one, nor all of them, have taken up the whole. Even Hutchinson, who generally went into particulars, professes not to go into the particulars of Philip's war; yet, he takes notice of the particular questions and answers of the witch affairs of Salem. Hubbard is more particular than most authors on that war, but the accounts do not exactly agree with those of Mr. Church, whose correctness has never been doubted, nor does *he* enter into all the particulars.

Some who have pretended to treat particularly of Philip's war, have entirely omitted the extraordinary enterprise of Capt. Church, in the surprise and capture of ANNAWON. To omit which in this history, is what it would be to omit the capture of Lord Cornwallis in a history of the Revolution.

very sensible of my own littleness, and unfitness to be employed in such great services; but calling to mind that God is strong, I endeavoured 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 myself under a solemn promise, that the many and repeated favours of God to myself, and those with me in the service, might be published for generations to come. And now my great age requiring my dismissal from service in the militia, and to put off my armour, I am willing that the great and glorious works of Almighty God, 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 ensuing narrative of many passages relating to the former and latter wars; which I have had the perusal of, and find nothing amiss 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 soldier, telling of the many rencounters 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 conqueror through Jusus Christ loving of me.

BENJAMIN CHURCH.

THE
HISTORY
OF
KING PHILIP'S WAR, &c.



IN the year 1674 Mr. Benjamin Church, of Duxbury, being providentially at Plymouth, in the time of the court, fell into acquaintance with Capt. John Almy, of Rhode-Island. Capt. Almy, with great importunity, invited him to ride with him, and view that part of Plymouth Colony that lay next to Rhode-Island, known then by their Indian names of Pocasset and Sogkonate. 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. He accepted his invitation, views the country, and was pleased with it; makes a purchase, settled a farm, found the gentlemen of the Island very civil and obliging. And being himself a person of uncommon activity and industry, he soon erected two buildings upon his farm, and gained 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, while Mr. Church was diligently settling his new farm, stocking, leasing and disposing of his affairs, and had a fine prospect of doing no small things; and hoping that his good success would be inviting to 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 formed a design of war upon the English. 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 proved, he was sending his messengers to all the neighbouring Sachems, to engage them into a confederacy with him in the war.

Among the rest he sent six men to Awashonks, Squaw Sachem of the Sogkonate Indians, to engage her in his interest: 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 by name, to invite Mr. Church to the dance. Mr. Church upon the invitation, immediately takes with him Charles Hazelton, his tenant's son, who well understood the Indian language, and rode down to the place appointed; where they found hundreds of Indians gathered together from all parts of her dominion. Awashonks herself, in a foaming sweat, was leading the dance; but she was no sooner sensible of Mr. Church's arrival, but she broke off, sat down,

calls her nobles round her, orders Mr. Church to be invited into her presence; compliments 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,* to draw her into a confederacy with him, in a war with the English, desiring him to give her his advice in the case, and to tell her the truth, whether the Upumame men, as Philip had told her, were gathering a great army to invade Philip's country? He assured her he would tell her the truth, and give her his best advice; then he told her it was 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 believed no thoughts about it. He asked her, whether she thought 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 seemed to be somewhat convinced by his talk, and said she believed he spoke the truth.

Then she called for the Mount-Hope men; who made a formidable appearance, with their faces painted, and their hair trimmed up in comb-fashion, with their powder-horns and shot-bags at their backs; which among that nation is the pos-

* Or Mont-Haup, a mountain in Bristol.

This eminence is about two miles northeasterly from the village of Bristol. It is very steep on all sides. Its summit is a large rock, apparently composed of small pebbles, on which is now standing a small octagonal building, 8 or 10 feet in diameter, and proportionally high. About this mount was the residence of King Philip, which renders it famous.

ture and figure of preparedness for war. She told Mr. Church these were the persons that had brought her the report of the English preparations 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 it was soon silenced, and Awashonks proceeded to tell Mr. Church, that Philip's message to her was, that unless she would forthwith enter into a confederacy with him, in a war against the English, he would send his men over privately, to kill the English cattle, 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 mischief. 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, asked them what those bullets were for? They scoffingly replied, to shoot Pigeons with.*

Then Mr. Church turned to Awashonks, and told her if Philip was resolved to make war, her best way would be to knock those six Mount-Hopes on the head, and shelter herself under the protection of the English; upon which the Mount-Hopes were for the present dumb. But those two of Awashonk's men, who had been at Mount-Hope, expressed themselves in a furious manner against his advice. And Little-Eyes, one of the Queen's council, joined with them,

* A man by the name of Morton, who came over soon after the first settlers, is said to have been the first that supplied the Indians with arms and ammunition in these parts.

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 evil design. But the Indians began to side 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 injured them, but had always abounded in their kindness to them ; that for his own part, though he desired nothing more than peace, yet, if nothing but war would satisfy them, he believed he should prove a sharp thorn 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 Awashonks he thought it might be most advisable for her to send to the Governor of Plymouth, and shelter herself and people under his protection. She liked his advice, and desired him to go on her behalf to the Plymouth government, which he consented to : and at parting advised her, whatever she did, not to desert the English interest, and join with her neighbors in a rebellion which would certainly prove fatal to her. He moved none of his goods from his house, that there might not be the least umbrage from such an action. She thanked him for his advice, and sent two of her men to guard him to his house ; 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, that they

would take care of what he left, and directed them to a place in the woods where they should dispose of them; which they faithfully observed.

He took his leave of his guard and bid them tell their mistress, that if she continued steady in her dependance on the English, and kept within her own limits of Sogkonate, he would see her again quickly; and then hastened away to Pocasset,* where he met with Peter Nunnuit, the husband of the Queen of Pocasset, who was just then come over in a canoe from Mount-Hope. Peter told him that there would certainly be war; for Philip had held a dance of several weeks continuance, and had entertained the young men from all parts of the country; and added, that Philip expected to be sent for to Plymouth; to be examined about Sassamon's death, who was murdered at Assawomset Ponds,† knowing himself guilty of contriving that murder. The same Peter told him that he saw Mr. James Brown of Swanzey, and Mr. Samuel Gorton,‡ who was an

* Tiverton shore, over against the north end of Rhode-Island.

† Middleborough.

‡ This appears to be the same Mr. Gorton, a sectarian, who was accused of "causing much noise in New England," in supporting his religious tenets. He came to Boston in 1636 from London. He was thought to be an heretic, but from examination it was not certain. He soon went to Plymouth, but did not stay long before he went to Rhode-Island; here it is said his offence was such, that he was imprisoned, and afterwards whipped. He went to Providence in 1640, where he was very humanely treated by Mr. Roger Williams. He settled at Patuxet, and here he was accused of seizing on the estates of people. The governor of Massachusetts ordered him to answer to the same, which he refused, treating the messenger with contempt. But he was arrested, carried to Boston, and had his trial, and a cruel

interpreter, and two other men, who brought a letter from the Governor of Plymouth to Philip. He observed to him further, that the young men were very eager to begin the war, and would fain have killed Mr. Brown, but Philip prevented it; telling them that his father had charged him to show kindness to Mr. Brown. In short, Philip was forced to promise them, that on the next Lord's Day, when the English were gone to meeting, they should rifle their houses, and from that time forward kill their cattle.

Peter desired Mr. Church to go and see his wife, who was but just up the hill; 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 feared there would be a war. Mr. Church advised her to go to the island and secure herself, and those that were with her; and send to the Governor of Plymouth, who she knew was her friend; and so left her, resolving to hasten to Plymouth, and wait on the Governor. And he was so expeditious that he was with the Governor early next morning, though he waited on some of the magistrates by the way, who were of the council of war, and also met him at the Governor's. He gave them an account of his observations and discoveries, which confirmed their former intelligences, and hastened their preparation for defence.

Philip, according to his promise to his people, sentence was passed on him; being confined a whole winter at Charlestown in heavy irons, then banished out of the colony. At length he was permitted to enjoy quiet possession of his estate at Patuxet, where he lived to an advanced age.

permitted them to march out of the neck on the next Lord's Day, when they plundered the nearest houses that the inhabitants had deserted : but as yet offered no violence to the people, at least 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 day to the Governor, who immediately gave orders to the captains of the towns to march the greatest part of their companies, and to rendezvous at Taunton, on Monday night, where Major Bradford was to receive them, and dispose them under Capt. (now made Major) Cutworth,† of Scituate. The Governor desired Mr. Church to give them his company, and to use his interest in their behalf, with the gentlemen of Rhode-Island. He complied with it, and they marched the next day. Major Bradford desired Mr. Church, with a commanded party, consisting of English and some friendly Indians, to march in the front, at some distance from the main body. Their orders were to keep so far before as not to be in sight of the army. And so they did, for by the way they killed a deer, fleed, roasted, and eat the most of him, before the army came up with them ; but the Plymouth forces soon arrived at Swanzey, and were chiefly posted at Major Brown's and Mr. Mile's‡

* On the 24th of June, in the morning, one of the inhabitants of Rehoboth was fired upon by a party of Indians, and the hilt of his sword shot off. The same day several were killed at Swanzey.—HUTCHINSON.

† Cudworth.—HUTCHINSON, HUBBARD.

‡ The house of Mr. Miles, Minister of Swanzey, was converted into a garrison.

garrisons ; and were there soon joined with those that came from Massachusetts, who had entered into a confederacy with their Plymouth brethren, against the perfidious heathens.

The enemy, who began their hostilities with plundering, and destroying cattle, did not long content themselves with that game ; they thirsted for English blood, and they soon broached it ; killing two men in the way not far from Mr. Mile's garrison ; and soon after, eight more at Mattapoiset ;* upon whose bodies they exercised more than brutish barbarities ; beheading, dismembering and mangling them, and exposing them in the most inhuman manner ; which gashed and ghostly objects struck a damp on all beholders.

The enemy, flushed with these exploits, grew yet bolder, and skulking every where in the bushes, shot at all passengers, and killed many that ventured abroad. They came so near as to shoot down two sentinels at Mr. Mile's garrison, under the very noses of most of our forces. These provocations drew out the resentment of some of Capt. Prentice's troops, who desired they might have liberty to go out and seek the enemy in their own quarters. Quarter Masters Gill and Belcher commanded the parties drawn out, who earnestly desired Mr. Church's company. They provided him a horse and furniture, his own being out of the way ; he readily complied with their desires, and was soon mounted.

This party was no sooner over Mile's bridge, but were fired upon by an ambuscade of about a dozen Indians, as they were afterwards discover-

* In Swanzey.

ed to be. When they drew off, the pilot was mortally wounded. Mr. Belcher received a shot in his knee, and his horse was killed under him. Mr. Gill was struck with a musket ball on the side of his belly ; but being clad with a buff coat, and some thickness of paper under it, it never broke his skin. The troopers were surprised to see both their commanders wounded, and wheeled off ; but Mr. Church persuaded, at length stormed and stamped, and told them it was a shame to run, and leave a wounded man there to become a prey to the barbarous enemy ; for the pilot yet sat on his horse, though so mazed with the shot, as not to have sense to guide him ; Mr. Gill seconded him, and offered, though much disabled, to assist in bringing him off. Mr. Church asked a stranger, who gave him his company in that action, if he would go with him and fetch off the wounded man. He readily consented, and they, with Mr. Gill, went ; but the wounded man fainted and fell dead from his horse before they came to him ; but Mr. Church and the stranger dismounted, took up the man, and laid him before Mr. Gill on his horse. Mr. Church told the other two, if they would take care of the dead man, he would go and fetch his horse back, which was going off the causey toward the enemy ; but before he got over the causey he saw the enemy run to the right into the neck. He brought back the horse, and called earnestly and repeatedly to the army to come over and fight the enemy ; and while he stood calling and persuading, the skulking enemy returned to their old stand, and all discharged their guns at him, though every shot missed him ; yet one of the army, on the other side of the river, received

one of the balls in his foot. Mr. Church now began (no succour coming to him) to think in time to retreat; saying, "the Lord have mercy on us," if such a handful of Indians shall thus dare such an army!

Upon this it was immediately resolved, and orders were given to march down into the neck, and having passed the bridge and causeway, the direction was to extend both wings, which being not well heeded by those that remained in the centre, some of them mistook their friends for their enemies, and made a fire upon them in the right wing, and wounded that noble heroic youth, Ensign Savage, in the thigh, but it happily proved but a flesh wound. They marched until they came to the narrow of the neck, at a place called Keekamuit,* where they took down the heads of eight Englishmen that were killed at the head of Mattapoiset neck, and set upon poles, after the barbarous manner of those savages. There Philip had staved all his drums, and conveyed all his canoes to the east side of Mattapoiset river; hence it was concluded, by those that were acquainted with the motions of those people, that they had quitted the neck. Mr. Church told them that Philip was doubtless gone over to Pocasset side, to engage those Indians in rebellion with him; which they soon found to be true. The enemy were not really beaten out of Mount-Hope neck, though it was true they fled from thence; yet it was before any pursued them. It was only to strengthen themselves, and to gain a more advantageous post. However, some, and

* Upper part of Bristol.

not a few, pleased themselves with the fancy of a mighty conquest.

A grand council was held, and a resolve passed to build a fort there, to maintain the first ground they had gained, by the Indians leaving it to them; and to speak the truth, it must be said, that as they gained not that field by their sword, nor by their bow, so it was rather their fear than their courage, that obliged them to set up the marks of their conquest. Mr. Church looked upon it, and talked of it with contempt, and urged hard the pursuing of the enemy on Pocasset side, and with the greater earnestness, because of his promise made to Awashonks, before mentioned. The council adjourned themselves from Mount-Hope to Rehoboth, where Mr. Treasurer Southworth, being weary of his charge of Commissary General, (provision being scarce and 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 and 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, 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 also urged the same, until at length there came further orders concerning the fort; and withal 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 be his second. Upon the Captain's receiving his orders, he asked Mr. Church whether he was willing to engage in this enterprise ; to whom it was indeed too agreeable to be declined ; though he thought the enterprise was hazardous enough for them to have more men assigned 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 cheerfully 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 to stay there to build the fort.

Then they drew out the number assigned them, and marched the same night to the ferry, and were transported to Rhode-Island, from whence, the next night, they got passage over to Pocasset side, in Rhode-Island boats, and concluded there to dispose themselves into two ambuscades before day, hoping to surprise some of the enemy by their falling into one or other of their ambushments. But Capt. Fuller's party, being troubled with the epidemical plague, lust after tobacco, must needs strike fire to smoke it ; and thereby discovered themselves to a party of the enemy coming up to them, who immediately fled with great precipitation.

This ambuscade drew off about break of day, perceiving they were discovered, the other continued in their post until the time assigned them, and the light and heat of the sun rendered their station both insignificant and troublesome, and then returned to the place of rendezvous, where they were acquainted with the other party's dis-

appointment, 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 asleep 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 governor of Rhode Island's lady) gave him when he came off the island, which he 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, though with a great deal of scruple, because of his small number, and the extreme hazard he foresaw must attend them.

But some of the company reflected upon Mr. Church, that notwithstanding his talk on the other side of the river, he had not shown them any Indians since they came over. Which now moved him to tell them, that if it was their desire to see Indians, he believed he should now soon show them what they should say was enough.

The number allowed him soon drew off to him, which could not be many, because their whole company consisted of no more than thirty-six. They moved towards Sogkonate, until they came to the brook that runs into Numaquahqat neck, where they discovered a fresh and plain track, which they concluded to be from the great pine swamp, about a mile from the road that leads to Sogkonate. Now, says Mr. Church to his men, if we follow this track, no doubt but we shall

soon see Indians enough. They expressed their willingness to follow the track, and moved in it, but had not gone far before one of them narrowly escaped being bit with a rattle-snake; and the woods that the track led them through was haunted much with those snakes, which the little company seemed 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 would have returned to give an account how many.

Now they passed down into Punkatees neck; and in their march discovered a large wigwam full of Indian stuff, which the soldiers 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 passed before them into the neck. They then got privately and undiscovered to the fence of Capt. Almy's peas field, and divided into two parties, Mr. Church keeping the one party with himself, sent the other with Lake, who was acquainted with the ground on the other side. Two Indians were soon discovered coming out of the peas field towards them; when Mr. Church and 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 perceived, he

showed himself to them, and called, telling them he desired but to speak with them, and would not hurt them ; but they ran, and Church pursued. The Indians climbed over a fence, and one of them facing about discharged his piece, but without effect, on the English. One of the English soldiers ran up to the fence and fired 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.

Mr. Church then marching over a plain piece of ground, where the woods were very thick on one side ; ordered his little company to march at a 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 volley of fifty or sixty guns ; some bullets came surprisingly near Mr. Church, who starting, looked behind him, to see what was become of his men, expecting to have seen half of them dead, but seeing them all upon their legs, and briskly firing at the smokes of the enemies guns, for that was all that was then to be seen, he blessed 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 hatchets.

Their next motion was immediately into the peas field.* When they came to the fence, Mr. Church bid as many as had not discharged their guns, to clap under the fence, and lie close, while

* Tiverton, about half a mile above Fogland ferry.

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 surprised by those that lay under the fence; but casting his eyes to the side of the hill above them, the hill seemed 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 up he spied them ashore at Sandy-Point, on the island side of the river, with a number of horse and foot by them, and wondered 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, that were designed in Punkatee's neck, to fetch off some cattle and horses, but were ambuscaded, and many of them wounded by the enemy.

Now our gentleman's courage and conduct were both put to the test; he encourages his men, and orders some to run and take a wall for shelter before the enemy gained it. It was 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 Englishmen; and then orders three guns to be fired distinct, hoping it might be observed by their friends on the opposite shore. The men that were ordered to take the wall, being very hungry, stopped awhile among the pease to gather a few, being about four rods from the wall; the enemy

from behind hailed 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, who was the man that was missing, was killed, that they saw him fall; and so they did indeed see him fall, but it was without a shot, and lay no longer than till he had an opportunity to clap a bullet into one of the enemy's forehead, and then came running to his company. The meanness of the English powder was now their greatest misfortune; when they were immediately 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 and 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 ruins of a stone house that overlooked them; so that now they had no way to prevent lying quite open to some or other of the 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 plied their shot so warmly to her as made her keep at some distance; Mr. Church desired them to send their canoe ashore and fetch them on board; but no persuasions nor arguments could prevail with them to bring their canoe to shore; which some of Mr. Church's men perceiving, began to

* This indeed will compare in the beginning, with Lovell's Fight. See Appendix.

cry out, "For God's sake to take them off, for their amunition was spent," &c. Mr. Church being sensible of the danger of the enemy's hearing their complaints, and being made acquainted with the weakness and scantiness of their amunition, fiercely called to the boat's master, and bid him either send his canoe ashore, 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, and fired thicker and 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 convinced them of the impracticableness of it; and encouraged them by telling them, "That he had observed so much of the remarkable and wonderful providence of God in hitherto preserving them, that it 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 amunition, and he made no doubt but they should come well off yet," &c. until his little army again resolved, one and all, to stay with, and stick by him. One of them, by Mr. Church's order, was pitching a flat stone up on end before him in the sand, when a bullet from the enemy, with a full force, struck the stone, while he was pitching it on end; which put the poor fellow in a miserable fright, till Mr. Church called 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 and shouting, and night coming on, somebody told Mr. Church, they spied a sloop up the river as far as Gold Island, that seemed to be coming down towards them. He looked up and told them "succour was now coming, for he believed it was Capt. Golding, whom he knew to be a man for buisness, 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 with one another, desired him "to come to anchor at such a distance from the shore, that he might veer out his cable and ride afloat, and let slip his canoe, that it might drive ashore;" which direction Captain Golding observed; but the enemy gave him such a warm salute, that his sails, colour and stern were full of bullet holes.

The canoe came ashore, but was so small that she would not bear above two men at a time; and when two were got aboard, they turned her loose to drive ashore for two more, and the sloop's company kept the Indians in play the while; but when at last it came to Mr. Church's turn to go aboard, he had left his hat and cutlass at the well where he went to drink, when he first came down; he told his company, "he would never go off and leave his hat and cutlass for the Indians; they should never have that to reflect upon him:" though he was much dissuaded from it, yet he would go and fetch them. He put all the powder he had left into his gun, and a poor charge it was, and went presenting his gun to 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 struck the canoe as he went on board, one grazed the hair of his head a little before; another stuck 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 numbered with them, got all safe on board after six hours engagement with 300 Indians; of whose number we were told afterwards by themselves; a deliverance which that good gentleman often mentions to the glory of God and his protecting providence. The next day meeting with the rest of his little company, whom he had left at Pocasset, that had also a small skirmish with the Indians, and had two men wounded, they returned to the Mount-Hope garrison; which Mr. Church used to call the loosing fort. Mr. Church then returning to the island, to seek provision for the army, meets with Alderman, a noted Indian, that was just come over from the Squaw Sachem's cape of Pocasset, having deserted from her, and brought over his family; who gave him an account of the state of the Indians, and where each of the Sagamore's head quarters were. Mr. Church then discoursed with some who knew the spot well where the Indians said Weetamore's† head quar-

* Although some of these had scarce courage enough for themselves, yet their Captain had enough for himself, and some to spare for his friends.—HUBBARD.

† Squaw Sachem of Pocasset.

ters were, and offered their service to pilot him. With this news he hastened to the Mount-Hope garrison. The army expressed their readiness to embrace such an opportunity.

All the ablest soldiers were now immediately drawn off, equipped and despatched upon this design, under the command of a certain officer; and having marched about two miles, viz. until they came to the cove that lies southwest from the Mount, where orders were given for a 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 asked them, "How they knew that Philip and all his men were not by that time got to Weetamore's camp; or that all her own men were not by that time returned 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 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 to 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," replied Mr. Church, "please to lead your company to yonder windmill, on Rhode-Island, and there they will be out of danger of being killed

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 Fall river, in order to visit Weetamore's camp. Mr. Church, one Baxter, and Capt. Hunter, an Indian, proffered to go out on a discovery on the left wing, which was accepted. They had not marched 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 asked 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 despatched him. Proceeding to Weetamore's camp, they were discovered by one of the enemy, who 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 Englishman before he eat his dinner; but failed of his design, being no sooner out than shot down. The enemy's 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 cries of their women and children, and so ended that exploit; but returning to their sloop the enemy pursued them, and wounded two of their men. The next day they returned to the Mount Hope garrison.

Soon after this, was Philip's head quarters visited by some other English forces; but Philip and his gang had the very fortune to escape what Weetamore and her's had; they took into a swamp, and their pursuers were commanded back. After this Dartmouth's distresses required succour, a great part of the town being laid desolate, and many of the inhabitants killed; the most of Plymouth forces were ordered thither; and coming to Russel's garrison at Ponaganset,* they met with a number of the enemy that had surrendered themselves prisoners on terms promised by Capt. Eels, of the garrison, and Ralph Earl, who persuaded them, by a friendly Indian he had employed, to come in. And had their promises to the Indians been kept, and the Indians fairly treated, it is probable that most, if not all the Indians in those parts had soon followed the example of those who had now surrendered themselves; which would have been a good step towards finishing the war.

* Or Aponaganset, a river of Dartmouth. Whether this word ought to be written with or without the first A, is uncertain; nor do I think it of much consequence; yet we ought to conform to the ancient manner, as most conducive to uniformity; for that is preferable in most cases. On the north side of this river, about a mile from its mouth, is to be seen the cellars of the old garrison; opposite to which was an Indian fort. Tradition informs us, that some considerable manœuvering went on here in those days. A story is handed down of an Indian who was shot on the opposite shore on turning his back side in defiance. A similar one is related by the people of Middleboro', with considerable plausibility. But, whether it was possible for one man to shoot another at the distance mentioned there I cannot say, but should not hesitate to dispute that it could be done at the present day. Whether a circumstance of this kind occurred at both these places too, is a doubt.

But in spite of all that Capt. Eels, Church, or Earl, could say, argue, plead, or beg, somebody else that had more power in their hands improved it; and without any regard to the promises made them on their surrendering themselves, they were carried away to Plymouth, there sold, and transported out of the country, being about 160 persons. An action so hateful to Mr. Church, that he opposed it to the loss of the good will and respect 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, and Pautuxet river, where Capt. Edmunds, of Providence, made some spoil upon him, and had probably done more, but was prevented by the coming of a superior officer, that put him by. And now another fort was built at Pocasset,* that proved as troublesome and chargeable as that at Mount Hope; and the remainder of the summer was improved in providing for the forts and forces there maintained, while our enemies were fled some hundreds of miles into the country, nearly as far as Albany. And now strong suspicions began to arise of the Narraganset Indians, that they were ill affected, and designed mischief; and so the event soon discovered. The next winter they began their hostilities upon the English. The united colonies then agreed to send an army to suppress them. Gov. Winslow was appointed to command the army. He, undertaking the expedition, invited Mr. Church to command a company

* The main land against the easterly end of Rhode-Island, now Tiverton, was called Pocasset.—HUBBARD.

in the expedition, which he declined, asking excuse from taking commission, he promised to wait upon him as a Reformado through the expedition. Having rode with the General to Boston, and from thence to Rehoboth, upon the General's request he went thence the nearest way over the ferries, with Major Smith, to his garrison in the Narraganset country, to prepare and provide for the coming of Gen. Winslow; who marched round through the country with his army, proposing by night to surprise Pumham,* a certain Narraganset Sachem, and his town; but being aware of the approach of our army, they made their escape into the desarts; but Mr. Church meeting with fair winds arrived safe at the Major's garrison in the evening, and soon began to inquire after the enemy's resorts, wigwams, or sleeping places; and having gained some intelligence, he proposed to the Eldridges, and some other brisk hands that he met with, to attempt the surprising 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 complied with the motion, and were soon upon their march. The night was very cold, but blessed 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 which they had captured. The General, pleased 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

* Sachem of Shawomet, or Warwick.

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 move was to a swamp, which the Indians had fortified with a fort. Mr. Church* rode in the General's guard when the bloody engagement began; but being impatient of being out of the heat of the action, importunately begged 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 entered the swamp, and passed over the log, which was the passage into the fort, where they saw many men and several valiant captains† lie slain. Mr. Church espying Capt. Gardiner, of Salem, amidst the wigwams in the east end of the fort, made towards him; but on a sudden, while they were looking each other in the face, Captain Gardiner settled down. Mr. Church stepped to him, and seeing the blood run down his cheek, lifted up his cap and called him by his name. He looked up in his face, but spoke not a word, being mortally shot through the head; and observing his wound, Mr. Church found the ball entered his head on the side that was next the upland, where the English entered the swamp; upon which, having ordered some care to be taken of the Captain, he

* Notwithstanding Mr. Church so distinguished himself in this great battle, his name is not mentioned in our most authentic histories of those times.

† Captains Johnson and Davenport of Massachusetts, who led the van, and many more.

despatched information to the General, that the best and most forward of his army, that hazarded their lives to enter the fort, upon the muzzle of the enemys' guns, were shot in their backs, and killed by them that lay behind. Mr. Church, with his small company, hastened out of the fort that the English were now possessed of, to get a shot at the Indians that were in the swamp, and kept firing upon them. He soon met with a broad and bloody track, where the enemy had fled with their wounded men. Following hard in the track, he soon discovered one of the enemy, who, clapping his gun across his breast, made towards Mr. Church, and beckoned to him with his hand. Mr. Church immediately commanded no man to hurt him, hoping by him to have gained some intelligence of the enemy which might be of advantage; but it unhappily fell out that a fellow who had lagged behind coming up, shot the Indian, to Mr. Church's great grief and disappointment. Immediately they heard a great shout of the enemy, which seemed to be behind them, or between them and the fort, and discovered them running from tree to tree to gain advantages of firing upon the English that were in the fort. Mr. Church's great difficulty now was how to discover himself to his friends in the fort, using several inventions, till at length he gained an opportunity to call to, and informed a Sergeant in the fort, that he was there, and might be exposed to their shots, unless they observed it. By this time he discovered 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 discovered by 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 called out to them, for God's sake not to fire, for he believed they were some of their friendly Indians. They clapped down again, but were soon sensible of the serjeant's mistake. The enemy got to the top of the tree, the body whereof the serjeant stood upon, and there clapped down out of sight of the fort, but all this while never discovered Mr. Church, who observed them to keep gathering unto that place, until there seemed 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 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 surprised that they scampered, they knew not whither themselves. About a dozen of them ran over the log into the fort, and took into a sort of hovel that was built with poles, after the manner of a corn crib. Mr. Church's men having their cartridges fixed were soon ready to obey his order, which was immediately to charge and run upon the hovel and upset it, calling, as he ran, to some that were in the fort, to assist him in upsetting it. They no sooner came to face the enemy's shelter, than Mr. Church discovered that one of them had found a hole to point his gun

through, directly at him; but he encouraged his company, and ran on till he was struck with three bullets, one in his thigh, which was near half cut off as it glanced on the joint of his hip bone; another through the gathering of his breeches and drawers, with a small flesh wound; a third pierced his pocket and wounded a pair of mittens that he had borrowed of Capt. Prentice, being wrapped together had the misfortune of having many holes cut through them with one bullet; but, however, he made a shift to keep on his legs, and nimbly discharged his gun at them that had wounded him. Being disabled now to go a step, his men would have carried him off, but he forbid their touching him, until they had perfected their project of oversetting the enemy's 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, one of which pierced through the arm of an Englishman that had hold of the arm of Mr. Church to support him.

The English, in short, were discouraged, and drew back; and by this time the English people in the fort had begun to set fire to the wigwams and houses in the fort, which Mr. Church laboured hard to prevent; they told him, they had orders from the General to burn them; he begged them to forbear until he had discoursed the General; and hastening to him, he begged to spare the wigwams, &c. in the fort from fire; told him, the wigwams were musket-proof, being all lined with baskets and tubs of grain, and other provisions, sufficient to supply the whole army, until the spring of the year; and every wounded man might have a good warm house to lodge in, who otherways

would necessarily perish with the storms and cold; and moreover, that the army had no other provision to trust to, or depend upon; that he knew that the Plymouth forces had not so much as one biscuite left, for he had seen their last dealt out," &c. The General advising a few words with the gentlemen that were about him, moved towards the fort, designing to ride in himself, and bring in the whole army; but just as he was entering the swamp, one of his Captains met 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 informed 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 replied, that Church lied; and told the General, that if he moved another step towards the fort he would shoot his horse under him. Then brusled up another gentleman, a certain docter, and opposed Mr. Church's advice, and said, "If it were complied with, it 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 flow apace from his wounds, told him, that if he gave such advice as that was, he should bleed to death like a dog before he would endeavour to stanch 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 returned the same night in the storm and cold. And I suppose that every one who was acquainted with that night's march, deeply laments the miseries that attended them, especially the wounded and dying men. But it mercifully came to pass, that Capt. Andrew Belcher, arrived at Mr. Smith's that very night from Boston, with a vessel laden with provisions for the army, who must otherwise have perished for want. Some of the enemy that were then in the fort have since informed us, that near a third of the Indians belonging to all the Narraganset country were killed by the English, and by the cold of that night; that they fled out of their fort so hastily, that they carried nothing with them; and that if the English had kept in the fort, the Indians would certainly have been necessitated, either to surrender themselves to them, or to have perished by hunger, and the severity of the season.* Some time after this fort fight, a certain Sogkonate Indian, on 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

* The swamp fight happened on December 29, 1675, in which about 50 English were killed in the action, and died of their wounds; and about 300 or 350 Indians, men, women and children, were killed, and as many more captivated. It is said 500 wigwams were burnt with the fort; and 200 more in other parts of Narraganset. The place of the fort was an elevated ground or piece of upland, of perhaps three or four acres, in the middle of a hideous swamp; about seven miles near due west from Narraganset south ferry.

There is a mistake in the date of the swamp fight, either committed by Church, or a typographical mistake. It happened the 19th of December, 1675.

one of that company of Indians that Mr. Church made a shot upon, when they were rising to make a shot into the fort; that they were in number about sixty or seventy, that had just then come down from Punham's town, and never before then fired a gun against the English; that when Mr. Church fired upon them he killed fourteen dead upon the spot, and wounded a greater number than he killed, many of which died afterwards of their wounds, in the cold and storm the following night.

Mr. Church was moved, with other wounded men, over to Rhode-Island, where, in about three months time, 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.

But the General's great importunity again persuaded him to accompany him in a long march into the Nipmuck* country, though he had then tents in his wounds, and so lame as not able to mount his horse without two men's assistanee.

In this march the first thing remarkable was, that they came to an Indian town where there were many wigwams in sight, 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 passed the swamp. But at length the enemy all fled, and a certain Mohegan, that was a friendly Indian, pursued and seized one of the enemy that had a small wound in his leg, and brought him before the General, where he was

* Country about Worcester, Oxford, Grafton, Dudley, &c. See Appendix.

examined. Some were for torturing him to bring him to a more ample confession of what he knew concerning his countrymen. Mr. Church, verily believing he had been frank in his confession, interceded and prevailed for his escaping torture. But the army being bound forward in their march, and the Indian's wound somewhat disenabling him for travelling, it was concluded he should be knocked on the head: accordingly he was brought before a great fire, and the Mohegan that took him was allowed, as he desired, to be his executioner. Mr. Church taking no delight in the sport, framed an errand at some distance among the baggage horses, and when he had got ten rods or thereabouts, from the fire, the executioner fetching a blow with a hatchet at the head of the prisoner, he being aware of the blow, dodged his head aside and the executioner missing his stroke, the hatchet flew out of his hand, and had like to have done execution where it was not designed. The prisoner, upon his narrow escape, broke from them that held him, and notwithstanding his wound, made use of his legs and happened to run directly upon Mr. Church, who laid hold on him, and a close skuffle they had, but the Indian having no clothes on slipped from him and ran again, and Mr. Church pursued him; although being lame there was no great odds in the race, until the Indian stumbled and fell, and they closed again, skuffled and fought pretty smartly, until the Indian, by the advantage of his nakedness, slipped from his hold again and set 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 that could be taken of him; and running

through 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 happened to run athwart a large tree that lay fallen near breast high, where he stopped and cryed out aloud for help; but Mr. Church being soon upon him again, the Indian seized him fast by the hair of his head, and endeavoured by twisting to break his neck; but though Mr. Church's wounds had somewhat weakened him, and the Indian a stout fellow, yet he held him in play and twisted the Indian's 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 somebody's coming apace to them, which when they heard, Church concluded there was help for one or the other of them, but was doubtful which of them must now receive the fatal stroke; anon somebody comes up to them, who proved to be the Indian that had first taken the prisoner. Without speaking a word, he felt them out, for it was so dark he could not distinguish them by sight; the one being clothed and the other naked, he felt where Mr. Church's hands were fastened in the Netop's hair, and with one blow settled his hatchet in between them, and ended the strife. He then spoke to Mr. Church, and hugged him in his arms, and thanked 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 friendly Indians in the

camp, how Mr. Church had seized his prisoner, &c. they all joined in a mighty shout.

Proceeding in this march, they had the success of killing many of the enemy; until at length their provisions failing, they returned home.

King Philip, as was before hinted, was fled to a place called Scattacook, between York and Albany, where the Moohags* 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,† where, sometime after, Capt. Turner found him, came upon him by night, killed a great many of his men, and frightened many more into the river, that were hurled down the falls and drowned.

Philip got over the river, and on the back side of Wetuset hills meets with all the remnants of the Narraganset 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§ and his company, and many other doleful desolations in those parts. 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, and Mr.

* Mohawks. This name according to Roger Williams, is derived from the word moho, which signifies to eat; Or, Mohawks signified man-eaters, or Cannibals, among the other tribes of Indians.

† Above Deerfield.

‡ About Rutland.

§ Captain Wadsworth, with about fifty men, in their march to relieve Sudbury, missed their way, and were all cut off to a man, by falling into an ambuscade.—HUTCH.

Church was sent for to them, being observed by the whole colony to be a person extraordinarily qualified for, and adapted to, the affairs of war. It was proposed in council, that lest the enemy, in their return, should fall on Rehoboth, or some other of their out-towns, a company, consisting of sixty or seventy men, should be sent into 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 if he should take the command of men, he should not lie in any town or garrison with them, but would lie in the woods as the enemy did; and that to send out such small companies against such multitudes of the enemy, which 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 no less than 300 soldiers; and that the other colonies should be asked to send out their quotas also; adding, that if they intended to make an end of the war, by subduing the enemy, 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, 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 cheerfully; and he would engage that 150 of the best

soldiers should immediately enlist voluntarily to go with him, if they would please to add fifty more; and one hundred of the friendly Indians; and with such an army, he made no doubt, that he might do much service; but on other terms he did not incline to be concerned.

Their reply was, that they were already in debt, and so big an army would bring such charges upon them, as they would never be able to pay; and as for sending out Indians, they thought it no ways advisable, and in short none of his advice practicable.

Now Mr. Church's consort, and his then only son, were till this time remaining at Duxbury, and his fearing their safety there, unless the war were more vigorously engaged in, resolved to move to Rhode-Island, though it was much opposed both by government and relations. But at length, the governor considering that he might be no less serviceable by being on that side of the colony, gave his permit, and wished he had twenty more as good men to send with him.

Then preparing for his removal, he went with his small family to Plymouth, to take leave of their friends, where they met with his wife's parents, who much persuaded that she might be left at Mr. Clark's garrison, which they supposed to be a mighty safe place, or at least that she might be there until her soon expected lying-in was over, being near her time. Mr. Church no ways inclining to venture her any longer in those parts, and no arguments prevailing with him, he resolutely set out for Taunton, and many of their friends accompanied them. There they found Captain Pierce, with a commanded party,

who offered Mr. Church to send a relation of his with some others to guard him to Rhode-Island. Mr. Church thanked him for his respectful offer, but for some good reasons refused to accept it. In short they got safe to Capt. John Almy's house 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, after their arrival at Rhode-Island, Mr. Clark's garrison, that Mr. Church was so much importuned to leave his wife and children 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 go to the war again. Accordingly, his second son being born on the twelfth of May, and his wife and son likely to do well, Mr. Church embraces the opportunity of a passage in a sloop bound to Barnstable, which landed him at Sogkonesset, from whence he rode to Plymouth; arriving there on the first Tuesday in June. The general court then sitting welcomed him, and told him they were glad to see him alive. He replied, 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 all been destroyed. For all travelling was stopped, and no news had passed for a long time together. He

gave them an account, that the Indians had made horrid desolations at Providence, Warwick, Pawtuxet, and all over the Narraganset country; and that they prevailed daily against the English on that side of the country; told them he longed to hear what methods they designed in the war. 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 thirds English, and one third Indians. This was in some measure agreeable to his former proposal. And they expected Boston and Connecticut to join with their quotas. In short, it was so concluded; and that Mr. Church should return to the island, and see what he could muster there of those who had moved from Swanze, Dartmouth, &c. So he returned the same way he came. When he came to Sogkonesset, 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 friendly Indians to paddle him in a canoe from Elizabeth's to Rhode-Island.

It fell out, that as they were in their voyage passing by Sogkonate-point, some of the enemy were upon the rocks a fishing. He bid the Indians that managed the canoe to paddle so near 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 get a fair opportunity to discourse with them, that he could draw them off from Philip; for he knew they never heartily

loved him. The enemy hallooed and made signs for the canoe to come to them; but when they approached them they skulked and hid in the clefts of the rocks. Then Mr. Church ordered the canoe to be paddled off again, lest if he came too near they should fire upon him. Then the Indians appearing again, beckoned and called in the Indian language, and bid them come ashore, for they wanted to speak with him. The Indians in the canoe answered them again; but they on the rocks told them, that the surf made such a noise against the rocks, they could not hear any thing they said. Then Mr. Church, by signs with his hands, gave to understand, that he would have two of them go down upon the point of the beach, a place where a man might see who was near him; accordingly, two of them ran along the beach, and met him there without their arms, excepting one of them that had a lance in his hand. They urged Mr. Church to come ashore, for they had a great desire to have some discourse with him. He told them, if he that had his weapon in his hand, would carry it up some distance upon the beach, and leave it, he would come ashore and discourse with them. He did so, and Mr. Church went ashore, hauled up his canoe, ordered one of his Indians to stay by it, and the other to walk above on the beach, as a sentinel, to see that the coasts were clear; and when Mr. Church came up to the Indians, one of them happened to be honest George, one of the two that Awashonks formerly sent to call him to her dance, and was so careful to guard him back to his house again, and the last Sogkonate Indian that he spoke with before the war broke out. He spoke

English very well. Mr. Church asked him where Awashonks was? He told him in a swamp, about three miles off. Mr. Church asked him what he wanted, that he halloood and called him ashore? He answered, that he took him for Church as soon as he heard his voice in the canoe, and that he was very glad to see him alive; and he believed his mistress 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 for 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 none of them would 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 son Peter, their chief Captain, and one Nompash, an Indian that Mr. Church had formerly a particular respect for, to meet him two days after, at a rock at the lower end of Capt. Richmond's farm, which was a very noted place; and if that day should prove stormy, or windy, they were to expect him the next moderate day. Mr. Church told 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; and the next morning to Newport, and informed the government of what had passed between him and the Sogkonate Indians, and desired their permit for him, and Daniel Wilcox, a man who well understood the Indian language, to go over to them. They told him that they thought he was mad, after such service as he had done, and such dangers as he had escaped, now to throw away his life; for the rogues would as certainly kill him as he went over; and utterly refused to grant his permit, or to be willing that he should run the risk.

Mr. Church told them, "That it had ever been in his thoughts since the war broke out, that if he could discourse with the Sogkonate Indians, he could draw them off from Philip and employ them against him; but could not, till now, ever have an opportunity to speak with any of them, and was very loath to loose it," &c. At length they told him if he would go it should be only with the two Indians that came with him; 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 see him so resolute; for if he went they never expected to see his face again.

He bought a bottle of rum and a small roll of tobacco, to carry with him, and returned to his family. The next day, being the day appointed for the meeting, he prepared two light canoes for the design, and his own man, with the two Indians for his company. He used such arguments with his tender and now almost broken hearted wife, from the experience of former preservations

and the prospect of the great service he might do should it please God to succeed his design, &c. that he obtained her consent to his attempt. And committing her, the babes and himself to Heaven's protection, he set out. They had from the shore about a league to paddle. Drawing near the place they saw the Indians setting on the bank waiting for their coming. Mr. Church sent one of his Indians ashore in one of the canoes, to see whether they were the same Indians whom he had appointed to meet him, and no more; and if so to stay ashore and send George to fetch him; accordingly George came and fetched Mr. Church ashore, while the other canoe played off to see the event, and to carry tidings if the Indians should prove false.

Mr. Church asked George whether Awashonks and the other Indians he appointed to meet him, were there? He answered, They were. He then asked him if there were no more than those whom he appointed to be there? To which he would give him no direct answer. However, he went ashore, where he was no sooner landed but Awashonks, and the rest that he had appointed to meet them 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 walked together about a gunshot from the water, to a convenient place to sit down, when at once rose up a great body of Indians, who had lain hid in the grass, which was as high as a man's waist, and gathered round them, till they had enclosed them in. Being all armed with guns, spears, hatchets, &c. with their hair

trimmed and faces painted in their warlike appearance. It was doubtless somewhat surprising to our gentleman at first, but without any visible discovery of it. After a small silent pause on each side, he spoke to Awashonks, and told her that George had informed 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 appear in such a hostile form as your people do; and desired her that if they might talk about peace, which he desired they might, her men might lay aside their arms and appear more treatable. Upon which there began a considerable noise and murmur among them, in their own language, till Awashonks asked him what arms they should lay down, and where? He, perceiving the Indians looked very surly and much displeased, replied, "Only their guns, at some small distance, for formality's sake." Upon which, with one consent, they laid aside their guns, and came and sat down.

Mr. Church pulled out his calabash, and asked Awashonks, whether she had lived so long at Wachuset as to forget to drink Occapeches; and then drinking to her, he perceived that she watched him very diligently, to see, as he thought, whether he swallowed any of the rum. 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, sipped it up, and took the shell and drank to her again, and took a good draught, which indeed was no more than he needed. Then, they all standing up, he said to Awashonks, "You won't drink for

fear there should be poison in it." He then handed it to a little ill-looking fellow, who caught it readily enough, and as greedily would have swallowed the liquor when he had it at his mouth; but Mr. Church caught him by the throat and took it from him, asking him whether he intended to swallow shell and all? He then handed it to Awashonks, who ventured to take a good hearty dram, and passed 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, agreeably to his promise when she saw him last, been down to Sogkonate before now, saying, that probably if he had come then, according to his promise, they had never joined 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, and came as far as Punkateese, where a great many Indians set upon him, and fought him a whole afternoon, though he did not come prepared to fight. He had but nineteen men with him, whose chief design was to gain an opportunity to discourse some Sogkonate Indians. Upon this there arose a mighty murmur, confused noise and talk among the fierce looking creatures; and all rising up in a hubbub, a great surly looking fellow took up his tomhog, or wooden cutlass, to kill Mr. Church; but some others prevented him.

The interpreter asked Mr. Church if he understood what it was that the great fellow, which 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 quelled the tumult, so that they sat down again, and began a discourse of making peace with the English. Mr. Church asked them what proposals they would make, and on what terms they would break their league with Philip? Desired them to make some proposal that he might carry to his masters, 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; and that he would use his interest with the government for them. And to encourage them to proceed, he put them in mind that the Pequots once made war with the English, and that 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 complimenting them upon it, how pleased he was with the thoughts of their return, and of the former friendship that had existed 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 will please to accept of me and my men, and will head us, we will fight for you, and will help you to Philip's head before the 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 and their children's fast friend. And, by the way, the friendship is maintained between them to this day.

Then he proposed to them, that they should choose five men to go straight with him to Plymouth. They told him no; they would not choose, but he should take which five he pleased. Some compliments passed about it, at length it was agreed, that they should choose three, and he two. Then he agreed, that he would go back to the island that night, and would come to them the next morning, and go through the woods to Plymouth. But they afterwards objected, for his travelling through the woods would not be safe for him; said the enemy might meet with him, 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, and sail from thence to Sandwich, which, in fine, was concluded upon.

So Mr. Church promised 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.; until at length, Mr. Anthony Low put into the harbour with a loaded vessel bound to the westward, and being made acquainted with Mr. Church's case, told him, that he had so much kindness for him, and was so pleased with the business he was engaged in, that he would run the venture of his vessel and 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 had nothing but a miserable broken canoe to get aboard in; yet Peter Awashonks 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 up the Sound; and then went away through Bristol ferry, round the island to Newport, carrying Peter with them.

Then Mr. Church dismissed Mr. Low, and told him, that inasmuch as Providence opposed

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 ruin the whole design; he would therefore yield his voyage.

Then he wrote the account of his transactions with the Indians, and drew up the proposals, and articles of peace, and despatched Peter with them to Plymouth, that his Honor, the Governor, if he saw cause, might sign them.

Peter was sent over to Sogkonate on the Lord's day 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, rode out with his wife, and some of his friends to Portsmouth, 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 Major Bradford, who was arrived with the army at Pocasset; to whom he forthwith repaired, and informed him of the whole of his proceedings with the Sogkonate Indians. With the Major's consent and advice, he returned again next morning to the island, in order to go over that way to Awashonks, to inform her that the army was arrived, &c. Accordingly from Sachueset-neck,* he went in a canoe to Sogkonate; told her that Major Bradford was arrived at Pocasset, with a great army, whom he had informed

* The south-east corner of Rhode-Island

of all his proceedings with her; that if she would be advised and observe order, she nor her people need not fear being hurt by them; told her, she should call all her people down into the neck, lest 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 warning. Mr. Church returned to the island, and to the army the same night. The next morning the whole army marched towards Sogkonate, as far as Punkatees; 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. He gave them an account, that he came from Pocasset two days since in company with his mother, and several other Indians, now hid in the swamp above Nomquid.* Disarming him, he sent him with two men to Major Bradford, and proceeded to Sogkonate. They saw several Indians by the way skulking about, but let them pass. Arriving at Awashonks' camp, he told her he was come to invite her and her people up to Punkateese,† where Major 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,

* In Tiverton.

† Adjoining Fogland Ferry.

and soon sent out orders for such of her subjects as were not with her, immediately to come in; and by twelve o'clock the next day, she, with most of her number, appeared before the English camp at Punkateese. Mr. Church tendered 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. Awashonks and her chiefs gathered round Mr. Church, where he was walked off from the rest, expressed themselves concerned, that they could not be confided in, nor improved. He told them, it was 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 governor would commission him to improve them. The Major hastened to send them away with Jack Havens, 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, and those that were with her; prisoners. Next morning the whole army moved back to Pocasset. This Toby informed them, that there were a great many Indians gone down to Wepoisset to eat clams, other provisions being very scarce with them; that Philip himself was expected within

three or four days at the same place. Being asked what Indians they were? he answered, some Weetemore Indians, some Mount-Hope Indians, some Narranganset Indians, and some other Upland Indians, in all about 300.

The Rhode-Island boats, by the Major's order, meeting them at Pocasset, they were soon embarked. It being just in the dusk of the evening, they could plainly discover the enemy's fires at the place the Indian directed to; and the army concluded no other but they were bound directly thither, until they came to the north end of the island, and heard the word of command for the boats to bare away. Mr. Church was very fond of having this probable opportunity of surprising that whole company of Indians embraced; but orders, it was 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 missed, Mr. Church obtained the Major's consent to meet the Sogkonate Indians, according to his promise. He was offered a guard to Plymouth, but chose to go with one man only, who was a good pilot. About sun-set, he, with Sabin his pilot, mounted their horses at Rehoboth, where the army now was, and by two hours sun next morning arrived safe at Plymouth; and by the time they had refreshed themselves, the governor and treasurer came to town. Mr. Church giving them a short account of the affairs of the army, &c. his Honor was pleased to give him thanks for the good and great service he had done at Sogkonate, told him he had confirmed all that he had promised Awashonks, and had sent the In-

dians back again that brought his letter. He asked his Honor whether he had any thing later from Awashonks? He told him he had not. Whereupon he gave his Honor an account of the Major's orders relating to her and hers, and what discourse had passed *pro* and *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 Honor a commission to lead them forth to fight Philip. His Honor smilingly told him, that he should not want commission if he would accept it; nor yet good Englishmen enough to make up a good army. But in short he told his Honor the time had expired that he was appointed to meet the Sogkonates at Sandwich. The governor asked him, when he would go? He told him that afternoon, by his Honor's leave. The governor asked 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 whom were Mr. Jabez Howland and Nathaniel Southworth.* They went to Sandwich that night, where Mr. Church, with need enough, took a nap of sleep. The next morning, with about sixteen or eighteen men, he proceeded as far as Agawom, 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, and promised so to do until they should

* Both these gentlemen contributed not a little to the great performances of those days, and are mentioned by other historians with the greatest respect.

meet with the Indians. When they came to Sippican river,† Mr. Howland began to tire, 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 ready to assist them in getting over the river. Proceeding in their march, they crossed another river, and opened a great bay, where they might see many miles along shore, where were sands and flats; and hearing a great noise below them towards the sea, they dismounted their horses, left them and crept among the bushes, until they came near the bank, and saw a vast company of Indians, of all ages and sexes, some on horse-back running races, some at foot-ball, some catching eels and flat fish, 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 hallooed 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 called, and came just upon Mr. Church before they discovered him; but when they perceived themselves so near Englishmen, and armed, were much surprised, and tacked short about to run as fast back as they came forward, until one of the men in the bushes called 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 examined, who informed him, that the Indians below were Awashonks and

† Rochester.

her company, and that **Jack Havens** was among them; whom **Mr. Church** immediately sent for, to come to him, and ordered the messenger to inform **Awashonks**, that he was come to meet her. **Jack Havens** soon came, and by the time **Mr. Church** had asked 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 armed, came riding up to **Mr. Church**, but treated him with all due respects. He then ordered **Jack** to go and 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**. **Mr. Church** having a mind to try what metal he was made of, imparted his notion to the **Indians** that were with him, and gave them directions how to act their parts. When he came pretty near the place, he and his **Englishmen** 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 the by seeing the motion both of the **English** and **Indians**, concluded his friends were distressed, was soon on the full career on horseback to meet them, and until perceiving their laughing, did not mistrust the joke. As soon as **Mr. Church** had given him the news, they hastened away to **Awashonks**. Upon their arrival, they were immediately conducted to a shelter, open on one side, whither **Awashonks** and her chiefs soon came and paid their respects; and the multitudes gave shouts, that made the woods ring.

It being now about sun-setting, or near the dusk of the evening, the Netops came running from all quarters, loaded with the tops of dry pines, and the like combustible matter, making a huge pile thereof, near Mr. Church's shelter, on the open side. And by this time supper was brought in, in three dishes, viz. a curious young bass in one dish, eels and flat fish in a second, and shell fish in a third; but neither bread nor salt to be seen at table. When supper was over, the mighty pile of pine knots and tops, &c. was fired, and all the Indians, great and small, gathered in a ring around it. Awashonks, with the oldest of her people, men and women mixed, 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 stepped in between the rings and the fire, with a spear in one hand, and a hatchet in the other, danced round the fire, and began to fight with it; making mention of all the several nations and companies of Indians in the country that were enemies to the English; and at the naming of every particular tribe of Indians, he would draw out and fight a new fire-brand, and at 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 Capt. of the guard stepped up to Mr. Church

and told him, they were making soldiers for him, and what they had been doing was all one as swearing them, and having in that manner engaged all the stout lusty men. Awashonks and her chiefs came to Mr. Church, and told him that now they were all engaged 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 the same day.

The governor being informed of it, came early to town next morning, and by that time he had Englishmen enough to make up a good company, when joined with Mr. Church's Indians, that offered their voluntary service, to go under his command in quest of the enemy. The governor then gave him a commission, which is as follows:

Capt. BENJAMIN CHURCH, you are hereby nominated, ordered, commissioned, and empowered to raise a company of volunteers of about 200 men, English and Indians; the English not exceeding the number of sixty; 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 elsewhere, within the confederate colonies, as you shall think fit; to discover, pursue, fight, surprise, 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 the persons often changed, you are also hereby empowered; with the advice of your company, to choose and commission 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 public seal, this 24th day of July, 1676.

Per JOS. WINSLOW, Governor.

Receiving his commission, he marched the same night into the woods, got to Middleborough before day, 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 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 desired effect; surprising them on 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 a place called Munponset-pond. Capt. Church hastening with his prisoners through the woods to Plymouth, disposed of them all, excepting one Jeffrey, who proving very ingenuous and faithful to him, by informing him where other parcels of Indians harboured. Capt. Church promised him, that if he continued to be faithful to him, he should not be sold out of the country, but should be his waiting man, to take care of his horse, &c. and accordingly he served him faithfully as long as he lived.

But Capt. Church was forthwith sent out again, and the terms for his encouragement being concluded on, viz. that the country should find them ammunition and provision, and half the prisoners and arms they took. The Captain and his English soldiers to have the other half of the prisoners and arms, and the Indian soldiers the loose plunder. Poor encouragement! But after some time it was mended.

They soon captivated the Munponsets, and brought them in, not one escaping. This stroke he held several weeks, never returning empty handed. When he wanted intelligence of their kennelling places, he would march to some place likely to meet some travellers or rambler, and scattering his company would lie 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 this method of secret and sudden surprises took great numbers of them.

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; to commission 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 and noted murderers; viz. Philip and all that were at the destroying of Mr. Clark's garrison, and some few others.

Major Bradford being now at Taunton with his army, and wanting provisions, some carts were ordered from Plymouth for their supply, and Capt. Church to guard them; 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 with them at Nemascut,† about an hour after sun's rising next morning. He arrived there about the breaking of the day-light, and discovered a company of the enemy; but his time was too short to wait for gaining advantage, and therefore ran right in upon them, surprised and captivated about sixteen of them, who, upon examination, informed him that Tispaquin, a very famous Captain among the enemy, was at Assawompset,‡ 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 Tispaquin should attack them.

* Massachusetts, Rhode-Island & Connecticut.—HUTCH.

† Near Raynham. The north and west part of Middleborough was so called.

‡ In Middleborough. The country for considerable extent around Assawompset ponds, bore this name.

Coming towards Taunton, Capt. Church taking two men with him, made all speed to the town; and coming to the river side, he hallooed, and inquiring of them that came to the river, for Major Bradford or his Captains, he was informed they were in the town, at the tavern. He told them of the carts that were coming, that he had the cumber of guarding them, which had already prevented his improving opportunities of doing service. Prayed therefore that a guard might be sent over to receive the carts, that he might be at liberty; refusing all invitations and persuasions to go over to the tavern to visit the Major. He at length obtained a guard to receive the carts; by whom also he sent his prisoners, to be conveyed with the carts to Plymouth, directing them not to return by the way they came, but by Bridgwater.

Hastening back, he proposed to encamp that night at Assawompset-neck. But as soon as they came to the river that runs into the great pond through the thick swamp, at the entering of the neck, the enemy fired upon them, but hurt not a man. Capt. Church's 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 Capt. 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 looked out sharp 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 ambus-

caded) towards Cushnet.* Here all the houses were burnt. And crossing Cushnet river, being extremely fatigued with two nights and one day's 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 others slept, and 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 asleep, 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 was 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 their tracks, where they came into the neck. Captain Church, and those with him, soon dispersed into the brush on each side of the way, while the file that were sent got undiscovered to the passage of the river, and found their watch all fast asleep. But these tidings thoroughly awakened the whole company. But the enemy giving them no present disturbance, they examined their knapsacks, and taking a little refreshment, the Captain orders one party to guard the horses, and the other to scout, who soon met with a track, and following it, they were brought to a small company of Indians, who proved to be Little Eyes, and family, and near

* In Dartmouth.

relations, who were of Sogkonate, but had forsaken their countrymen, upon their making peace with the English. Some of Capt. Church's Indians asked him, if he did not know this fellow? Told him, this is the rogue that would have killed you at Awashonks' dance. And signified to him that now he had an opportunity to be revenged on him. But the Captain told them, it was not Englishmen's fashion to seek revenge; and that he should have the same quarter the rest had. Moving to the river side, they found an old canoe, with which the Captain ordered Little Eyes and his company to be carried over to an island. Telling him he would leave him on that island until he returned; and lest the English should light on them, and kill them, he would leave his cousin Lightfoot, 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 Lightfoot, returns to the river side, towards Poneganset, to Russell's orchard.* On coming near the orchard, they clapped into a thicket, and there lodged the rest of the night without any fire. And upon the morning light appearing, moving towards the orchard, discovered some of the enemy, who had been there the day before, and had beat down all the apples, and carried them away; discovered also where they had lodged 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.

* The remains of this orchard, was to be seen within the age of some now living. It stood adjoining the old garrison.

which they had killed that day. They had lain under the fences without any fires, and seemed, 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 moved apace in pursuit of them. Travelling three miles or more, they came into the country road where the track parted, one parcel steering toward the west end of the great cedar swamp, and the other to the east end. The Captain halted, and told his Indian soldiers 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 having 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, saying they should not be safe without him. But the Captain insisting 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 Cook's house at Cushnet for the place to meet, each party set out briskly to try their fortunes. Capt. Church, with his English soldiers, followed their track till they came near entering a miry swamp, when the Captain heard a whistle in the rear, which was a note for a halt. Looking behind him, he saw William Fobes start out of the company and make toward him. The Captain hastened to meet him. 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 across the swamp. Observing them, he perceived they were gathering whortle-berries, and that they had no apprehension of their being so near them. The Captain supposed them to be chiefly women, and therefore calling one Mr. Dillano, who was acquainted with the ground, and the Indian language, and another named Mr. Barns, with these two men he takes right through the swamp as fast as he could, and orders the rest to hasten after them. Capt. Church, with Dillano and Barns, having good horses, spurred on, and were soon among the thickest of the Indians, and out of sight of their own men. Among the enemy was an Indian woman, who with her husband had been driven off from Rhode-Island, notwithstanding they had a house on Mr. Sanford's land, and had planted an orchard before the war; yet, the inhabitants would not be satisfied till they were sent off. And Capt. Church with his family living then at the said Sanford's, came acquainted with them, who thought it very hard to turn off such old quiet people. But in the end it proved a providence and an advantage to him and his family, as you may see afterwards. This Indian woman knew Captain Church, and as soon as she knew 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; so with her help and Dillano's, who could call to them in their own language, many of them stopped and surrendered 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 of a gun of one of the foremost of the company, pulled 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 employed as himself, but could find none but Dillano, who was very busy in gathering up prisoners. The Captain drove his that he had stopped 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 discovered 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 through the swamp, and neither seeing nor hearing any thing of him, they concluded the enemy had killed him, and were at a great loss what to do.

Having brought their prisoners together they found they had taken and killed sixty-six of the enemy. Capt. Church then asked the old squaw what company they belonged to? She said they belonged partly to Philip and partly to Qunnappin and the Narraganset Sachem. He discovered also, upon her declaration, that both Philip and Qunnappin were about two miles off, in the great Cedar swamp. He inquired 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 hundred men come from the swamp with them, and left them upon that plain to gather whortleberries, and promised to call them as they came back out of Sconticut-neck, whither they went to kill cattle and horses for provision for the company. She perceiving Capt. Church move towards the neck, told him if they went that way they would all be killed. He asked her where they crossed the river? She pointed to the upper passing place. Accordingly Capt. Church passed so low down that he thought it not probable they should meet with his track in their return, and hastened towards the island where he left Little Eyes with Lightfoot. Finding a convenient place by the river side for securing his prisoners, Capt. Church and Mr. Dillano went down to see what was become of Capt. Lightfoot, and the prisoners left in his charge. Lightfoot, seeing and knowing them, soon came over with his broken canoe, and informed them that he had seen that day about an hundred 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 Lightfoot said the Indians had passed, where they not only saw their tracks but them also. Whereupon they lay close until the enemy came into the said meadow, and the foremost set down his load and halted, until all the company came up; they then took up their loads and marched again the same way that they came down into the neck, which was the nearest way to their camp. Had they gone the other way along the river, they could not have missed Capt. Church's track, which would doubtless have ex-

posed 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 **Lightfoot** to fetch his prisoners from the island, while he and **Mr. Dillano** returns to the company, and sends part of them to conduct **Lightfoot** and his company to the aforesaid meadow, where **Capt. Church** and his company met them. Crossing the enemies' track they made all haste until they got over **Mattapoiset-river**,* about four miles beyond the ruins of **Cook's** 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. They despatched 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 killed three of the enemy, and taken sixty three prisoners, as the **English** had done before them. Both **English** and **Indians** were surprised at this remarkable providence, and were both parties rejoicing at it; being both before afraid of what might have been the unequal success of the parties ; 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. **Captain Tyasks'** company. **Tyasks** was the next man

* In Rochester.

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. They took Tyasks' wife and son, and thought that if their Captain and 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 waylay Capt. Church at entering of Assawompset-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; and at this time going another way, he escaped falling into the hands of his enemies. The next day they went home by Scipican,* and got well with their prisoners to Plymouth.

He soon went out again, and this stroke he drove many weeks; 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 soldiers 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. If he perceived they looked surly, and his Indian soldiers called 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 surly, and mutter, but that sig-

* In Rochester, about two miles to the eastward of Matapoiset, on the Shore.

nifies nothing, these my best soldiers were a little while ago as wild and surly as you are now; by the time you have been but one day with me, you will love me too, and be as brisk as any of them."

And it proved so; for there was none of them but, after they had been a little while with him, and seen his behaviour, and how cheerful and successful his men were, would be as ready to pilot him to any place where the Indians dwelt, or haunted, though 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 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 his business was nearer home. The other was, that when he fell on with a push upon any body of the enemy, were they ever so many, they fled, expecting the great army. And their manner of marching through the woods was such, that, if they were discovered, they appeared to be more than they really were; for they always marched at a wide distance one from the other, for their safety; and this was an Indian custom to march thin and scattered. Capt. Church inquired of some of the Indians that were become his soldiers, how they got such advantage often of the English in their marches through the woods? They told him that the Indians gained 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 a house. The other was,

that if at any time they discovered a company of English soldiers in the woods, they knew that there were all, for the English never scattered, but the Indians always divided and scattered.

Capt. Church was now at Plymouth, and something happened that kept him at home a few days, until a post came to Marshfield on a Lord's day morning, informing the Governor that a great army of Indians were discovered, who, it was supposed, were designing to get over the river towards Taunton or Bridgwater, to attack those towns that lay on that side the river. The Governor hastened to Plymouth, raised what men he could by the way, arrived there in the beginning of the forenoon exercise; sent for Capt. Church out of the meeting-house, gave him the news, and desired him immediately to rally what of his men he could; and what men he had raised should join them. The Captain bestirs himself, but found no bread in the store-house, and so was forced to run from house to house to get household bread for their march; neither this nor any thing else prevented his marching by the beginning of the afternoon exercise. Marching with what men were ready, he took with him the post that came from Bridgwater to pilot him to the place, where he thought he might meet with the enemy. 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 missed the place, and went into Bridgwater town. It seems the occasion of the firing was, that Philip finding that Capt. Church made that side of the country too hot for him, designed to return to the other side of the country that he came last from. And coming to Taun-

ton river with his company, they felled a great tree across the river, for a bridge to pass over on; and just as Philip's old uncle Akkompoin, and some other of his chiefs were passing over the tree, some brisk Bridgwater lads had ambushed them, fired upon them, and killed the old man and several others, which put a stop to their coming over the river that night.

Next morning Capt. Church moved very early with his company, which was increased by many of Bridgwater, that enlisted under him for that expedition, and, by their piloting, soon came very still to the top of the great tree which the enemy had fallen across the river. The Captain espied an Indian sitting on the stump of it on the other side of the river, and he clapped his gun up, and had doubtless despatched him, but one of his own Indians called hastily to him, not to fire, for he believed it was one of their own men. Upon which the Indian upon the stump looked about, and Capt. Church's Indian seeing his face perceived his mistake, for he knew him to be Philip; clapped up his gun and fired, but it was too late; for Philip immediately threw himself off the stump, leaped 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. He picked up a considerable many of their women and children, among whom was Philip's wife, and son about nine years old. Discovering a considerable new track along the river, and examining the prisoners, found it was Qunnappin and the Narragansets, that were drawing off from those parts towards the Narra-

ganset country. He inquired of the prisoners, whether Philip was 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, and to pick up what more they could find; and with the rest of his company hastened in the track of the enemy, to overtake them, if possible, before they got over the river. So he ran some miles along the river, until he came to a place where the Indians had waded over; and he with his company waded over after them up to their arms; being almost as wet before with sweat as the river could make them. Following about a mile farther, and not overtaking them, and the Captain being under necessity to return that night to the army, came to a halt; told his company, he must return to his other men. His Indian soldiers moved for leave to pursue the enemy, though he returned; they said, the Narragansetts were great rogues, and they wanted to be revenged on them for killing some of their relations; named Tockamona, Awashonk's brother, and some others. Capt. Church bid them go and prosper, made Lightfoot their chief, gave him the title of Captain, and bid them go and acquit themselves like men. And away they scampered like so many horses. Next morning early they returned to their Captain, and informed him, that they had come up with the enemy, and killed 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 find; 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 enemy, and added to his company. Gave them orders to march softly, and upon hearing a whistle in the rear, to sit down till further orders; or, upon discovering 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 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 Phillip, with a great number of the enemy, were a little before. Captain Church's 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, were easily persuaded to conform. A little before sunset there was a halt in the front, until the Captain came up. They told him that they discovered the enemy. He ordered 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. Captain Church draws his company up in a ring, and sat down in the swamp without any noise or fire. The Indian prisoners were much surprised to see the English

soldiers; 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 and obsequious. When the day broke, Captain 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 soon as the firing ceased, they must follow the track of his company, and come to them. An 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. So he moved, sending two soldiers 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 dogged them, who espyed the two Indian men, and turned short about, and fled with all speed to their camp, and Captain 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 and his camp, who all fled at the first tidings, left their kettles boiling, and meat roasting upon their

wooden spits; and ran into a swamp with no other breakfast than what Captain Church afterwards treated them with. Captain Church pursuing, sent Mr. Isaac Howland with a party on one side of the swamp, while himself with the rest, ran on the other side, agreeing to run on each side, until they met on the further end, placing some men in secure 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. Captain Church and Mr. Howland soon 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 sight of the English, they seemed very much surprised, and tacked short. Captain Church called hastily to them, and said, If they fired one gun they were all dead men; for he would have them to know that he had them hemmed in, with a force sufficient to command them, but if they peaceably surrendered they should have good quarters, &c. They, seeing both Indians and English come so thick upon them, were so surprised that many of them stood still and let the English come and take the guns out of their hands, when they were both charged and cocked.

Many, both men, women and children of the enemy, were imprisoned at this time, while Philip, Tispaquin, Totoson, &c. concluded that the English would pursue them upon their tracks, so were waylaying their tracks at the first end of the swamp, hoping thereby to gain a shot upon Captain Church, who was now better employed in taking prisoners, and running them into a valley, in

form something shaped like a punch-bowl, and appointing a guard of two files, treble 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 had become of them; and by this time, Capt. Church had got into the swamp ready to meet him; and as it happened made the first discovery, clapped behind a tree, until Philip's company came pretty near, and then fired upon them, killed many of them, and a close skirmish followed. Upon this, Philip having grounds sufficient to suspect the event of his company that 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, not being so careful as he might have been about his stand, was killed by the Indians. In this swamp skirmish, Captain Church with his two men, who always run by his side as his guard, met with three of the enemy, two of which surrendered themselves, and the Captain's guard seized them; but the other, being a great stout surly fellow, with his two locks tied up with red, and a great rattle snake skin hanging to the back part of his head, whom Captain Church concluded to be Totoson, ran from them into the swamp. Captain 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, turned and presented at Captain 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 tripped in a small grapevine, 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 an half into the back part of his head, which despatched him without another blow. But Captain Church looking behind him saw Totoson, the Indian whom he thought he had killed, 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, espying Totoson, and others that were following him, in this very seasonable juncture made a shot upon them and rescued their Captain, though he was in no small danger from his friends bullets; for some of them came so near him that he thought 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 173, 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 Bridgwater, sending an express before to provide for them, their company being now very numerous. The gentlemen of Bridgwater met Capt. Church with great expressions 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 Bridgwater pound, and set his Indian soldiers to guard them. They being well treated with victuals and drink, had a merry night; and the prisoners laughed as loud as the soldiers, 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 die, for

you have made him as poor and miserable as he used to make the English; 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. The great English army was now at Taunton, and Major Talcot with the Connecticut forces, being in these parts of the country, did considerable spoil upon the enemy.

Now Capt. Church being arrived at Plymouth, received thanks from the government for his good service, &c. Many of his soldiers were disbanded; and he thought to rest himself a while, being much fatigued, and his health impaired, by excessive heats and colds, and wading through rivers, &c. But it was not long before he was called 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 soldier, 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 gained intelligence of Totoson's haunt; and being brisk in the morning, they soon gained an advantage of Totoson's company, though he himself, with his son about eight years old, made their escape, and one old squaw with them, to Agawom, his own country. One Sam Barrow, 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 inhuman murders and barbarities, the Court had allowed him no quarter, but was to be forthwith put to death, and therefore he was to prepare for it. Barrow replied, that the sentence of 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, "I am ready." Upon which one of Capt. Church's Indians sunk his hatchet into his brains. The famous Totoson arriving at Agawom,*† his son, the last that was left of the family, Captain Church having destroyed all the rest, fell sick. The wretch reflecting upon the miserable condition he had brought himself into, his heart became a stone within him, and he died. The old squaw laid a few leaves and brush over him, and came to Sandwich, and gave this account of his death, and offered to show them where she left his body; but never had an opportunity, for she immediately fell sick and died also.

Capt. Church being now at Plymouth again, weary and worn, would have gone home to his wife and family, but the Government being solicitous to engage him in the service until Philip was slain, and promising him satisfaction and redress 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 through the woods until he came to Pocasset; and not seeing or hearing of

* Several places were called Agawom, as at Ipswich and Springfield. This Agawom lies in Wareham.

† Formerly called Angawom.—*N. E. Memorial.*

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 horses and rode about eight miles down the Island, to Mr. Sandford's, where he had left his wife. She no sooner saw him but fainted with surprise; and by the time she was a little revived, they espied two horsemen coming on a great pace. Capt. Church told his company that those men, by their riding, came with tidings. When they came up they proved to be Major Sandford and Capt. Golding; who immediately asked Capt. Church what he would give to hear some news of Philip? He replied, that was what he wanted. They told him they had rode hard with some hopes of overtaking him, and were now come on purpose to inform him, that there was just now tidings from Mount-Hope; an Indian came down from thence, where Philip's camp now is, on to Sandypoint, over against Trip's, and hallooed, and made signs to be brought over; and being brought, he reported, that he was fled from Philip, who, said he, has killed my brother just before I came away, for giving some advice that displeased him. And said he was fled for fear of meeting with the same fate his brother had met with. He told them also that Philip was then in Mount-Hope neck. Capt. Church thanked them for their good news, and said he hoped by to-morrow morning to have the rogue's head. The horses that he and his company came on, standing at the door, for they had not been unsaddled, his wife must content herself with a short visit when such game was ahead. They immediately mounted, set spurs to their horses, and away.

The two gentlemen that brought him the tidings, told him, they would gladly wait upon him to see the event of the expedition; he thanked them, and told them, he should be as fond of their company as any men's; and in short, they went with him. And they were soon at Tripp's ferry, with Captain Church's company, where the deserter was. He was a fellow of good sense, and told his story handsomely. He offered Captain Church to pilot him to Philip, and to help kill him, that he might revenge his brother's death. Told him, that Philip was now upon a little spot of upland, that was in the south end of the miry swamp, just at the foot of the mount; which was a spot of ground that Captain Church was well acquainted with. By the time they were got over the ferry and come near the ground, half the night was spent. The Captain commanded a halt, and brought the company together. He asked Major Sandford and Captain Golding's advice, what method was best to be taken in making the onset, but they declined giving him any advice, telling him, that his great experience and success forbid their taking upon them to give advice. Then Captain Church offered Captain Golding the honor, if he would please to accept it, of beating up Philip's head quarters. He accepted the offer, and had his allotted number drawn out to him, and the pilot. Captain Church's instructions to him were, to be very careful in his approach to the enemy, and be sure not to show himself, until by day light they 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 for his men to fire and fall on. Directed him when the enemy should start, and take into the swamp, they should pursue with speed, every man shouting and making what noise he could; for he would give orders to his ambuscade to fire on any that should come silently.

Captain Church knowing that it was Philip's custom to be foremost in the flight, went down to the swamp, and gave Captain Williams of Scituate, the command of the right wing of the ambush, and placed an Englishman and an Indian together, behind such shelters of trees, &c. as he could find, and took care to place them at such a distance, that none might pass, undiscovered between them. He charged them to be careful of themselves, and of hurting their friends, and to fire at any that should come silently through the swamp; but it being somewhat further through the swamp than he was aware of, he wanted men to make up his ambuscade. Having placed what men he had, he took Major Sandford by the hand, and said, "Sir, I have so placed them, that it is scarce possible Philip can escape. The same moment a shot whistled over their heads, and then the noise of a gun towards Philip's camp. Capt. Church at first thought 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 Philip's gang going forth by himself, looked round him. Captain Golding thought the Indian looked directly at him, though probably it was only his conceit, so fired at him, and upon his firing, the whole company that were with him

fired upon the enemy's shelter; before the Indians had time to rise from their sleep, and so overshot them. But their shelter was open on that side next the swamp, and built so on purpose for the convenience of flight on occasion. They were soon in the swamp, and Philip the foremost, who starting at the first gun, threw his petunk and powder-horn over his head, caught up his gun, and ran as fast as he could scamper, without any more clothes than his small breeches and stockings, and ran directly on two of Captain Church's ambush. They let him come fair within shot, and the Englishman's gun missing fire, he bid the Indian fire away, and he did so to purpose, sent one musket bullet through his heart, and another not over two inches from it. He fell upon his face in the mud and water, with his gun under him. By this time the enemy perceiving they were waylaid on the east side of the swamp, tacked short about. One of the enemy, who seemed to be a great surly old fellow, hallooed with a loud voice, and often called out, *Iootash, Iootash*. Captain Church called to his Indian Peter, and asked him who that was that called so? He answered, it was old Annawon,* Philip's great Captain, calling

* In regard to the writing of this word, a diversity of opinions have arisen. Some urge that its termination ought to be written *wan*, others *won*. Mr. Benjamin Rodman, of New Bedford, has adopted that of *wan*, in naming a vessel and manufacturing company. He says "it is more agreeable to analogy." Deference ought to be had to the opinion of this learned gentleman. No doubt, as this word is commonly understood, *wan* is more proper: but we, who never heard the native tongue, cannot tell but that they pronounced it as if written *wun*, allowing this to have been the case, it is certainly more proper to write *wan*. Hubbard writes *wan*, and I am for uniformity.

on his soldiers to stand to it, and fight stoutly. Now the enemy finding that place of the swamp which was not ambushed, many of them made their escape in the English tracks. The man that had shot down Philip, ran with all speed to Captain Church, and informed him of his exploit, who commanded him to be silent about it, and let no man know it, until they had driven the swamp clear. When they had driven the swamp through and found the enemy had escaped, or at least the most of them, and the sun now up, and so the dew gone, that they could not easily track them, the whole company met together at the place where the enemy's night shelter was. Then Captain Church gave them the news of Philip's death, upon which the whole army gave three loud huzzas. Captain Church ordered his body to be pulled out of the mire on the upland. So some of Captain Church's Indians took hold of him by his stockings, and some by his small breeches, being otherwise naked, and drew him through the mud to the upland; and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beast he looked like. Captain Church then said, forasmuch as he had caused many an Englishman's body to be unburied, and to rot above ground, that not one of his bones should be buried. And calling his old Indian executioner, bid him behead and quarter him. Accordingly he came with 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 *a—e* for him." And so he went to work, and did as he was ordered.

Philip having one very remarkable hand, being much scarred, occasioned by the splitting of a pistol in it formerly, Captain Church gave the head and that hand to 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, the Captain with his company returned to the Island, tarried there until Tuesday, and then went off and ranged through all the woods to Plymouth, and received their premium, which was thirty shillings per head, for the enemies which they had killed or taken, instead of all wages; and Philip's head went at the same price. Methinks it was scanty reward and poor encouragement; though it was better than it had been for some time before. For this march they received four shillings and sixpence a man, which was all the reward they had, except the honor of killing Philip. This was in the latter end of August, 1676.*

Capt. Church had been but a little while at Plymouth, before a post from Rehoboth came to inform the government that old Annawon, Philip's chief Captain,† was, with his company, ranging

* The fall of King Philip, according to Hutchinson, took place on the 12th August, 1676. And this history clearly indicates that it happened early in the morning of a certain day, therefore, we are able to give the date of this memorable event, with that exactness, which adds lustre to the pages of history.

† It will be recollected, that in a preceding page, Tyasks was mentioned as Philip's chief Captain; or, "the next man to Philip." See page 83.

Hubbard says, "Tispequin was next to Philip." Page 230, late edition.

about their woods, and was very offensive and pernicious to Rehoboth and Swansey. Capt. Church was immediately sent for again, and treated with to engage in one expedition more. He told them, "Their encouragement was so poor, he feared his soldiers would be dull about going again." But being a hearty friend to the cause, he rallies again; goes to Mr. Jabez Howland, his old Lieutenant, and some of his soldiers that used to go out with him. Told them how the case was circumstanced, and that he had intelligence of old Annawon's walk and haunt, and wanted hands to hunt him. They did not want much entreating, but told him, they would go with him as long as there was an Indian in the woods. He moved and ranged through the woods to Pocasset.

It being the latter end of the week, he proposed to go on to Rhode-Island, and rest until Monday; but on the Lord's day morning, there came a post to inform the Captain, that early the same morning a canoe with several Indians in it passed from Prudence-Island to Poppasquash neck.* Capt. Church thought if he could possibly surprise them he might probably gain some intelligence of more game; therefore he made all possible speed after them. The ferry-boat being out of the way, he made use of canoes; but by the time they had made two freights, and got over the Captain, and about fifteen or sixteen of his Indians, the wind sprung up with such violence, that canoes could not pass. The Captain seeing it was impossible for any more of his soldiers to come to him, he told his Indians, If they were willing to go with him,

* On the west side of Bristol.

he would go to Poppasquash, and see if they could catch some of the enemy Indians. They were willing to go, but were sorry they had no English soldiers. So they marched through the thickets that they might not be discovered, until they came to the salt meadow, to the northward of Bristol town, that now is. Then they heard a gun. The Captain looked about, not knowing but it might be some of his own company in the rear. So halting till they all came up, he found it was none of his own company that fired. Now, though he had but a few men, was minded to send some of them out on a scout. He moved it to Capt. Lightfoot to go with three more on a scout; he said he was willing, provided the Captain's man, Nathaniel, which was an Indian they had lately taken, might be one of them; because he was well acquainted with the neck, and coming lately from among them, knew how to call them. The Captain bid him choose his three companions, and go; and if they came across any of the enemy, not to kill them if they could possibly take them alive, that they might gain intelligence concerning Annawon. The Captain with the rest of his company moved but a little way further towards Poppasquash, before they heard another gun, which seemed to be the same way with the other, but further off. They made no halt until they came into the narrow of Poppasquash neck. Here Capt. Church left three men to watch and see if any* should come out of the neck, and to inform the scout, when they returned, which way he was gone.

* Meaning the enemy.

He parted the remainder of his company, half on one side of the neck, and the other with himself went on the other side of the neck, until they met; and meeting neither with Indians nor canoes, returned big with expectations of tidings by their scout. But when they came back to the three men at the narrow of the neck, they told their Captain the scout had not returned, and they had not heard nor seen any thing of them. This filled them with thoughts of what had become of them.

When they had waited an hour longer, it was very dark, and they despaired of their returning to them. Some of the Indians told their Captain, "They feared his new man, Nathaniel, had met with his old Mount-Hope friends, and had turned rogue." They concluded to make no fires that night, and indeed they had no great need of any, for they had no victuals to cook, not so much as a morsel of bread with them.

They took up their lodgings scattering, that if possibly their scout should come in the night, and whistle, which was their sign, some of them might hear them. They had a very solitary, hungry night. As soon as the day broke they drew off through the brush to a hill without the neck, and looking about them they espied one Indian man come running somewhat towards them. The Captain ordered one man to step out and show himself. Upon this the Indian ran directly to him, and who should it be but Capt. Lightfoot, to their great joy. Capt. Church asked him what news? He answered, Good news. He said that "They were all well, and had caught ten Indians, and that they guarded them all night in one of the flankers of the old English garrison; that their

prisoners were part of Annawon's company, and that they had left their families in a swamp above Mattapoiset neck.*†" 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 seemed towards the Indian burying place, and moving that way, they discovered two of the enemy flaying a horse. The scout clapping into the brush, Nathaniel 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 set up his note, and howled like a wolfe. - One of the two immediately left his horse and came running to see who was there; and Nathaniel howling lower and lower drew him in between those that lay in wait for him, who seized him; continuing the same note, the other left the horse also, following his mate, and met with the same fate. When they had caught these two they examined them apart, and found them to agree in their story, that there were eight more come down into the neck to get provisions, and had agreed to meet at the burying place that evening. These two being some of Nathaniel's old acquaintance, he had great influence upon them, and with his enticing story, telling them what a brave Captain they had, how bravely he had lived since he had been with him, and how much they might better their con-

* In Swanzey. There is another Mattapoiset in Rochester.

† A small neck of land in the bottom of Taunton bay, in the midway between Mount Hope and Pocasset neck.

dition by turning to him, &c. so persuaded and engaged 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 espied the rest of theirs coming up to the burying place, and Nathaniel soon howled them in, as he had done their mates before.

When Capt. Church came to the garrison, he met his Lieutenant and the rest of his company; and then making up good fires they fell to roasting their horse-beef, enough to last them the whole day, but had not a morsel of bread; though salt they had, which they always carried in their pockets, and which, at this time, was very acceptable to them. Their next motion was towards the place where the prisoners told them they had left their women and children, and surprised 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 a place. Now a certain Indian soldier that Capt. Church had gained over to be on his side, prayed 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, with no other than a young squaw. Capt. Church inclined to go with him, thinking it might be in his way to gain some intelligence of Annawon; so taking one Englishman and a few Indians with him, leaving the rest there, he went with his new soldier to look for his father. When he came to the swamp he bid the Indian go and see if he could find his father. He was no sooner gone but Capt. Church discovered a track coming down, out of the woods; upon

which he and his little company lay close, some on one side of the track and some on the other. They heard the Indian soldier make a howling for his father; and at length somebody answered him; but while they were listening, they thought they heard somebody coming towards them. They presently saw an old man coming up with a gun on his shoulder, and a young woman following, in a track which they lay by. They let them come up between them, and then started up and laid hold of them both. Capt Church immediately examined them apart, telling them what they must trust to if they told false stories. He asked the young woman what company they came from last? She said from Capt. Annawon's. He asked her how many were in company with him when she left him? She said, fifty or sixty. He asked 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.* The old man, who had been one of Philip's council, upon examination, gave exactly the same account. Capt. Church asked him if they could get there that night? He said, if they went presently, and travelled stoutly, they might get there by sunset. He asked 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 soldier, and brought his father and one Indian more. The Captain was now in a great strait of mind what

* Southeasterly part of Rehoboth.

to do next. He had a mind to give Annawon a visit, as he knew now where to find him; but his company was very small, only half a dozen men beside himself, and was under the necessity of sending somebody back to acquaint his Lieutenant and company with his proceedings. However, he asked his small company, whether 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. Annawon was a great soldier, that he had been a valiant Captain under Asuhmequin, Philip's father, and that he had been Philip's chieftain all this war; a very subtle man, and of great resolution, and had often said, that he would never be taken alive by the English. And moreover, they knew that the men that were with him, were resolute fellows, some of Philip's chief soldiers, and therefore feared whether it was practicable to make an attempt upon him with so small a handful of assistants as were now with him. Told him further, that it would be a pity that after all the great things he had done, he should throw away his life at last. Upon which he replied, That he doubted not Annawon was a subtle and valiant man; that he had a long time but in vain sought for him, and never till now could find his quarters, and he was very loath to miss of the opportunity, and doubted not but that if they would cheerfully 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, the only

Englishman then with him, and asked him, What he thought of it? He replied, "Sir, I am never afraid of going any where when you are with me." Then Captain Church asked the old Indian, if he could take his horse with him? for he conveyed a horse thus far with him. He replied, that it was impossible for a horse to pass the swamps. Therefore he sent away his new Indian soldier with his father and the Captain's horse 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.

The Captain then asked the old fellow, if he would pilot him to 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, but 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. Captain Church asked, what news? He answered, that about that time in the evening, Captain Annawon sent out his scouts to see if the coast was clear, and as soon as it began to grow dark the scouts returned. And then, said he, we may move again securely. When it began to grow dark the old man stood up again. Captain Church asked him, if he would take a gun and fight for him? He bowed very low, and prayed him not to impose such a thing upon him, as to fight against Captain 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 stayed 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 Captain 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, from whence he could see their camps. He saw 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 Annawon 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 setting a row of birch bushes up against it, where himself, his son, and some of his chiefs had taken up their lodging, and made great fires without them, and had their pots and kettles boiling, and spits roasting. Their arms also he discovered, all set together in a place fitted for the purpose, standing up on end against a stick lodged in two crotches, and a mat placed over them, to

* This solitary retreat is in Rehoboth, but so near Taunton line, that many, in telling this story, report it to be in the latter. It is in a swamp, and being a small rising ground, is at certain seasons almost surrounded by water. On this rise is a great rock, or rather ledge of rocks, rising up to considerable height, and on the southeast side is an opening of an angular shape, in which was Annawon's tent. It appears that the reason of their not attacking him in front was, its open situation, consequently must have been discovered.

keep them from the wet or dew. The old Annawon's feet and his son's head were so near the arms, as almost to touch them; but the rocks were so steep that it was impossible to get down, only as they lowered themselves down by the bows, and the bushes that grew in the cracks of the rocks. Captain 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.

Captain Church then ordered the old man and his daughter to go down foremost, with their baskets at their backs, that when Annawon saw them with their baskets he should not mistrust the intrigue. Captain 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 stepped over the young man's head to the arms. The young Annawon discovering him, wrapped his blanket over his head and shrunk up in a heap. The old Captain Annawon started up on his breech, and cried out *Howoh!* and despairing of escape, threw himself back again, and lay silent until Captain Church had secured all the arms, &c. And having secured that company, he sent his Indian soldiers to the other fires and 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 Captain Annawon was taken, and it would be best for them

quietly and peaceably to surrender themselves, which would procure good quarters for them; for if they should pretend to resist or make their escape, it would be in vain, and they could expect no other but that Captain Church with his great army who had now entrapped 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 Captain, who had been so kind to themselves when they surrendered to him, would be as kind to them. Now they being old acquaintance, and many of them relations, did much the readier give heed to what they said, and surrendered up their arms to them, both their guns and their hatchet, and were forthwith carried to Captain Church.

Things being so far settled, Captain Church asked Annawon, what he had for supper? for, said he, I am come to sup with you. *Taubot*, said Annawon, with a big voice, and looking about upon his women, bid them hasten and get Captain Church and his company some supper. Then turned to Captain Church and asked him, whether he would eat cow-beef or horse-beef? The Captain told him cow-beef would be most acceptable. It was soon got ready, and pulling his little bag of salt out of his pocket, which was all the provision he brought with him, he seasoned his cow-beef, so that with it and the dried green corn, which the old squaw was pounding in the mortar, while they were sliding down the rocks, he made a very hearty supper. And this pounding in the mortar proved lucky for Capt. Church's getting down the rocks; for when the old squaw

pounded, they moved, and when she ceased, to turn the corn, they ceased creeping; the noise of the mortar prevented the enemy's hearing their creeping, and the corn being now dressed, supplied the want of bread, and gave a fine relish with the cow-beef. Supper being over, Captain Church sent two of his own men to inform the other companies, that he had killed Philip, and had taken their friends in Mount-Hope neck, but had spared their lives, and that he had subdued now all the enemy, he supposed, excepting this company of Annawon's. And now if they would be orderly and keep their places until morning, they should have good quarters, and that he would carry them to Taunton, where they might see their friends again.

The messengers returned, that the Indians yielded to his proposals. Capt. Church thought it was now time for him to take a nap, having had no sleep in two days and one night before; told his men if they would let him sleep two hours, they should sleep all the rest of the night. He laid himself down and endeavoured to sleep, but all disposition to sleep departed from him. After he had layed a little while he looked up to see how his watch managed, but found them all fast asleep. Now Capt. Church had told Capt. Annawon's company, as he had ordered his Indians to tell the others, that their lives should all be spared, excepting Capt. Annawon's, and it was not in his power to promise him his life, but he must carry him to his masters at Plymouth, and he would entreat them for his life. Now when Capt. Church found not only his own men, but all the Indians fast asleep, Annawon only ex-

cepted, whom he perceived was as broad awake as himself; and so they lay looking one upon the other perhaps an hour. Capt. Church said nothing to him, for he could not speak Indian, and thought Annawon could not speak English; at length Annawon raised himself up, cast off his blanket, and with no more clothes than his small breeches, walked a little way back from the company. Capt. Church thought no other but that he had occasion to ease himself, and so walked to some distance rather than offend him. But by and by he was gone out of sight 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 get a gun he should not make a shot at him without endangering his son. Lying very still awhile, waiting the event, at length he heard somebody 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 offered him what he had brought, and speaking in plain English, said, "Great Captain, you have killed Philip, and conquered his country; for I believe that I and 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 pulled out Philip's belt curiously wrought with wompom, being nine inches broad, wrought with black and white, in various figures and flowers, and pictures of many birds and beasts. This, when hung upon Mr. Church's shoulders, reach-

ed his aneles; and another belt of wompom he presented him, 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 edged with red hair, which Annawon said they got in the Mahog's country. Then he pulled out two horns of glazed powder, and a red cloth blanket. He told Capt. Church these were Philip's royalties, which he was wont to adorn himself with when he sat in state. That he thought himself happy that he had an opportunity to present them to Capt. Church, who had won them, &c. So they spent the remainder of the night in discourse; and he gave an account of what mighty success he had formerly in wars against many nations of Indians, when he served Asumequin, Philip's father, &c. In the morning, as soon as it was light, the Captain marched with his prisoners out of that swampy country towards Taunton, met his Lieutenant and company about four miles out of town, who expressed a great deal of joy to see him again, and said, it was 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, 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, when he was informed of a parcel of Indians who had haunted the woods between Plymouth and Sippican, that did great damage to the English, in killing their cattle, horses and swine; the Captain was soon in pursuit of them. Went out from Plymouth the next Monday in the afternoon, and next morning early they discovered a tract. The Captain sent two Indians on the track to see what they could discover, while he and his company followed gently after; but the two Indians soon returned with tidings that they 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, and took every one that was at the fires, not one escaping. Upon examination they agreed in their stories; that they belonged to Tispaquin, who was gone with John Bump, and one more, to Agawom* and Sippican,† to kill horses, and were not expected back in two or three days.

This same Tispaquin had been a great Captain, and the Indians reported that he was such a great *Pauwau*, that no bullet could enter him. Capt. Church said he would not have him killed, for there was a war broken out in the eastern part of the country, and he would have him saved to go

* Wareham.

† Rochester, two miles east of Matapoiset.

with him to fight the eastern Indians. 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 and children, and company, and carried them down to Plymouth; and would spare all their lives, and his too, if he would come down to them, and bring the other two that were with him, and they should be his soldiers, &c. Capt. Church then returned to Plymouth, leaving the old squaws well provided for, and buiscket for Tispaquin when he returned. Telling his soldiers that he doubted not but he had laid a trap that would take him. Captain Church two days after, went to Boston, the Commissioners then sitting, and waited upon the honorable Gov. Leverett,* who then lay sick. He requested Capt. Church to give him some account of the war, who readily obliged his honor therein, to his great satisfaction, as he was pleased to express himself; taking him by the hand, and telling him, if it pleased God that he lived, he would make it a brace of a hundred pounds advantage to him out of the Massachusetts colony; and would endeavour that the rest of the colonies should do proportionably. But he died within a fortnight after, and so nothing was done of that nature. The same day Tispaquin came in, and those that were with him; but when Capt. Church returned from Boston, he found to his grief, the heads of

* Gov. John Leverett was a very distinguished man, both as a warrior and statesman. He was universally beloved in his life time, and at his death, as deeply lamented. He died March 16th, 1678.

Annawon, Tispaquin,* &c. cut off, which were the last of Philip's friends. The General Court of Plymouth, then sitting, 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, Capt. Church received a commission from Gov. Winslow, to scour the woods of some of the lurking enemy, which they were well informed were there. Which commission is as follows.

Being 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

* Hubbard, in defence of this conduct of the Court of Plymouth, says that Tispaquin was to become a Captain under Church, if (as he pretended and made his followers believe) he proved impenetrable to a ball; but he fell dead the first fire, which they thought a just reward for his deception and cruelty while with Philip. The same author does not fail to find excuses for every inhuman act on the part of the English. Nothing can justify this hasty measure but cowardice; for it has too much the appearance of hanging a man after he is dead. Annawon was accused of torturing and murdering the English, which "he did not deny;" therefore, enough was found against him, so he was immediately put to death.

The taking of Tispaquin is placed before that of Annawon by Hubbard; who must we charge with a blunder?

† It is observable that Mr. Church is erroneous in his mention of Gov. Leverett, for by his account above, "Annawon, Tispaquin, &c." were put to death about the time the Governor died. But they were put to death soon after Philip was killed, in 1676, almost two years before the death of the Governor.

woods, near some of our plantations, that go on to disturb the peace of his Majesty's subjects in this and the neighbouring colonies, by their frequent robberies, and other insolences. Captain Benjamin Church is therefore hereby nominated, ordered, commissioned, and empowered 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 conduct, 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 shall lead him; to discover, pursue, fight, surprise, destroy, and subdue our said Indian enemies, 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 villanies. 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 for as much 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 rendered 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 be distributed among themselves, according to such agreement

as they may make one with the other. 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 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 God, his Majesty's interest, and the interest of the Colony; and carefully governing his said company at home and abroad. These shall be unto him a full and complete commission, warrant and discharge. Given under the public Seal, Jan. 15th, 1676.

Per JOSIAH WINSLOW, *Gov.*

Accordingly Capt. Church, accompanied with several gentlemen and others, went out and took divers parties of Indians, in one of which there was a certain old man, whom Capt. Church seemed to take particular notice of, and asking him where he belonged, he told him at Swanzey; the Captain asked his name, he replied, Conscience. Conscience, said the Captain smiling, then the war is over; for that was what they were searching for, it being much wanted; and then returned the said Conscience to his post again at Swanzey, to a certain person the said Indian desired to be sold to, and then returned home.

WAR
WITH THE EASTERN INDIANS,
IN FIVE EXPEDITIONS,
UNDER COLONEL CHURCH.



In the time of Sir Edmund Andross'* government, began that bloody war in the eastern parts of New-England; so that immediately Sir Edmund sent an express for Capt. Church; who, then being at Little Compton, received it on a Lord's day in the afternoon meeting. Going home after meeting, took his horse and set out for Boston, as ordered; and by sunrise next morning got to Braintree, where he met with Col. Page, on horseback, going to Weymouth and Hingham, to raise forces to go East, who said he was glad to

* Andross came over as Governor of New-York, in 1674. Was appointed Governor of New-England, and arrived in Boston, 29th December, 1686. He is spoken of by all our historians, as a quarrelsome and oppressive man, possessing strong prejudices against the people of Massachusetts. Having considerable power, did not fail to exert it. He was checked, however, on the accession of William and Mary; at the news of which in Boston, the people in transports of joy rose up in arms. Sir Edmund retired to the fort but surrendered soon after. He was confined in the fort for some time. In 1692, after matters were settled, he was appointed Governor of Virginia, and arrived there in February. He died in London, Feb. 24, 1713.

see him, and that his Excellency would be as glad to see him in Boston so early. So parting he soon got to Boston and waited upon his Excellency. He informed him of an unhappy war broken out in the Eastern parts; and said, he was going himself in person, and that he wanted his company with him. But Capt. Church not finding himself in the same spirit he used to have, said, he hoped his Excellency would give him time to consider of it. He told him he might; and also said that he must come and dine with him. Capt. Church having many acquaintances in Boston, who made it their buisness, some to encourage, and others to discourage him from going with his Excellency. So after dinner his Excellency took him into his room and discoursed freely; saying, that he had knowledge of his former actions and successes; and that he must go with him, and be his second, with other encouragements. But in short, the said Church did not accept; so was dismissed and went home. Soon after this was the revolution, and the other government reassumed; and then Gov. Bradstreet* sent for Capt. Church to come to Boston, as soon as his buisness would permit, whereupon he went to Boston and waited upon his Honour, who told him he was requested by the Council to send for him, to see if he could be prevailed with to raise volunteers both English and Indians to go East, for the Eastward Indians had done great spoil upon the English in those parts; giving him an account of the miseries and

* "One of the Fathers of Massachusetts;" yet he did not pass without censure and difficulty, but he passed on calmly in his duty, and was a worthy example of rectitude. He died at Salem, 27th March, 1697, aged 95 years.

sufferings of the people there. Capt. Church's spirits being affected, said, if he could do any service for his Honour, the country, and their relief, he was ready and willing. He was asked how he would act? He said he would take with him as many of his old soldiers as he could get, both English and Indians, &c. The gentlemen of Boston requested him to go to Rhode-Island Government to ask their assistance. So giving him their letter, and about forty shillings in money, he took leave, and went home to Bristol on a Saturday, and the next Monday morning he went over to Rhode-Island, and waited upon their Governor, delivering the letter as ordered; prayed his Honour for a speedy answer. Who said, they could not give an answer presently; so he waited on them till he had their answer; and when he had obtained it, he carried it to Boston gentlemen, who desired him to raise what volunteers he could in Plymouth colony, and Rhode-Island Government, and what was wanting they would make up out of theirs, that were already out in the Eastern parts. The summer being far spent, Capt. Church made what despatch he could, and raised about 250 volunteers, and received his commission from Gov. Hinkley, which is as followeth, viz.

“The Council of War of their Majesties' Colony of New-Plymouth, in New-England; to Maj. Benjamin Church, Commander in Chief.

“WHEREAS the Kennebeck and Eastern Indians with their confederates, have openly made war upon their Majesties' subjects of the provinces of Maine, New-Hampshire, and of the Massachusetts Colony; having committed many bar-

barous murders, spoils and rapines upon their persons and estates. And whereas there are some forces of soldiers, English and Indians, now raised and detached out of the several regiments and places within this Colony of New-Plymouth, to go forth to the assistance of our neighbours and friends, of the aforesaid provinces and colony of the Massachusetts, subjects of one and the same crown; and to join with their forces for the repelling and destruction of the common enemy. And whereas you, Benjamin Church, are appointed to be Major and Commander in Chief, of all the forces, English and Indians, detached within this colony, for the service of their Majesties aforesaid, these are in their Majesties' name to authorize and require you, to take into your care and conduct, all the said forces, English and Indians, and diligently to attend that service, by the leading and exercising of your inferiour officers and soldiers, commanding them to obey you as their chief commander; and to pursue, fight, take, kill, or destroy the said enemies, their aiders and abettors, by all the ways and means you can, as you shall have opportunity. And you are to observe and obey all such orders and instructions, as from time to time you shall receive from the Commissioners of the Colonies, the Council of War of this Colony, or the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts Colony. In testimony whereof the public seal of the said Colony of New-Plymouth, is hereunto affixed. Dated in Plymouth, the sixth day of September, Anno Domini 1689. *Annoque regni Regis et Reginae Willielmi et Mariae Anglicaë, &c. Primo.*

THOMAS HINKLEY, *Pres.*”

And now marching them all down to Boston, then received his further orders and instructions, which were as followeth.

“*Boston, Sept. 16, 1689.*

“To all Sheriffs, Marshalls, Constables, and other Officers military and civil, in their Majesties’ province of Maine.

“WHEREAS, pursuant to an agreement of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Major Benjamin Church is commissioned Commander in Chief over that part of their Majesties’ forces, levied for the present expedition against the common enemy, whose head quarters are appointed to be at Falmouth, in Casco Bay. In their Majesties’ names, you, and every of you are required to be aiding and assisting to the said Major Church in his pursuit of the enemy, as any emergency shall require; and so impress boats, or other vessels, carts, carriages, horses, oxen, provision and ammunition, and men for guides, &c. as you shall receive warrants from the said Chief Commander, or his Lieutenant so to do. You may not fail to do the same speedily and effectually, as you will answer your neglect and contempt of their Majesties’ authority and service, at your uttermost peril. Given under my hand and seal, the day and year above written. *Annoque Regni Regis et Reginae Willielmi and Mariae Primo.*

“By THOMAS DANFORTH,
Pres. of the province of Maine.”

By the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts Colony. To Major Benjamin Church.

“WHEREAS, you are appointed and commissioned by the Council of War, of the colony of New-Plymouth, Commander in Chief of the forces raised within the said colony, against the common Indian enemy, now ordered into the Eastern parts, to join with some of the forces of this colony; for the prosecution, repelling and subduing of the said enemy. It is therefore ordered that Capt. Simon Willard, and Capt. Nathaniel Hall, with the two companies of soldiers under their several command, belonging to this colony, now in or about Casco Bay, be, and are hereby put under you, as their Commander in Chief for this present expedition. And in pursuance of the commissions severally given to either of them, they are ordered to observe and obey your orders and directions, as their Commander in Chief, until further order from the Governor and Council, or the Commissioners of the colonies. Dated in Boston, September 17, Anno Domini 1689. *Annoque Regni Regis et Reginae Guilielmi et Mariae, Anglae, &c. Primo.*

“S. BRADSTREET, Gov.

“*Passed in Council.*

“*Attest. ISAAC ADDINGTON, Sec'ry.*”

By the Commissioners of the colonies of the Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, for managing the present war against the common enemy.

“Instructions for Major Benjamin Church, Commander in Chief of the Plymouth forces, with others of the Massachusetts, put under his command.

“IN pursuance of the commission given you, for their Majesties’ service in the present expedition against the common Indian enemy, their aiders and abettors; reposing confidence in your wisdom, prudence and fidelity in the trust committed to you, for the honour of God, good of his people, and the security of the interest of Christ and his churches, expecting and praying that in your dependence upon him, you may be helped and assisted with all that grace and wisdom which is requisite for carrying you on with success in this difficult service; and though much is and must be left to your discretion, as Providence and opportunity may present from time to time in places of attendance; yet, the following instructions are commended unto your observation, and to be attended to so far as the state of matters with you in such a transaction will admit. You are with all possible speed to take care that the Plymouth forces, both English and Indians, under your command, be fixed and ready, and the first opportunity of wind and weather, to go on board such vessels as are provided to transport you and them to Casco, where, if it shall please God you arrive, you are to take under your care and command the companies of Capt. Nathaniel Hall, and Capt. Simon

Willard, who are ordered to attend your command, whom, together with the Plymouth forces, and such as from time to time may be added unto you, you are to improve in such way as you shall see meet; for the discovering, pursuing, and subduing and destroying the said common enemy, by all opportunities you are capable of; always intending the preserving of any of the near towns from incursions, and destruction of the enemy, yet chiefly improving your men for the finding and following the said enemy abroad, and if possible to find out and attack their head quarters and principal rendezvous, if you find you are in a rational capacity of so doing. The better to enable you thereto, we have ordered two men of war sloops, and other small vessels for transportation to attend you, for some considerable time. You are to see that your soldiers' arms be always fixed, and that they be furnished with ammunition, provisions and other necessaries, that so they may be in a readiness to repel and attack the enemy. In your pursuit you are to take special care to avoid danger by ambushments, or being drawn under any disadvantage by the enemy in your marches, keeping out scouts and a forlorn hope before your main body, and by all possible means endeavouring to surprise some of the enemy, that so you may gain intelligence. You are to suppress all mutinies and disorders among your soldiers, as much as in you lies, and to punish such as disobey your officers, according to the rules of war herewith given you.

“ You are, according to your opportunity, or any occasion, more than ordinary occurring, to hold correspondence with Major Swaine, and to

yield mutual assistance when, as you are capable of it, and you may have reason to judge it will be of most public service; and it will be meet you and he should agree of some signal whereby your Indians may be known from the enemy. You are to encourage your soldiers to be industrious, vigorous, and venturous in their service, to search and destroy the enemy, acquainting them, it is agreed by the several colonies, that they shall have the benefit of the captives, and all lawful plunder, and the reward of *eight pounds* per head, for every fighting Indian man slain by them, over and above their stated wages; the same being made appear to the Commander in Chief, or such as shall be appointed to take care therein. If your Commission Officers, or any of them should be slain, or otherwise incapable of service, and for such dismissed, you are to appoint others in their room, who shall have the like wages, and a commission sent upon notice given, you to give them commissions in the mean time. You are to take effectual care that the worship of God be kept up in the army, morning and evening prayer attended as far as may be, and as the emergencies of your affairs will admit, to see that the Holy Sabbath be duly sanctified. You are to take care as much as may be, to prevent or punish drunkenness, swearing, cursing, or such other sins, as do provoke the anger of God. You are to advise with your chief Officers in any matters of moment, as you shall have opportunity. You are from time to time to give intelligence and advice to the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts or Commissioners of the colonies, of your proceedings and occurrences that may happen, and how it shall

please the Lord to deal with you in this present expedition.

“If you find the vessels are not likely to be serviceable to you, dismiss them as soon as you may.

“Captain Sylvanus Davis* is a prudent man, and well acquainted with the affairs of those parts, and is written unto to advise and inform you all he can.

“Such further instructions as we shall see reason to send unto you, you are carefully to attend and observe, and in the absence of the Commissioners, you shall observe the orders and instructions directed unto you from the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts.

“*Given under our hands in Boston, Sept. 18, 1689.*”

THOMAS DANFORTH, *Pres.*

ELISHA COOK,

SAMUEL MASON,

WILLIAM PITKIN,

THOMAS HINKLEY,

JOHN WALLEY.

* This is the Captain Davis, who, in the year 1676, made his escape so narrowly with his life from the fort at Arrow-sick island. The Indians in the night had concealed themselves under the walls of the fort, and at day-light, as the sentinel retired from the gate, they rushed in and fired on every one they saw. Captain Davis with Captain Lake escaped out of the back door of a house, ran down to the water and crossed over. Capt. Lake was shot down as he landed, and Captain Davis escaped with a wound. He was afterwards a member of the Council of Massachusetts. In and about the fort 52 persons were killed and taken.

HUTCHINSON.

FIRST EXPEDITION EAST.

BEING ready, Major Church embarked with his forces on board the vessels provided to transport them to Casco, having a brave gale at S. W. and on Friday about three o'clock they got in sight of Casco harbour; and discovering two or three small ships there, not knowing whether they were friends or enemies; whereupon the said Commander, Major Church, gave orders for every man that was able to make ready, and all lie close, giving orders how they should act in case they were enemies. He, in the *Mary* sloop, together with the *Resolution*, went in first, being both well fitted with guns and men. On coming to the first, he hailed them, who said they were friends, and presently manned their boat, brought to, and so came along side of them. They gave the said Church an account, that yesterday there were a very great army of Indians and French with them, upon the island, at the going out of the harbour; and that they were come on purpose to take Casco fort and town; likewise informed him that they had got a captive woman on board, Major Walden's daughter, of Piscataqua,* that could give him a full account of their number and intentions. He bid them give his service to their Captain, and tell him he would wait upon him after he had been on shore, and given some orders and directions. Being come pretty near, he ordered all the men still to keep close, giving

* A considerable river in New-Hampshire, on which stands Portsmouth, the largest town in the state.

account of the news he had received, and then went ashore. Several of the chief men of the town came out to meet him, being glad that he had come so happily to their relief. They told him the news which Mrs. Lee had before, being the woman aforesaid. He went to Captain Davis's, to get some refreshment, not having eaten a morsel since he came by Boston castle. Now having inquired into the state of the town, found them in a poor condition to defend themselves against such a number of enemies. He gave them an account of his orders and instructions, and told them what forces he had brought, and that when it was dark they should all land, and not before, lest the enemy should discover them. And then he went on board the privateer, which was a Dutchman; but as he went he called on board every vessel, and ordered the officers to take care that their men might be all fitted and provided to fight, for the people of the town expected the enemy to fall upon them every minute, but withal, charging them to keep undiscovered. Then coming on board said privateer, he was kindly treated, discoursed with Mrs. Lee, who informed him that the company she came with had fourscore canoes, and that there were more of them, whom she had not seen, which came from other places; and that they told her, when they came all together, should make up 700 men. He asked her whether Casteen* was with them? She answered that there were several French men with them, but did not know whether Casteen was there or

* Castine. A French Baron, who lived among the Indians at Penobscot. He supplied the Indians with articles for the war.—HUTCHINSON.

not. He having got what intelligence she could give him, went ashore, viewed the fort and town, and discoursed with the gentlemen there according to his instructions. And when it began to grow dark, he ordered the vessels to come as near the fort as might be, and land the soldiers with as little noise as possible; ordering them as they landed to go into the fort, and houses that stood near; that so they might be ready upon occasion. Having ordered provisions for them, he went to every company, and ordered them to get every thing ready; they that had no powder-horns, or shot-bags, should immediately make them; ordered the officers to take special care that they were ready to march into the woods an hour before day; and also, directing the watch to call him two hours before day; so he hastened to bed to get some rest.

At the time prefixed he was called, and presently ordered the companies to make ready, and about half an hour before day they moved. Several of the town's people went with them into a thick place of brush, about half a mile from the town. Now ordering them to send out their scouts, as they used to do, and seeing them all settled at their work, he went into town by sunrise again, and desired the inhabitants to take care of themselves, till his men had fitted themselves with some necessaries, for his Indians, most of them, wanted both bags and horns; so he ordered them to make bags like wallets, to put powder in one end, and shot in the other. So most of them were ready for action, viz. the Seconet Indians; but the Cape Indians were very bare, lying so long at Boston before they embarked, that they

had sold every thing they could make a penny of, some tying shot and powder in the corners of their blankets. He being in town, just going to breakfast, there was an alarm; so he ordered all the soldiers in town to move away as fast as they could, where the firing was. And he, with what men were with him of his soldiers, moved immediately. They met with Capt. Bracket's sons, who told him their father was taken, and that they saw a great army of Indians in their father's orchard, &c. By this time our Indians that wanted bags and horns were fitted, but wanted more ammunition. Presently came a messenger to him from the town and informed him, that they had knocked out the heads of several casks of bullets, and they were all too big being musket bullets, and would not fit their guns; and that if he did not go back himself a great part of the army would be kept back from service for want of suitable bullets.

He ran back and ordered every vessel to send ashore all their casks of bullets; being brought knocked out their heads, and turned them all out upon the green, by the fort, and set all the people in the town, that were able, to make slugs; being most of them too large for their use, which had like to have been the overthrow of their whole army. He finding some small bullets, and what slugs were made, and three knapsacks of powder, went immediately to the army, who were very hotly engaged; but coming to the river the tide was up; he called to his men that were engaged, encouraging them, and told them he had brought more ammunition for them. An Indian called Capt. Lightfoot, laid down his gun, and came over the river, taking the powder upon his head,

and a kettle of bullets in each hand, and got safe to his fellow soldiers. He perceiving great firing upon that side he was on, went to see who they were, and found them to be two of Major Church's companies, one of English and the other of Indians, being in all about four score men, that had not got over the river, but lay firing over our men's heads at the enemy. He presently ordered them to rally, and come all together; and gave the word for a Casco man; so one Swarton, a Jersey man, appearing, whom he could hardly understand; he asked him how far it was to the head of the river, or whether there was any place to get over? He said there was a bridge about three quarters of a mile up, where they might get over. So he calling to his soldiers engaged on the other side, that he would soon be with them over the bridge, and come upon the backs of the enemy, which put new courage into them. So they immediately moved up towards the bridge, marching very thin, being willing to make what show they could, and shouting as they marched. They saw the enemy running from the river-side, where they had made stands with wood to prevent any body from coming over the river; and coming to the bridge, they saw on the other side, that the enemy had laid logs, and stuck birch brush along to hide themselves from our view.

He ordered the company to come altogether, bidding them all to run after him, that would go first, and that as soon as they got over the bridge to scatter, that so they might not be all shot down together; expecting the enemy to be at their stands. So running up to the stands, found none there, but were just gone, the ground being much tum-

bled with them behind the said stands. He ordered the Captain with his company of English to march down to our men engaged, and that they should keep along upon the edge of the marsh, and himself with his Indian soldiers would march down through the brush. And coming to a parcel of low ground, which had been formerly burnt, the old brush being fallen down, lay very thick, and the young brush being grown up, made it bad travelling; but coming near the back of the enemy, one of the men called to the commander, and said that the enemy run westward to get between us and the bridge, and he looking that way saw men running, and making a small stop, heard no firing, but a great chopping with hatchets. So concluding the fight was over, made the best of their way to the bridge again, lest the enemy should get over the bridge into the town. The men being most of them out, our ammunition lay exposed, coming to the bridge, where he left six Indians for an ambuscade on the other side of the river, that if any enemy offered to come over, they should fire at them, which would give him notice, so he would come to their assistance. But in the way, having heard no firing nor shouting, concluded the enemy were drawn off. He asked the ambuscade, whether they saw any Indians? They said yes, abundance. He asked them where? They answered, that they ran over the head of the river by the cedar swamp, and were running into the neck towards the town.

There being but one Englishman with him, he bid his Indian soldiers scatter and run very thin, to preserve themselves, and be the better able to make a discovery of the enemy. And soon com-

ing to Lieut. Clark's field, on the south side of the neck, and seeing the cattle feeding quietly, and perceiving no track, concluded the ambuscade had told them a falsehood. They hastily returned back to the said bridge, perceiving there was no noise of the enemy. He hearing several great guns at the town, concluded that they were either assaulted, or that they had discovered the enemy; having ordered that in case such should be, that they should fire some of their great guns, to give him notice. He being a stranger to the country, concluded the enemy had by some other way got to the town; whereupon he sent his men to the town, and himself going to the river, near where the fight had been, asked them how they did, and what was become of the enemy? who informed him that the enemy drew off in less than an hour after he left them, and had not fired a gun at them since. He told them he had been within little more than a gun shot of the back of the enemy, and had been upon them had it not been for thick brushy ground, &c. Now some of his men returning from the town, gave him the account, that they went while they saw the colours standing, and men walking about as not molested. He presently ordered that all his army should pursue the enemy; but they told him that most of them had spent their ammunition, and that if the enemy had engaged them a little longer they might have come and knocked them on the head; and that some of their bullets were so unsizable that some of them were forced to make slugs while they were engaged. He then ordered them to get over all the wounded and dead men, and to leave none behind; which was done. Capt. Hall and

his men being first engaged did great service, and suffered the greatest loss; but Capt. Southworth with his company, and Capt. Numposh with the Seconet Indians, and the most of the men belonging to the town, all coming suddenly to his relief, prevented him and his whole company from being cut off.

By this time the day was far spent, and marching into town about sunset, carried in all their wounded and dead men, being all sensible of God's goodness to them, in giving them the victory, and causing the enemy to fly with shame, who never gave one shout at their drawing off. The poor inhabitants wonderfully rejoiced that the Almighty had favoured them so much; saying, that if Maj. Church, with his forces, had not come at that juncture, they had been all cut off; and said further, that it was the first time that the Eastward Indians had been put to flight, and the said Church with his volunteers were wonderfully preserved, having never a man killed outright, and but one Indian mortally wounded, several more being badly wounded, but recovered.

After this engagement, Maj. Church, with his forces, ranging all the country thereabout, in pursuit of the enemy; and visiting all the garrisons at Black-Point, Spurwink, and Blue-Point, and went up Kennebeck river, but to little effect. And now winter drawing near, he received orders from the Government of the Massachusetts-Bay, to settle all the garrisons, and put in suitable officers according to his best discretion, and to send home all his soldiers, volunteers and transports; which orders he presently obeyed. Being obliged to buy him a horse to go home by land, that so he

might the better comply with his orders. The poor people, the inhabitants of Casco, and places adjacent, when they saw he was going away from them, lamented sadly, and begged earnestly that he would suffer them to come away in the transports; saying that, if he left them there, in the spring of the year, the enemy would come and destroy them, and their families. So by their earnest request the said Maj. Church promised them, that if the governments that had now sent him, would send him the next spring, he would certainly come with his volunteers and Indians to their relief. And that as soon as he had been home, and taken a little care of his own buisness, he would certainly wait upon the gentlemen of Boston, and inform them of the promise he had made to them; and if they did not see cause to send them relief, to entreat their honours seasonably to draw them off, that they might not be a prey to the barbarous enemy.

Taking his leave of those poor inhabitants, some of the chief men there waited upon him to Black-Point, to Capt. Scottaway's garrison. Coming there, they prevailed with the said Capt. Scottaway, to go with him to Boston, provided the said Church would put another in, to command the garrison; which being done, and taking their leave one of another, they set out and travelled through all the country, home to Boston. Having employed himself to the utmost, to fulfil his instructions last received from Boston gentlemen, which cost him about a month's service over and above what he had pay for, from the Plymouth gentlemen. And in his travel homeward, several gentlemen waited upon the said Maj. Church, who

was obliged to bear their expenses. When he came to Boston gentlemen, he informed them of the miseries which those poor people were in by having their provisions taken from them by order of the President, &c. then went home. He staid not long there before he returned to Boston, where Capt. Scottaway waited for his coming, that he might have the determination of the government of Boston, to carry home with him. It being the time of the small-pox there, and Maj. Church not having had it, taking up his lodging near the Court-House, took the first opportunity to inform the Court of his buisness. They said they were very busy in sending home Sir Edmund,* the ship being ready to sail. Maj. Church still waiting upon them, and at every opportunity entreating those gentlemen in behalf of the poor people of Casco, urging the necessity of taking care of them, either by sending them relief early in the spring, or suffering them to draw off, otherwise they would certainly be destroyed. Their answer was, they could do nothing till Sir Edmund was gone. Waiting there three weeks on great expense, he concluded to draw up some of the circumstances of Casco, and places adjacent, and to leave it upon the Council Board, before the Governor and Council. Having got it done, he obtained liberty to go up where the Governor and Council were sitting, and informed their honours, that he had waited till his patience was worn out, so had drawn up the matter, to leave upon the Board before them. Which is as follows.

* Sir Edmund Andros.

“ To the honoured Governor and Council of the
Massachusetts.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ Whereas by virtue of yours, with Plymouth’s desires and commands, I went Eastward in the last expedition against the common Indian enemy, where Providence so ordered that we attacked their greatest body of forces, coming then for the destruction of Falmouth, which we know marched off repulsed with considerable damage, leaving the ground, and have never since been seen there, or in any place adjacent. The time of the year being then too late to prosecute any further design, and other accidents falling out contrary to my expectation, impeded the desired success. Upon my then removal from the province of Maine, the inhabitants were very solicitous that this enemy might be further prosecuted, willing to venture their lives and fortunes in the said enterprise, wherein they might serve God, their King, and country, and enjoy quiet and peaceable habitations. Upon which I promised to signify the same to yourselves, and willing to venture that little which Providence hath entrusted me with, on the said account. The season of the year being such, if some speedy action be not performed in attacking them, they will certainly be upon us in our out-towns, God knows where, and the inhabitants there, not being able to defend themselves, without doubt many souls will be cut off, as our last year’s experience wofully hath declared. The inhabitants there trust to your protection, having undertaken government and your propriety; if nothing be performed on the said ac-

count, the best way, under correction, is to demolish the garrison, and draw off the inhabitants, that they may not be left to a merciless enemy; and that the arms and ammunition may not be there for the strengthening of the enemy, who without doubt have need enough, having exhausted their greatest store in this winter season. I have performed my promise to them, and acquitted myself in specifying the same to yourselves. Not that I desire to be in any action, although willing to serve my King and country, and may pass under the censure of scandalous tongues in the last expedition, which I hope they will amend on the first opportunity of service. I leave to mature consideration, the loss of trade and fishery; the war brought to the doors. What a triumph it will be to the enemy, derision to our neighbours, besides dishonour to God and our nation, and grounds of frowns from our Prince, the frustration of those whose eyes are upon you for help; who might have otherwise applied themselves to their King. Gentlemen, this I thought humbly to propose unto you, that I might discharge myself in my trust from yourselves, and promise to the inhabitants of the province, but especially my duty to God, her Majesty, and my nation, praying for your honours prosperity, subscribe,

“ Your servant,

“ **BENJAMIN CHURCH.**

“ A true copy given in at Boston, this
6th of February, 1689, at the Council Board.

Attest. T. S.”

Major Church said, moreover, that in thus doing he had complied with his promise to those poor people of Casco, and should be acquitted from the guilt of their blood. The Governor was pleased to thank him for his care and pains taken, then taking his leave of them went home, and left Captain Scottaway in a very sorrowful condition, who returned home sometime after with only a copy of what was left on the board by the said Church. Maj. Church not hearing any thing till May following, and then was informed, that those poor people of Casco were cut off by the barbarous enemy; and that although they made their terms with Monsieur Casteen, who was commander of those enemies, yet he suffered those merciless savages to massacre and destroy the most of them. To conclude this first expedition East, I shall just give you a hint how Major Church was treated, although he was Commander in Chief of all the forces out of Plymouth and Boston government. After he came home, Plymouth gentlemen paid him but *forty-two pounds*; telling him, he must go to Boston Gentlemen for the rest, who were his employers as well as they. Of whom he never had one penny, for all travel and expenses in raising volunteers, and services done; except *forty shillings* or thereabout, for going from Boston to Rhode-Island on their business, and back to Boston again; also for sending a man to Providence, after Captain Edmunds, who raised a company in those parts, and went East with them.

SECOND EXPEDITION EAST.

IN the year 1690 was the expedition to Canada, and Major Walley* often requested Major Church that if he would not go himself in that expedition, that he would not hinder others. He told the said Walley, that he should hinder none but his old soldiers, that used to go along with him. And the said Church going down to Charlestown, to take his leave of some of his relations and friends, who were going into that expedition, promised his wife and family, not to go into Boston, the small-pox being very rife there. Coming to Charlestown, several of his friends in Boston came over to see him; and the next day after the said Church came there, Major Walley came to him, and informed him, that the Governor and Council wanted to speak with him. He told him, that he had promised his wife and family not to go into Boston; saying, if they had any business, they could write to him, and that he would send them his answer. Soon after came over two other gentlemen with a message, that the Governor and Council wanted to have some discourse with him. The answer returned was, that he intended to lodge that night at the Grayhound in Roxbury, and that in the morning would

* Major John Walley had the command of the land forces in this expedition to Canada, under the direction of Sir William Phipps. They took Port Royal without much opposition, but were obliged to retire from Quebeck with loss. On their return to Boston the government had made no preparation for paying the men, relying on plunder to defray the expense; bills of credit, therefore, were resorted to, which were the first ever used in this country.

come to Pollard's at the south end of Boston; which accordingly he did. Soon after he came thither, he received a letter from the honorable Captain Sewall, to request him to come to the Council. The answer he returned by the bearer was, that he thought there was no need of his hazarding himself so much as to come and speak with them; not that he was afraid of his life, but because he had no mind to be concerned; and further, because they would not hearken to him about the poor people of Casco. But immediately came Mr. Maxfield to him, saying, that the Council bid him tell the said Church, that if he would take his horse and ride along the middle of the street, there might be no danger, they were then sitting in Council. He bid them go and tell his masters, not to trouble themselves, whether he came upon his head or feet, he was coming. However, thinking the return was something rude, called him back to drink a glass of wine, and then went along with him. So coming to the Council, they were very thankful to him for his coming; and told him that the occasion of their sending for him was, that there was a captive come in, who gave them an account, that the Indians were come down, and had taken possession of the stone fort at Pejepscot, so that they wanted his advice and thoughts about the matter; whether they would tarry and keep in the fort or not; and whether it was not expedient to send some forces to do some spoil upon them; and further to know whether he could not be prevailed with to raise some volunteers and go and do some spoil upon them. He answered them, he was unwilling to be concerned any more; it being

very difficult and chargeable to raise volunteers, as he found by experience in the last expedition. But they using many arguments prevailed so far with him, he said, that if the Government of Plymouth saw cause to send him, he would go, thinking the expedition would be short; so he took his leave of them and went home. And in a short time after, there came an express from Governor Hinkley, to request Major Church to come to Barnstable to him. He having received a letter from the Government of Boston to raise some forces to go East. Whereupon the said Major Church went the next day to Barnstable, as ordered; finding the Governor and some of the Council of War there. They discoursed with him, and concluded that he should take his Indian soldiers, and two English Captains, with what volunteers could be raised; and that one Captain should go out of Plymouth and Barnstable county, and the other out of Bristol county, with what forces he could raise, concluding to have but few officers, to save charge. The said Church was at great charge and expense in raising forces. Governor Hinkley promised that he would take care to provide vessels to transport the said army with ammunition and provisions, by the time prefixed by himself; for the Government of Boston had obliged themselves by their letter, to provide any thing that was wanting. So at the time prefixed Major Church marched down all his soldiers out of Bristol County to Plymouth, as ordered; and being come, found it not as he expected, for there were neither provisions, ammunition nor transports; so he immediately sent an express to the Governor who was at Barnstable, to give him

an account that he with the men were come to Plymouth, and found nothing ready. In his return to the said Church, gave him an account of his disappointments; and sent John Lathrop of Barnstable in a vessel with some ammunition and provision to him, at Plymouth; also sent him word that there were more on board of Samuel Alling, of Barnstable, who was to go as a transport, and that he himself would be at Plymouth next day; but Alling never came near him, but went to Billings-gate, at Cape Cod, as he was informed. The Governor being come, told Major Church, that he must take some of the open sloops, and make spar decks to them, and lay platforms for the soldiers to lie upon. These delays were very expensive to the said Church. His soldiers being all volunteers, daily expected to be treated by him, and the Indians always begging for money to get drink. But he using his utmost diligence, made what despatch he could to be gone, being ready to embark, received his commission and instructions from Governor Hinkley, which are as followeth, viz.

“The Council of War of their Majesties’ Colony of New-Plymouth, in New-England, to Major Benjamin Church, Commander in Chief, &c.

“WHEREAS the Kennebeck and Eastward Indians, with the French their confederates, have openly made war upon their Majesties’ subjects of the Provinces of Maine, New-Hampshire, and of the Massachusetts Colony, having committed many barbarous murders, spoils and rapines upon their persons and estates. And whereas there are some forces of soldiers, English and Indians, now

raised and detached out of the severel regiments and places within this Colony of New-Plymouth, to go forth to the assistance of our neighbours and friends of the aforesaid provinces and colony of the Massachusetts, subjects of one and the same crown. And whereas you, Benjamin Church, are appointed to be Major and Commander in Chief of all the forces, English and Indians, attached within this colony, together with such other of their Majesties' subjects as elsewhere shall enlist themselves, or shall be orderly put under your command for the service of their Majesties, as aforesaid. These are in their Majesties' names to authorise and require you to take into your care and conduct all the said forces, English and Indians, and diligently to intend that service, by leading and exercising your inferior officers and soldiers, commanding them to obey you as their chief Commander. And to pursue, fight, take, kill or destroy the said enemies, their aiders and abettors by all the ways and means you can, as you shall have opportunity, and to accept to mercy, or grant quarter and favor to such, or so many of said enemies as you shall find needful for promoting the design aforesaid. And you are to observe and obey all such orders and instructions, as from time to time you shall receive from the Commissioners of the colonies, or the Council of War of the said colony of New-Plymouth, or from the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts. In testimony whereof is affixed the public seal of this colony. Dated in Plymouth the second day of September, Anno Dom. 1690. *Annoque Regni Regis et Reginae Willielmi et Mariae, &c. Secundo.* THO. HINKLEY, Pres."

Instructions for Major Benjamin Church, Commander in Chief of the Plymouth forces, with other of the Massachusetts put under his command.

“IN pursuance of the commission given you for their Majesties’ service, in the present expedition against the common enemy, Indian and French, their aiders and abettors, on the request of our brethren and friends of the Massachusetts colony, subjects of one and the same crown of England; for our assistance of them therein. Reposing confidence in your wisdom, prudence, proneness and faithfulness in the trust under God committed to you for the honour of his name, the interest of Christ in these churches, and the good of the whole people, praying and expecting that in your dependance on him, you may be helped and assisted with all that grace, wisdom and courage necessary for the carrying of you on with success in this difficult service; and though much is and must be left to your discretion, with your Council of Officers, as Providence and opportunity may present from time to time in places of action; yet the following instructions are commended to you to be observed and attended to by you, so far as the state and circumstances of that affair will admit.

“You are with all possible speed to take care that the Plymouth forces, both English and Indians, under your command, be fixed and ready on the first opportunity of wind and weather, to go on board such vessels, as are provided to transport you to Piscataqua; and there to take under your care and command such companies of the

Massachusetts colony, as shall by them be ordered and added to you there, or elsewhere from time to time; all which you are to improve in such way, and from place to place, as with the advice of your Council, consisting of the Commissioned Officers of the Massachusetts colony, and Plymouth, under your conduct, shall seem meet, for the finding out, pursuing, taking or destroying of the said common enemy, on all opportunities, according to commission, and such further orders and instructions as you have or may receive from the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts, the Commissioners for the United Colonies, or the Governor and Council of Plymouth; so far as you may be capable, intending what you can the preserving of the near towns from the incursions and destructions of the enemy; but chiefly to intend the finding out, pursuing, taking and destroying the enemy abroad, and if possible to attack them in their head quarters and principal rendezvous, if you are in a rational capacity of so doing; and for the better enabling you thereunto, we have appointed the vessels that transport you, and the provisions, &c. to attend your motion and order until you shall see cause to dismiss them, or any of them, which is desired to be done the first opportunity the service will admit. You are to see that your soldiers' arms be always fixed, and they provided with ammunition, and other necessaries, that they may be always ready to repel and attack the enemy. You are to take special care to avoid danger in the pursuit of the enemy, by keeping out scouts, and a forlorn, to prevent the ambushments of the enemy on your main body in their marches. And by all possible means to

surprise some of the enemy, that so you may gain better intelligence.

“You are to take effectual care that the worship of God be kept up in the army, that morning and evening prayer be attended, and the Holy Sabbath duly sanctified, as the emergency of your affairs will admit.

“You are to take strict care to prevent or punish drunkenness, cursing, swearing, and all other vices, lest the anger of God be hereby provoked to fight against you. You are, from time to time, to give intelligence and advice to the Governor of the Massachusetts, and to us, of your proceedings and occurrences that may attend you. And in case of a failure of any commissioned officers, you are to appoint others in their stead. And when, with the advice of your Council aforesaid, you shall, after some trial, see your service not like to be advantageous to the accomplishment of the public end aforesaid; that then you return home with the forces; especially if you shall receive any orders or directions so to do from the Massachusetts, or from us. Given under my hand, at Plymouth, the 2d of September, Anno Domini 1690.

THOMAS HINKLEY, *Gov. and Pres.*”

Now having a fair wind Maj. Church soon got to Piscataqua, who was to apply himself to Maj. Pike, a worthy gentleman, who said, he had advice of his coming from Boston gentlemen; also he had received directions that what men the said Church should want must be raised out of Hampshire from the several towns and garrisons. Maj. Pike asked him, how many men he should want?

he said enough to make up his forces that he brought with him, three hundred at least, and not more than three hundred and fifty. And so in about nine days time he was supplied with two companies of soldiers. He having been at about *twenty shillings* a day charge in expences while there. Now he received Maj. Pike's instructions, which are as followeth:

“Portsmouth, N. H. Sept. 9, 1690.

“To Major Benj. Church, Commander in Chief of their Majesties' forces now designed upon the present expedition Eastward, and now resident at Portsmouth.

“The Governor and Council of the Massachusetts Colony reposing great trust and confidence in your loyalty and valour, from experience of your former actions, and of God's presence with you in the same, in pursuance of an order, received from them, commanding it; These are, in their Majesties' names, to empower and require you as Commander in Chief, to take into your care and conduct these forces now here present at their rendezvous at Portsmouth; and they are alike required to obey you. And with them to sail Eastward by the first opportunity to Casco, or places adjacent, that may be most commodious for landing with safety and secrecy. And to visit the French and Indians at their head-quarters at Ameras-cogen, Pejepscoot, or any other place, according as you may have hope or intelligence of the residence of the enemy; using always your utmost endeavour for the preservation of your own men, and the killing, destroying, and utterly rooting out of the enemy, wheresoever they may be

found; and also as much as may possibly be done for the redeeming or recovering of our captives in any places.

“ You being there arrived, and understanding your way, to take your journey back again either by land or water, as you shall judge most convenient for the accomplishing of the end intended; and to give intelligence always of your motions whensoever you can with safety and convenience.

Lastly, In all to consult your council, the commanders or commissioned officers of your several companies, when it may be obtained, the greater part of whom to determine. And so the Lord of hosts, the God of armies, go along with you, and be your conductor. Given under my hand the day and year above said.

Per ROBERT PIKE.”

Being ready, they took the first opportunity, and made the best of their way to Pejepscoot fort, where they found nothing. From thence they marched to Ameras-cogen.* And when they came near the fort, Maj. Church made a halt, ordering the Captains to draw out of their several companies sixty of their meanest men, to be a guard to the Doctor and knapsacks, being not a mile from said fort; and then moving towards the fort, they saw young Doney and his wife, with two English captives. The said Doney made his escape to the fort, his wife was shot down, and so the poor captives were released out of their bon-

* A fine river of New-Hampshire, which flows eastward, and after entering Maine, falls into the Kennebeck. There are different ways of writing this word; as, Ameriscoggen, Androscoggin, Amoscoggan, &c. but it is generally pronounced in New-Hampshire, Amrascoggin.

dage. Maj. Church and Capt. Walton made no stop, making the best of their way to the fort, with some of the army, in hopes of getting to the fort before young Doney; but the river, through which they must pass, was as deep as their arm-pits; however Maj. Church, as soon as he had got over, stripped to his shirt and jacket, leaving his breeches behind, ran directly to the fort, having an eye to see if young Doney, who ran on the other side of the river, should get there before him. The wind now blowing very hard in their faces, as they ran, was some help to them; for several of our men fired guns, which they in the fort did not hear, so that we had taken all in the fort, had it not been for young Doney, who got to the fort just before we did, who ran into the south gate, and out at the north, all the men following him, except one, and all ran directly down to the great river and falls.* The said Church, and his forces, being come pretty near, he ordered Capt. Walton to run directly, with some forces, into the fort, and himself, with the rest, ran down to the river after the enemy, who ran some of them into the river, and the rest under the great falls. Those who ran into the river were killed, for he saw but one man get over, and he only crept up the bank, and there lay in open sight. Those that run under the falls they made no discovery of, notwithstanding several of his men went in under the said falls, and were gone some considerable time, could not find them. So leaving a watch there, returned to the fort, where he found but one man taken, and several women and children, among whom

* A beautiful fall in the Amrascoggin.

were Capt. Hakins and Worumbos' wives and children. Worumbos was Sachem of that fort. Hakins was Sachem of Pennacook, who destroyed Maj. Walden* and his family, some time before. The said two women, viz. Hakins and Worumbos' wives, requested the said Church that he would spare them and their children's lives, promising, upon that condition, he should have all the captives that were taken, and in the Indians hands. He asked them, how many? they said, about fourscore. So upon that condition, he promised them their lives. And in the said fort there were several English captives, who were in a miserable condition. Among them was Capt. Huckings' wife, of Oyster-river.† Maj. Church proceeded to examine the man taken, who gave him an account that most of the fighting men were gone to Winter-harbour, to provide provisions for the Bay of Fundy Indians, who were to come and join with them to fight the English. The soldiers being very rude, would hardly spare the Indian's

*Waldron. This gentleman and his family, on the night of 27th of June, 1689, were all massacred. 13 years before, Maj. Waldron had surprised by stratagem, about 200 Indians, who had at times been troublesome. Revenge remained in the breasts of the tribes above mentioned, till that fatal night. When this affair took place, the Major was 80 years old, yet, he made a gallant defence, at length overpowered by numbers, was taken and cut in pieces. In this affair fifty-two persons were killed and made captives. The plan of the Indians to enter the Major's garrison, was artful. Some squaws pretending illness, were permitted to lodge within, when all were asleep, they arose, unlocked the gates and the foes entered. Major Waldron lived in Dover, N. H. which is about ten miles N. W. of Portsmouth.

† Formerly Dover was so called.—*N. H. Gaz.*

life, while in examination, intending when he had done that he should be executed. But Capt. Huckings' wife, and another woman fell on their knees and begged for him, saying that he had been the means of saving their lives, and a great many more; and had helped several to opportunities to make their escape; and that never, since he came among them, had fought against the English, but being related to Hakins' wife, kept at the fort with them, he having been there two years; but his living was to the westward of Boston; so, upon their request, his life was spared. Next day the said Church ordered that all their corn should be destroyed, being a great quantity, saving a little for the two old squaws which he designed to leave at the fort, to give an account who he was and from whence he came; the rest being knocked on the head, except the aforementioned, for an example. He ordered them all to be buried. Having inquired where all their best beaver were, they said they were carried away to make a present to the Bay of Fundy Indiand, who were coming to their assistance.

Now being ready to draw off from thence, he called the two old squaws to him, and gave each of them a kettle and some biscuit, bidding them to tell the Indians when they came home, that he was known by the name of Capt. Church, and lived in the westerly part of Plymouth government, and that those Indians that came with him were formerly King Philip's men, and that he had met with them in Philip's war, and drawn them off from him, to fight for the English, against the said Philip and his associates, who then promised him to fight for the English as long as they

had one enemy left; and said, that they did not question but before Indian corn was ripe to have Philip's head, notwithstanding he had twice as many men as were in their country; and that they had killed and taken one thousand three hundred and odd of Philip's men, women and children, and Philip himself, with several other Sachems; and that they should tell Hakins and Worumbos, that if they had a mind to see their wives and children they should come to Wells' garrison, and that there they might hear of them, &c. Major Church having done, moved with all his forces down to Mequait, where the transports were, but in the way some of his soldiers threatened the Indian man prisoner very much, so that in a thick swamp he gave them the slip and got away, and when they all got on board the transports, the wind being fair, made the best of their way for Winter harbour. And the next morning before day, or as soon as the day appeared, they discovered some smokes rising towards Skaman's garrison. He immediately sent away a scout of 60 men, and followed presently with the whole body; the scout coming near a river, discovered the enemy to be on the other side of it. But three of the enemy were come over to the same side of the river which the scout was on. They ran hastily down to their canoe, one of which lay at each end of it, and the third stood up to paddle them over. The scout fired at them, and he that paddled fell down upon the canoe, and broke it in pieces, so that all three perished. The firing put the enemy to the rout, who left their canoes and provisions to our men. Old Doney, and one Thomas Baker, an Englishman, who was a pris-

oner among them, were up at the falls, and heard the guns, expected the other Indians had come to their assistance, so they came down the river in a canoe; but when they perceived that there were English as well as Indians, old Doney ran the canoe ashore, and ran over Baker's head and followed the rest, and then Baker came to us. He gave an account of the beaver hid at Pejepscot plain. Coming to the place where the plunder was, the Major sent a scout to Pejepscot fort, to see if they could make any discovery of the enemy's tracks, or could discover any coming up the river, who returned and said they saw nothing but our old tracks at the fort.

Now having got some plunder, one of the Captains said it was time to go home, and several others were of the same mind; the Major being much disturbed at the motion, expecting the enemy would come, in a very short time, where they might have a great advantage of them, &c. Notwithstanding all he could say or do, he was obliged to call a council, according to his instructions, wherein he was out-voted. The said Commander seeing he was put by of his intentions, proffered if sixty men would stay with him, he would not embark as yet; but all he could say or do could not prevail. Then they moved to the vessels and embarked. As they were going in the vessels, on the back side of Mayr-point, they discovered eight or nine canoes, who turned short about, and went up the river; being the same Indians that the Major expected, and would have waited for. The aforesaid Captain being much disturbed at what the Major had said to him, drew off from the fleet, and in the night ran aground. In the

morning, Anthony Bracket, having been advised and directed by the Indian that had made his escape from our forces, came down near where the aforesaid vessel lay aground, and got aboard, who proved a good pilot, and Captain for his country. The next day being very calm and misty, so that they were all day getting down from Mequait to Perpodack; and the masters of the vessels thinking it not safe putting out in the night, so late in the year, anchored there. The vessels being much crowded, the Major ordered that three companies should go on shore, and no more, himself with Capt. Converse went with them to order their lodging, and find houses convenient for them, viz. two barns and one house; so seeing them all settled and their watches out, the Major and Capt. Converse returned to go on board, and coming near where the boat was, it was pretty dark, they discovered some men, but did not know what or who they were. The Major ordered those that were with him all to clap down and cock, their guns. He called out and asked them who they were? They said Indians. He asked them whose men they were. They said, Capt. Southworth's. He asked them where they intended to lodge? They said, in those little huts that the enemy had made when they took that garrison. The Major told them they must not make any fires; for if they did, the enemy would be upon them before day. They laughed, and said, "our Major is afraid." Having given them their directions, he, with Capt. Converse, went on board the Mary sloop; designing to write home, and send away in the morning, the two sloops which had the small-pox on board, &c. But before day our In-

dians began to make fires, and sing and dance. The Major called to Capt. Southworth to go ashore and look after his men, for the enemy would be upon them by and by. He ordered the boat to be hauled up to carry him ashore, and called Capt. Converse to go with him. And just as the day began to appear, as the Major was getting into the boat to go ashore, the enemy fired upon our men. The Indians, notwithstanding that one Philip, an Indian of ours, who was out upon the watch, heard a man cough, and the sticks crack, and gave the rest an account, that he saw Indians; yet they would not believe; but said to him, "You are afraid;" his answer was, that they might see them come creeping. They laughed, and said, they were hogs. Ay, said he, and they will bite you by and by. So presently they did fire upon our men; but the morning being misty, their guns did not go off quick, so that our men had all time to fall down before their guns went off, and saved themselves from that volley, except one man, who was killed.

This sudden firing upon our Indian soldiers so surprised them, that they left their arms, but soon recovered them again, and got down the bank, which was but low. The Major, with all the forces on board, landed as fast as they could, the enemy firing smartly at them; however all got safe ashore. The enemy had a great advantage of our forces, who were between the sunrising and the enemy, so that if a man put up his head or hand they could see it, and would fire at it: However, some, with the Major, got up the bank behind stumps and rocks, to have the advantage of firing at the enemy; but when the sun was

risen the Major slipped down the bank again, where all the forces were ordered to observe his motion, viz. that he would give three shouts, and then all of them should run with him up the bank. So, when he had given the third shout, ran up the bank, and Capt. Converse with him, but when the said Converse perceived that the forces did not follow as commanded, called to the Major, and told him the forces did not follow, who, notwithstanding the enemy fired smartly at him, got safe down the bank again, and rallying the forces up the bank, soon put the enemy to flight. They followed them so close, that they took 13 canoes, and one lusty man, who had Joseph Ramsdel's scalp by his side, who was taken by two of our Indians, and having his deserts was himself scalped. This being a short and smart fight, some of our men were killed and several wounded. Some time after, an Englishman, who was prisoner among them, gave an account that our forces had killed and wounded several of the enemy, for they killed several prisoners according to custom, &c.

After this action was over our forces embarked for Piscataqua. The Major went to Wells, and removed the Captain there, and put in Capt. Andros, who had been with him and knew the conditions left with the two old squaws at Ameras-cogen, for Hakins and Worumbos to come there in fourteen days, if they had a mind to hear of their wives and children. They did soon after come with a flag of truce to said Wells' garrison, and had leave to come in; and more appearing came in, to the number of eight, without any terms, being all Chief Sachems; and were very glad to hear of the women and children, viz. Hakins and

Worumbos' wives and children; who all said three several times that they would never fight against the English any more, for the French made fools of them. They saying as they did, the said Andros let them go. Maj. Church having come to Piscataqua, and two of his transports having the small-pox on board, and several of his men having got great colds by their hard service, pretended they were going to have the small-pox, thinking by that means to be sent home speedily. The Major being willing to try them, went to the gentlemen there, and desired them to provide a house, for some of his men expected they should have the small-pox; who readily did, and told him, that the people belonging to it were just recovered of the small-pox, and had been all at meeting, &c. The Major returning to his Officers ordered them to draw out all their men that were going to have the small-pox, for he had provided an hospital for them. So they drew out 17 men, that had, as they said, all the symptoms of the small-pox; he ordered them all to follow him, and coming to the house, he asked them how they liked it? They said very well. Then he told them that the people in the said house had all had the small-pox, and were recovered; and that if they went in they must not come out till they all had it. Whereupon they all presently began to grow better, and to make excuses, except one man who desired to stay out till night, before he went in. The Major went to the gentlemen, told them, that one thing more would work a perfect cure upon his men; which was to let them go home. Which did work a cure upon all, except one, and he had not the small-pox. So he ordered the

plunder should be divided forthwith, and sent away all the Plymouth forces. But the gentlemen there desired him to stay, and they would be assisting to him in raising new forces, to the number of what was sent away; and that they would send to Boston for provisions; which they did, and sent Capt. Plaisted to the Governor and Council at Boston. And in the mean time the Major with those gentlemen went into all those parts and raised a sufficient number of men, both Officers and soldiers; who all met at the bank on the same day that Capt. Plaisted returned from Boston; whose return from the Boston gentlemen was, that the Canada expedition had drained them so that they could do no more. So that Maj. Church, notwithstanding he had been at considerable expenses in raising said forces to serve his King and country, was obliged to give them a treat and dismiss them. Taking his leave of them came home to Boston, in the Mary sloop, Mr. Alden master, and Capt. Converse with him, on a Saturday; and waiting upon the Governor and some of the men of Boston, they looked very strange upon them, which not only troubled them, but put them in some consternation what the matter should be, that after so much toil and hard service could not have so much as one pleasant word, nor any money in their pockets; for Maj. Church had but *eight pence* left, and Capt. Converse none, as he said afterwards. Maj. Church seeing two gentlemen which he knew had money, asked them to lend him *forty shillings*, telling them his necessity. Yet they refused. So being bare of money was obliged to lodge at Mr. Alden's three nights. The next Tuesday morning Capt. Converse came

to him, they not knowing each other's circumstances as yet, and said he would walk with him out of town. So coming near Pollard's at the south end, they had some discourse; thought that it was very hard that they should part with dry lips. Maj. Church told Capt. Converse that he had but *eight pence* left, and could not borrow any money to carry him home. And the said Converse said, that he had not *a penny* left, so they were obliged to part without going to Pollard's. The said Capt. Converse returned back into town, and the said Church went over to Roxbury. At the tavern he met with Stephen Braton, of Rhode-Island, a drover, who was glad to see him, and he as glad to see his neighbour. Whereupon Maj. Church called for an eight-penny tankard of drink, and let the said Braton know his circumstances, asked him whether he would lend him forty shillings? He answered, "*Yes, forty pounds*, if you want it." So he thanked him, and said, he would have but forty shillings, which he freely lent him. And presently after Mr. Church was told that his brother Caleb Church, of Watertown, was coming with a spare horse for him, having heard the night before that his brother was come in; by which means the said Maj. Church got home. And for all his travel and expenses in raising soldiers, and service done, never had but *fourteen pounds* of Plymouth gentlemen, and not *a penny* of Boston, notwithstanding he had worn out all his clothes, and run himself in debt, so that he was obliged to sell half a share of land in Tiverton, for about sixty pounds, which is now worth three hundred pounds more and above what he had.

Having not been at home long before he found out the reason why Boston gentlemen looked so disaffected on him; as you may see by the sequel of two letters Maj. Church sent to the gentlemen in the Eastward parts; which are as followeth.

“ Bristol, November 27, 1690.

“ WORTHY GENTLEMEN,

“ According to my promise when with you last, I waited upon the Governor at Boston on Saturday, Capt. Converse being with me. The Governor informed us that the Council were to meet on the Monday following in the afternoon, at which time we both there waited upon them, and gave them an account of the state of your country, and great necessities. They informed us, that their General Court was to convene the Wednesday following, at which time they would debate and consider of the matter. Myself being bound home, Capt. Converse was ordered to wait upon them, and bring you their resolves. I then took notice of the Council that they looked upon me with an ill aspect, not judging me worthy to receive thanks for the service I had done in your parts; nor as much as asked me whether I wanted money to bear my expences, or a horse to carry me home. But I was forced, for want of money, being far from friends, to go to Roxbury on foot; but meeting there with a Rhode-Island gentleman, acquainted him of my wants, who tendered me ten pounds, whereby I was accommodated for my journey home. And being come home, I went to the minister of our town, and gave him an account of the transactions of the great affairs I had been employed in, and the great favour God was pleas-

ed to show me, and my company, and the benefit I hoped would accrue to yourselves; and desired him to return publick thanks; but at the same interim of time a paper was presented unto him from a Court of Plymouth, which was holden before I came home, to command a day of humiliation through the whole government, because of the frown of God upon those forces sent under my command, and the ill success we had, for want of good conduct. All which was caused by those false reports which were posted home by those ill affected Officers that were under my conduct; especially one, which yourselves very well know, who had the advantage of being at home a week before me, being sick of action, and wanting the advantage to be at the bank, which he was every day mindful of more than fighting the enemy in their own country.

“After I came home, being informed of a General Court at Plymouth, and not forgetting my faithful promise to you, and the duty I lay under, I went thither. Where waiting upon them, I gave them an account of my Eastward transactions, and made them sensible of the falseness of those reports that were posted to them by ill hands, and found some small favourable acceptance with them; so far that I was credited. I presented your thanks to them for their seasonably sending those forces to relieve you, of the expense and charge they had been at; which thanks they gratefully received; and said a few lines from yourselves would have been well accepted. I then gave them an account of your great necessities, by being imprisoned in your garrisons, and the great mischief that would attend the public con-

cerns of this country by the loss of their Majesties' interest, and so much good estate of yours and your neighbours, as doubtless would be, on the deserting of your town. I then moved for a free contribution for your relief, which they with great forwardness promoted; and then ordered a day of thanksgiving through the government upon the twenty-sixth day of this instant. Upon which day a collection was ordered for your relief, and the places near adjacent, in every respective town in this government; and for the good management of it that it might be safely conveyed unto your hands, they appointed a man in each county for the receipt and conveyance thereof. The persons nominated and accepted thereof, are, for the county of Plymouth, Capt. Nathaniel Thomas, of Marshfield; for the county of Barnstable, Capt. Joseph Lathrop, of Barnstable; and for the county of Bristol, myself. Which when gathered, you will have a particular account from each person, with orders of advice how it may be disposed of for your best advantage, with a copy of the Court's order. The gentlemen the effects are to be sent to, are yourselves that I now write to, viz. John Wheelwright, Esq. Capt. John Littlefield, and Lieut. Joseph Story. I deferred writing, expecting every day to hear from you concerning the Indians, coming to treat about their prisoners that we had taken. The discourse I made with them at Ameras-cogen, I knew would have that effect as to bring them to a treaty, which I would have thought myself happy to have been improved in, knowing that it would have made much for your good. But no intelligence coming to me from any gentlemen in your parts, and hear-

ing nothing but by accident, and that in the latter end of the week by some of ours coming from Boston, informed me that the Indians had come into your town to seek for peace; and that there was to be a treaty speedily; but the time they knew not. I took my horse, and upon the Monday set out for Boston, expecting the treaty had been at your town, as rationally it should; but on Tuesday night coming to Boston, I there met with Captain Elisha Andros, who informed me that the place of treaty was Sacaty-hock,* and that Capt. Alden was gone from Boston four days before I came there, and had carried all the Indian prisoners with him; and that all the forces were drawn away out of your parts, except twelve men in your town, and twelve in Piscataqua, which news did so amuse me, to see, that wisdom was taken from the wise, and such imprudence in their actions, as to be deluded by Indians. To have a treaty so far from any English town, and to draw off the forces upon what pretence soever, to me looks very ill. My fear is that they will deliver those we have taken, which, if kept, would have been greatly for your security, in keeping them in awe, and preventing them from doing any hostile action or mischief. I knowing that the English being abroad are very earnest to go home, and the Indians are very tedious in their discourses; and by that means will have an advantage to have their captives at very low rates, to your great damage. Gentlemen, as to Rhode-Island, I have not concerned myself as to any relief for you, having nothing in writing to show to them; yet,

* Sagadehock. On the south side of Kennebeck river, twenty miles S. W. of Pemmaquid.—HUBBARD.

upon discourse with some gentlemen there, they have signified a great forwardness to promote such a thing. I lying under great reflections from some of yours in the Eastward parts, that I was a very covetuous person, and came there to enrich myself, and that I killed their cattle and barrelled them up, and sent them to Boston, and sold them for plunder, and made money to put into my own pocket; and the owners of them being poor people begged for the hides and tallow, with tears in their eyes; and that I was so cruel as to deny them! which makes me judge myself incapable to serve you in that matter; yet, I do assure you, that the people are very charitable at the island, and forward in such good actions; and therefore, I advise you to desire some good substantial person to take the management of it, and write to the government there, which I know will not be labour lost. As for what I am accused of, you all can witness to the contrary, and I should take it very kindly from you to do me that just right, as to vindicate my reputation; for the wise man says, "A good name is as precious ointment." When I hear of the effects of the treaty, and have an account of this contribution, I intend again to write to you, being very desirous, and should think myself very happy, to be favoured with a few lines from yourself, or any gentleman in the Eastward parts. Thus leaving you to the protection and guidance of the great God of heaven and earth, who is able to protect and supply you in your great difficulties, and to give you deliverance in his own due time. I remain, Gentlemen, your most assured friend, to serve you to my utmost power.

"BENJAMIN CHURCH."

“*Postscript.* Esquire Wheelwright, Sir, I entreat you, after your perusal of these lines, to communicate the same to Capt. John Littlefield, Lieut. Joseph Story, and to any other gentlemen, as in your judgement you see fit. With the tenders of my respects to you, &c. and to Maj. Vaughan, and his good Lady and family. To Capt. Fryer and good Mrs. Fryer, with hearty thanks for their kindness whilst in those parts, and good entertainment from them. My kind respects to Maj. Frost, Capt. Walton, Lieut. Honeywel, and my very good friend little Lieut. Plaisted; with due respects to all gentlemen, my friends in the Eastward parts, as if particularly named. Farewell, B. C.”

TO MAJOR PIKE.

“*Bristol, November 27, 1690.*”

“HONOURED SIR,

“THESE come to wait upon you, to bring the tenders of my hearty service to yourself and lady, with due acknowledgment of thankfulness for all the kindness and favour I received from you in the Eastward parts, when with you. Since I came from those parts, I am informed, by Capt. Andros, that yourself and most all the forces are drawn off from the Eastward parts. I admire at it, considering that they had so low esteem of what was done, that they can apprehend the Eastward parts so safe before the enemy were brought into better subjection. I was in hopes, when I came from thence, that those who were so desirous to have my room would have been very brisk in my absence, to have gotten themselves some honour, which they very much gaped after, or else

they would not have spread so many false reports to defame me, which had I have known, before I left the bank, I would have had satisfaction of them. Your honour was pleased to give me some small account, before I left the bank, of some things that were ill represented to you, concerning the Eastward expedition, which being rolled home like a snow-ball through both colonies, were got to such a bigness that it overshadowed me from the influence of all comfort, or good acceptance among my friends in my journey homeward. But through God's goodness I am come home, finding all well, and myself in good health, hoping that those reports will do me the favour, to quit me from all other public actions; that so I may the more peaceably and quietly wait upon God, and be a comfort to my own family, in this dark time of trouble; being as one hid, till his indignation is overpast. I shall take it as a great favour to hear of your welfare; subscribing myself, as I am, Sir,

“Your most assured friend and servant,

“**BENJAMIN CHURCH.**”

Maj. Church did receive, after this, answers to his letters, but hath lost them, except it be a letter from several of those gentlemen in those parts, in June following, which is as followeth.

“*Portsmouth, June 29, 1691.*”

“**MAJ. BENJ. CHURCH, SIR,**

“YOUR former readiness to expose yourself in the service of the country, against the common enemy; and particularly the late obligations you have laid upon us, in these Eastern parts, leaves us under a deep and grateful sense for your fervour therein. And for as much as you were pleas-

ed, when last here, to signify your ready inclination to further service of this kind, if occasion should call for it: We therefore presume confidently to promise ourselves compliance accordingly; and have sent this messenger on purpose to you, to let you know, that notwithstanding the late overture of peace, the enemy have proved themselves as perfidious as ever, and are almost daily killing and destroying, upon all our frontiers. The Governor and Council of the Massachusetts have been pleased to order the raising of 150 men, to be forthwith despatched into those parts; and, as we understand, have written to your Governor and Council of Plymouth for further assistance, which we pray you to promote, hoping if you can obtain about 200 men, English and Indians, to visit them at some of their head quarters, up Kennebeck river, or elsewhere, which, for want of necessaries, was omitted last year, it may be of great advantage to us. We offer nothing of advice as to what methods are most proper to be taken in this affair; your acquaintance with our circumstances, as well as the enemy's, will direct you therein. We leave the conduct thereof to your own discretion; but that the want of provision, &c. may be no remora to your motion, you may please to know Mr. Geafford, one of our principal inhabitants, now residing in Boston, hath promised to take care to supply, to the value of two or three hundred pounds, if occasion may require. We pray a few lines by the bearer to give us a prospect of what we may expect for our further encouragement; and remain,

“ Sir, your obliged friends and servants,
“ Will. Vaughan, Richard Martyn, Nathaniel

Fryer, William Fernald, Francis Hooke, Charles Frost, John Wincol, Robert Elliott.”

A true copy of the original letter ; which letter was presented to me by Captain Hatch, who came express.

Major Church sent them his answer ; the contents whereof were, that he had gone often enough for nothing ; and especially to be ill treated with scandals and false reports, when last out, which he could not forget. And signified to them, that doubtless some among them thought they could do without him, &c. And to make short of it, did go out, and meeting with the enemy at Maquait, were most shamefully beaten, as I have been informed.

THIRD EXPEDITION EAST.

THIS was in the year 1692. In the time of Sir William Phip’s* government, Maj. Walley

* Governor Phips “ was a New-England man,” born at Pemaquid, in 1650 ; being, as we are told, a younger son among twenty-six children, of whom twenty-one were sons. By profession he was a shipcarpenter. That business he soon left, and being an industrious and persevering man, soon acquired an education competent for the discharge of common affairs, and then went to sea. On hearing of a Spanish vessel’s being wrecked near the Bahamas, proceeded to England, and gave so flattering an account of its value, and the practicability of obtaining it, that he was despatched in one of the King’s ships in search of it ; but returned without success. Soon after, the Duke of Albemarl sent him with two ships on the same business, and he succeeded in bringing from the wreck three hundred thousand pounds, of which he received for his share sixteen thousand. The King conferred on him the order of knight-hood, and afterward appointed him Captain General, and

being at Boston, was requested by his Excellency to treat with Maj. Church about going East with him. Maj. Walley coming home, did as desired; and to encourage the said Maj. Church, told him, that now was the time to have recompence for his former great expenses; saying also, that the country could not give him less than two or three hundred pounds. So upon his Excellency's request, Maj. Church went down to Boston, and waited upon him; who said he was glad to see him, &c. And after some discourse told the said Church that he was going East himself, and that he should be his second, and in his absence command all the forces. And being requested by his Excellency to raise what volunteers he could, of his own soldiers in the county of Bristol, both English and Indians, received his commission: which is as followeth.

Sir WILLIAM PHIPS, Knight, Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New-England:

To BENJAMIN CHURCH, Gent. Greeting.

“Reposing special trust and confidence in your loyalty, courage, and good conduct, I do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Major

Governor in Chief of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. He arrived in New-England in 1690. Gov. Hutchinson says, “he had the character of an honest man, but his temper was hasty, and being a stout man, would use his cane and fist after he was Governor.” We have no need of adding what Douglass says of Gov. Phips, that “he was a weak governor,” &c. when we are told that he joined the accusers of the *witch age* of Salem. He was sent for to answer to some complaints in England, but was cleared; and when about to return to his government, fell sick and died, 1694.

of the several companies of militia, detached for their Majesties service against their French and Indian enemies. You are therefore authorized and required in their Majesties' names, to discharge the duty of a Major, by leading, ordering, and exercising the said several companies in arms, both inferior officers and soldiers, keeping them in good order and discipline, commanding them to obey you as their Major; and diligently to intend the said service, for the prosecuting, pursuing, killing and destroying of the said common enemy. And yourself to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from myself, according to the rules and discipline of war, pursuant to the trust reposed in you for their Majesties' service. Given under my hand and seal at Boston, the twenty-fifth day of July, 1692. In the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady William and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

By His Excellency's command,

ISAAC ADDINGTON,* Sec.

* Mr. Addington was one of those, who took a very active part in opposition to the tyrannical measures of Sir Edmund Andros. On the accession of William and Mary he was appointed Secretary, which office he discharged with integrity and approbation for some time. It seems that in those days as well as at the present, *office seekers* were not entirely unknown, but "the emoluments of that office were small, compared with the duty, and so he was in less danger of a competitor." He belonged to the council for many years, and was respected as a justice of the peace for wisdom and industry. He died in 1714.

Returning home to the county aforesaid, he soon raised a sufficient number of volunteers, both English and Indians, and officers suitable to command them, and marched them down to Boston. But there was one thing I would just mention, which was, that Major Church being short of money, was forced to borrow six pounds in money of Lieut. Woodman, in Little-Compton, to distribute by a shilling, and a bit at a time to the Indian soldiers; who, without such allurements, would not have marched to Boston. This money Maj. Church put into the hands of Mr. William Fobes, who was going out their commissary in that service, who was ordered to keep a just account of what each Indian had, so that it might be deducted out of his wages at their return home. Coming to Boston, his Excellency having got things in readiness, they embarked on board their transports, his Excellency going in person with them, being bound to Pemequid. In their way they stopped at Casco, and buried the bones of the dead people there, and took off the great guns that were there; then went to Pemequid. Coming there his Excellency asked Maj. Church to go ashore and give his judgment about erecting a fort there. He answered, that his genius did not incline that way, for he never had any value for them, being only nests for destructions. His Excellency said he had a special order from their Majesties' King William and Queen Mary, to erect a fort there: then they went ashore and spent some time in the projection thereof. His Excellency told Maj. Church that he might take all the forces except one company to stay with him, and work about the fort; the Major answer-

ed, that if his Excellency pleased he might keep two companies with him, and he would go with the rest to Penobscot, and places adjacent; which his Excellency did, and gave Maj. Church his orders, which are as followeth.

By His Excellency Sir WILLIAM PHIPS, Knight, Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over their Majesties' Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, &c.
Instructions for Maj. Benjamin Church.

“Whereas you are Major, and so chief officer of a body of men detached out of the militia, appointed for an expedition against the French and Indian enemies; you are duly to observe the following instructions:

“*Imprimis*, You are to take care that the worship of God be duly, and constantly maintained and kept up among you; and to suffer no swearing, cursing, or other profanation of the holy name of God; and, as much as in you lies, to deter and hinder all other vices among your soldiers.

“2dly, You are to proceed with the soldiers under your command, to Penobscot, and, with what privacy and undiscoverable methods you can, there to land your men, and take the best measures to surprise the enemy.

“3dly, You are by killing, destroying, and all other means possible, to endeavour the destruction of the enemy, in pursuance whereof, being satisfied of your courage and conduct, I leave the same to your discretion.

“4thly, You are to endeavour the taking what captives you can, either men, women, or children, and the same safely to keep and convey them unto me.

“ 5thly, Since it is not possible to judge how affairs may be circumstanced with you there, I shall therefore not limit your return, but leave it to your prudence, only that you make no longer stay than you can improve for advantage against the enemy, or may reasonably hope for the same.

“ 6thly, You are also to take care and be very industrious by all possible means to find out and destroy all the enemy’s corn, and other provisions in all places where you can come at the same.

“ 7thly, You are to return from Penobscot and those Eastern parts, to make all despatch hence for Kennebeck river, and the places adjacent, and there prosecute all advantages against the enemy as aforesaid.

8thly, If any soldier, officer, or other shall be disobedient to you as their Commander in Chief, or other superior officer, or make, or cause any mutiny, commit other offences or disorders, you shall call a council of war among your officers, and having tried him or them so offending, inflict such punishment as the merit of the offence requires, death only excepted, which, if any shall deserve, you are to secure the person, and signify the crime unto me by the first opportunity.

“ Given under my hand, this 11th day of August, 1692. WILLIAM PHIPS.”

Then the Major and his forces embarked, and made the best of their way to Penobscot. Coming to an island in those parts in the evening, he landed his forces at one end of the said island; then he took part of his forces, and moved toward day to the other end of the said island, where they found two Frenchmen, and their families, one or

both of whom had Indian women for their wives, and had children by them. The Major presently examining the Frenchmen, asked where the Indians were? They told him, that there were a great company of them upon an island just by; and showing him the island, presently discovered several of them. Major Church and his forces still keeping undiscovered asked the Frenchmen where their passing place was? which they readily showed them; so presently they placed an ambuscade to take any that should come over. Then sent orders for all the rest of the forces to come; sending them an account of what he had seen and met with; strictly charging them to keep themselves undiscovered by the enemy. The ambuscade did not lie long before an Indian man and woman came over in a canoe, to the place for landing, where the ambuscade was laid, who hauled up their canoe, and came right into the hands of our ambuscade, who so suddenly surprised them that they could not give any notice to the others from whence they came. The Major ordering that none of his should offer to meddle with the canoe, lest they should be discovered, hoping to take the most of them if his forces came as ordered, he expecting them to come as directed; but, the first news he had of them was, That they were all coming, though not privately, as ordered; but the vessels fair in sight of the enemy, which soon put them all to flight, and our forces not having boats suitable to pursue them, they got all away in their canoes, and which caused Major Church to say, he would never go out again without a sufficient number of whale-boats which, for want of, was the ruin of that action. Then Ma-

Major Church, according to his instructions, ranged all those parts, to find all their corn, and carried aboard their vessels what he thought convenient, and destroyed the rest. Also finding considerable quantities of plunder, viz. beaver, moose-skins, &c. Having done what service they could in those parts, he returned back to his Excellency at Pemequid; where being come, staid not long, they being short of bread. His Excellency intended going home for Boston, for more provisions; but before going, went with Major Church and his forces to Kennebeck river, and coming there, gave him further orders, which are as followeth.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

“ TO MAJOR BENJAMIN CHURCH,

“ YOU having already received former instructions, are now further to proceed with the soldiers under your command for Kennebeck River, and the places adjacent, and use your utmost endeavours to kill, destroy, and take captive the French and Indian enemies wheresoever you shall find any of them; and at your return to Pemequid, which you are to do as soon as you can conveniently; after your best endeavour done against the enemy, and having destroyed their corn and other provisions, you are to stay with all your soldiers and officers, and set them at work on the fort, and make what despatch you can in that business, staying there until my further order.

WILLIAM PHIPS.”

Then his Excellency taking leave, went for Boston, and soon after Major Church and his forces had a smart fight with the enemy in Kennebeck river. They pursued them so hard that they left their canoes, and ran up into the woods; and still pursued them up to their fort at Taconock, which the enemy perceiving, they set fire to their houses in the fort, and ran away by the light of them, and when Major Church came to the said fort, he found about half their houses standing, and the rest burnt; also found great quantities of corn, put up into Indian cribs, which he and his forces destroyed, as ordered.

Having done what service he could in those parts, returned to Pemequid,* and there employed his forces according to his instructions. Being out of bread, his Excellency not coming, Maj. Church was obliged to borrow bread of the Captain of the man of war that was then there, for all the forces under his command. At length his Excellency came, but brought very little bread more than would pay what was borrowed of the man of war; so that in a short time after Maj. Church with his forces, returned home to Boston, and had their wages for their good service done. Only one thing by the way I will just mention, that is, about the six pounds Maj. Church borrowed as afore-mentioned, and put into the hands of Mr. Fobes, who distributed the said money, all but thirty shillings, to the Indian soldiers, as directed, which was deducted out of their wages, and the country had credit for the same; and the said Fobes kept the thirty shillings to himself,

* The most northerly limit of New-England.

which was deducted out of his wages. Whereupon Maj. Walley and Mr. Fobes had some words. In short, Maj. Church was obliged to expend about six pounds of his own money in marching down the forces both English and Indians, to Boston, having no drink allowed them upon the road. So that instead of Maj. Church's having the allowances afore-mentioned by Maj. Walley, he was out of pocket about twelve pounds, over and above what he had; all which had not been, had not his Excellency been gone out of the country.

FOURTH EXPEDITION EAST.

IN 1696 Maj. Church being at Boston, and belonging to the House of Representatives, several gentlemen requesting him to go East again, the General Court having made acts of encouragement, &c. He told them, if they would provide whale-boats, and other necessaries convenient, he would. Being also requested by the General Court, he proceeded to raise volunteers, and made it his whole buisness, riding both East and West in our province and Connecticut, at great charges and expenses. And in about a month's time he raised a sufficient number out of those parts, and marched them down to Boston, where he had the promise that every thing should be ready in three weeks or a month's time, but was obliged to stay considerably longer. Being now at Boston, he received his commission and instructions; which are as followeth.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON,* Esq. Lieutenant Governor, and Commander in Chief, in and over his Majesty's province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New-England.

To Maj. **BENJAMIN CHURCH,** *Greeting.*

WHEREAS there are several companies raised consisting of Englishmen and Indians, for his Majesty's service, to go forth upon the encouragement given by the Great and General Court, or Assembly of this his Majesty's province, convened at Boston, the 27th of May, 1696, to prosecute the French and Indian enemy, &c.; and you having offered yourself to take the command and conduct of the said several companies; by virtue therefore of the power and authority in and by his Majesty's royal commission to me granted, reposing special trust and confidence in your loyalty, prudence, courage and good conduct; I do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Major of the said several companies, both Englishmen and Indians, raised for his Majesty's service upon the encouragement aforesaid. You are therefore carefully and diligently to perform the duty of your place, by leading, ordering, and exercising the said several companies in arms, both inferior Officers and soldiers, keeping them in good order and discipline, commanding them to obey you as their Major. And yourself diligently to intend his Majesty's service for the prose-

* Mr. Stoughton was born in Dorchester, 1632; graduated at Harvard College, 1650; was an "excellent" preacher. And being recommended to William and Mary by Dr. Mather, was appointed Lieutenant Governor. He believed in witchcraft, and was among the oppressors of the accused in the witch age of Salem. He died a bachelor, 1702.

cuting, pursuing, taking, killing or destroying the said enemy by sea or land; and to observe all such orders and instructions as you shall from time to time receive from myself, or Commander in Chief for the time being, according to the rules and discipline of war, pursuant to the trust reposed in you. Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Boston, the third day of August, 1696, in the eighth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord William the Third, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

By command of the Lieut. Governor, &c.

ISAAC ADDINGTON, *Sec'ry.*

Province of the Massachusetts-Bay.

By the Right Honorable the Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief.

Instructions for Maj. Benjamin Church, Commander of the forces raised for his Majesty's service, against the French and Indian enemy and rebels.

PURSUANT to the commission given you, you are to embark the forces now furnished and equipped for his Majesty's service on the present expedition, to the Eastern parts of this province, and with them, and such others as shall offer themselves to go forth on the said service, to sail unto Piscataqua, to join those lately despatched thither for the same expedition, to await your coming. And with all care and diligence to improve the vessels, boats and men under your command, in

search for, prosecution and pursuit of the said enemy, at such places where you may be informed of their abode or resort, or where you may probably expect to find, or meet with them, and take all advantages against them which Providence shall favour you with.

You are not to enlist or accept any soldiers that are already in his Majesty's pay, and posted at any town or garrison within this province, without special order from myself.

You are to require and give strict orders that the duties of religion be attended on board the several vessels, and in the several companies under your command, by daily prayers unto God, and reading his holy word, and observance of the Lord's Day, to the utmost you can.

You are to see that your soldiers have their due allowance of provisions and other necessaries, and that the sick and wounded be accommodated in the best manner your circumstances will admit. And that good order and command may be kept up and maintained in the several companies, and all disorders, drunkenness, profane cursing, swearing, disobedience to Officers, mutinies, omissions or neglect of duty, be duly punished according to the laws martial. And you are to require the Captain or chief Officer of each company, with the clerk of the same, to keep an exact journal of all their proceedings from time to time.

In case any of the Indian enemy and rebels offer to submit themselves, you are to receive them only at discretion; but if you think fit to improve any of them, or any others which you may happen to take prisoners, you may encourage them

to be faithful by the promise of their lives, which shall be granted upon approbation of their fidelity.

You are carefully to look after the Indians which you have out of the prison, so that they may not have opportunity to escape, but otherwise improve them to what advantage you can, and return them back again to this place.

You are to advise, as you can have occasion, with Capt. John Gorham, who accompanies you in this expedition, and is to take your command in case of your death. A copy of these instructions you are to leave with him, and to give me an account from time to time of your proceedings.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

Boston, August 12, 1696.

In the time Major Church lay at Boston, the news came of Pemequid fort's being taken. It came by a shallop, that brought some prisoners to Boston, who gave an account also that there was a French ship at Mount Desart, who had taken a ship of ours; so the discourse was, that they would send the man of war, with other forces to take the said French ship, and retake ours. But in the mean time, Major Church and his forces being ready, embarked, and on the 15th day of August, set sail for Piscataqua, where more men were to join them; but before they left Boston, Major Church discoursed with the Captain of the man of war, who promised him, if he went to Mount Desart, in pursuit of the French ship, that he would call for him and his forces at Piscataqua, expecting that the French and Indians might not be far from the said French ship, so that he might

have an opportunity to fight them while he was engaged with the French ship. Soon after the forces arrived at Piscataqua, the Major sent his Indian soldiers to Col. Gidney, at York, to be assisting for the defence of those places, who gave them a good commend for their ready and willing services done, in scouting and the like. Lying at Piscataqua with the rest of our forces near a week, waiting for more forces who were to join them, to make up their complement; in all which time heard never a word of the man of war. On the 22d of August they all embarked for Piscataqua, and when they came against York, the Major went ashore, sending Capt. Gorham with some forces in two brigantines and a sloop, to Winter-Harbour, ordering him to send out scouts, to see if they could make any discovery of the enemy, and to wait there till he came to them. Major Church coming to York, Col. Gidney told him his opinion was, that the enemy were drawn off from those parts, for that the scouts could not discover any of them, nor their tracks. So having done his business there, went with what forces he had there, to Winter-Harbour, where he had the same account from Capt. Gorham, that they had not discovered any of the enemy, nor any new tracks; so, concluding they were gone from those parts, towards Penobscot, the Major ordered all the vessels to come to sail and make the best of their way to Monhegin, which being not far from Penobscot, where the main body of our enemies living was. Being in great hopes to come up with the army of French and Indians, before they had scattered and were gone past Penobscot, or Mount Desart, which is the chief place of their departure

from each other after such actions. Having a fair wind, made the best of their way, and early next morning they got into Monhegin, and there lay all day sitting their boats, and other necessaries to embark in the night at Mussel-neck with their boats; lying there all day to keep undiscovered from the enemy. At night the Major ordered the vessels all to come to sail, and carry the forces over the bay, near Penobscot; but having little wind, he ordered all the soldiers to embark on board the boats with eight day's provision, and sent the vessels back to Monhegin, that they might not be discovered by the enemy; giving them orders when and where they should come to him. The forces being all ready in their boats, rowing very hard, got ashore at a point near Penobscot, just as the day broke, and hid their boats, and keeping a good look out by sea, and sent scouts out by land; but could not discover either canoes or Indians; what tracks and fire places they saw were judged to be seven or eight days before they came. As soon as night came, that they might go undiscovered, got into their boats and went by Mussel-neck, and so among Penobscot Islands, looking very sharp as they went for fires on the shore, and for canoes, but found neither. Getting up to Mathebestucks hills, day coming on, landed, and hid their boats; looking out for the enemy, as the day before, but to little purpose. Night coming on, took to their oars again, working very hard, turned the night into day, which made several of their new soldiers grumble; but telling them they hoped to come up quickly with the enemy, put new life into them; and by day light they got into the mouth of the river, where landing, found

many rendezvous and fire places where the Indians had been; but at the same space of time as before mentioned. No canoes passed up the river that day. Their pilot, Joseph York, informed the Major that 50 or 60 miles up that river, at the great falls, the enemy had a great rendezvous, and planted a great quantity of corn, when he was a prisoner with them four years ago, and that he was very well acquainted there; this gave great encouragement to have had some considerable advantage of the enemy at that place; so using their utmost endeavours to get up there undiscovered, and coming there, found no enemy, nor corn planted, they having deserted the place. And ranging about the falls on both sides of the river, leaving men on the east side of the said river, and the boats just below the falls, with a good guard to secure them, and to take the enemy if they came down the river in their canoes. The west side being the place where the enemy lived and best to travel on, they resolved to range as privately as they could. A mile or two above the falls they discovered a birch canoe coming down with two Indians in it; the Major sent word immediately back to those at the Falls, to lie very close and let them pass down the falls, and to take them alive, that he might have intelligence where the enemy were, which would have been a great advantage to them; but a foolish soldier seeing them passing by him, shot at them, contrary to orders, which prevented them going into the ambuscade that was laid for them; whereupon, several more of our men being near, shot at them; so that one of them could not stand when he got ashore, but crept away into the brush; the other stepped out

out of the canoe with his paddle in his hand, and ran about a rod, and then threw down his paddle, and turned back and took up his gun, and so escaped. One of our Indians swam over the river and fetched the canoe, wherein was a considerable quantity of blood on the seats, that the Indians sat on; the canoe having several holes shot in her. They stopped the holes, and then Capt. Bracket with an Indian soldier, went over the river, who tracked them by the blood about half a mile, found his gun, took it up, and seeing the blood no further, concluded that he stopped his blood, and so got away. In the mean time another canoe with three men were coming down the river, were fired at by some of our forces, ran ashore, and left two of their guns in the canoe, which were taken, and also a letter from a Priest to Casteen, that gave him an account of the French and Indians returning over the lake to Mount Royal, and of their little service done upon the Maquas Indians westward, only demolishing one fort, and cutting down some corn, &c. He desired to hear of the proceedings of Deborahuel, and the French man of war; and informed him that there were several canoes coming with workmen from Quebec, to St. Johns, where since we concluded it was to build a fort at the river's mouth, where the great guns were taken, &c. It being just night, the officers were called together to advise, and their pilot, York, informed them of a fort up that river, and that it was built on a little island in that river; and that there was no getting to it but in canoes, or on the ice in the winter time. This, with the certain knowledge that we were discovered by the enemy that escaped out of the upper canoe, con-

cluded it not proper, at that time, to proceed any further up, and that there was no getting any further with our boats; and the enemy being alarmed would certainly fly from them, and do as they did four years ago at their fort at **Taconock**; having fought them in **Kennebeck** river, and pursued them about thirty miles to **Taconock**; for they then set their fort on fire, and run away by the light of it, ours not being able to come up with them at that place. **Maj. Church** then encouraging his soldiers told them, he hoped they should meet with part of the enemy in **Penobscot-Bay** or at **Mount-Desart**, where the **French** ships were. So notwithstanding they had been rowing several nights before, with much toil, besides were short of provisions, they cheerfully embarked on board their boats, and went down the river, both with and against the tide; and next morning came to their vessels, where the **Major** had ordered them to meet him, who could give him no intelligence of any enemy. Where being come they refreshed themselves; meeting then with another disappointment, for their pilot **York** not being acquainted any further, they began to lament the loss of one **Robert Cawley**, on whom they chiefly depended for all the service to be done now eastward; he having been taken away from them the night before they set sail from **Boston**, and put on board the man of war, unknown to **Maj. Church**; notwithstanding he had been at the charge and trouble of procuring him. Then the **Major** was obliged to one **Bord**, procured by **Mr. William Alden**, who being acquainted in those parts, to leave his vessel, and go with him in the boats, which he readily complied with, and so went to **Nasket-**

point; where being informed was a likely place to meet with the enemy. Coming there they found several houses and small fields of corn, the fires having been out several days, and no new tracks. But upon Penobscot island they found several Indian houses, corn, and turnips, though the enemy still being all gone, as before-mentioned. Then they divided and sent their boats some one way, and some another, thinking that if any straggling Indians, or Casteen himself, should be thereabout, they might find them, but it proved all in vain. Himself and several boats went to Mount-Desart, to see if the French ships were gone, and whether any of the enemy might be there, but to no purpose; the ships being gone, and the enemy also. They being now got several leagues to the westward of their vessels; and seeing that the way was clear for their vessels to pass: and all their extreme rowing and travelling by land and water, night and day, to be all in vain. The enemy having left those parts, as they judged, about eight or ten days before. And then returning to their vessels, the commander calling all his officers together, to consult and resolve what to do, concluded that the enemy, by some means or other, had received some intelligence of their being come out against them; and that they were in no necessity to come down to the sea side as yet, moose and beaver now being fat. They then agreed to go so far East, and employ themselves, that the enemy belonging to those parts, might think they were gone home. Having some discourse about going over to St. Johns; but the masters of the vessels said, they had as good carry them to Old France, &c. which put off that design; they con-

cluding that the French ships were there. Then the Major moved for going over the bay, towards Lahane, and towards the Gut of Cancer, where was another considerable fort of Indians, who often came to the assistance of our enemy, the barbarous Indians; saying, that by the time they should return again, the enemy belonging to these parts would come down again, expecting that we were gone home. But in short, could not prevail with the masters of the open sloops to venture across the bay; who said it was very dangerous so late in the year, and as much as their lives were worth. Then they resolved to go to Senactaca, wherein there was a ready compliance, but the want of their pilot, Robert Crawley, was a great damage to them, who knew all those parts. However, Mr. John Alden, master of the brigantine Endeavour, piloted them up the bay to Senactaca. And coming to Grindstone-point, being not far from Senactaca; then came to with all the vessels, and early next morning came to sail, and about sunrise got into town. But it being so late before we landed, that the enemy, most of them, made their escape, and as it happened, landed where the French and Indians had some time before killed Lieut. John Paine, and several of Capt. Smithson's men, that were with said Paine. They seeing our forces coming took the opportunity, fired several guns, and so ran all into the woods, carried all, or most part of their goods with them. One Jarman Bridgway came running towards our forces, with a gun in one hand, and his cartridge-box in the other, calling to our forces to stop, that he might speak with them; but Maj. Church thinking it was that they might have some advan-

tage, ordered them to run on; when the said Bridgway saw they would not stop, turned and ran, but the Major called unto him, and bid him stop, or he should be shot down. Some of our forces being near to the said Bridgway, said it was the General that called to him. He, hearing that, stopped and turned about, laid down his gun, and stood till the Major came up to him. His desire was, that the commander would make haste with him to his house, lest the savages should kill his father and mother, who were upward of four-score years of age, and could not go. The Major asked the said Bridgway whether there were any Indians among them, and where they lived? He shook his head and said, he dared not tell, for if he did, they would take an opportunity and kill him and his; so all that could be got out of him was, that they were run into the woods with the rest. Then orders were given to pursue the enemy, and to kill what Indians they could find, and take the French alive, and give them quarter if they asked it. Our forces soon took three Frenchmen, who, upon examination, said, that the Indians were all run into the woods. The French fired several guns at our forces, and ours at them; but they being better acquainted with the woods than ours, got away. The Major took the above-said Jarman Bridgway for a pilot, and with some of his forces went over a river, to several of their houses, but the people were gone and carried their goods with them. In ranging the woods they found several Indian houses, their fires being just out, but no Indians. Spending that day in ranging to and fro, found considerable of their goods, and but few people; at night the Major

wrote a letter, and sent out two French prisoners, wherein was signified, that if they would come in, they should have good quarters. The next day several came in, which did belong to that part of the town where our forces first landed, who had encouragements given them by our Commander, that if they would assist him in taking those Indians which belonged to those parts, they should have their goods returned to them again, and their estates should not be damnified; this they refused. Then the Major and his forces pursued their design, and went further ranging their country, found several more houses, but the people fled, and carried what they had away; but in a creek found a prize bark, that was brought in there by a French privateer. In ranging the woods they took some prisoners, who upon examination gave our Commander an account, that there were some Indians upon a neck of land, towards Menes; so a party of men was sent into those woods, and in their ranging about the said neck found some plunder, and a considerable quantity of whortleberries, both green and dry, which were gathered by the Indians, and had like to have taken two Indians, who, by the help of a birch canoe, got over the river, and made their escape. Also they found two barrels of powder, and near half a bushel of bullets; the French denying them to be theirs, said they were the savages', but surely it might be a supply for our enemies. Also they took from Jarman Bridgway several barrels of powder, with bullets, shot, spears and knives, and other supplies to relieve our enemies; he owning that he had been a trading with those Indians along Cape-Sable shore, with Peter Assnow, in a sloop

our forces took from him; and that there he met with the French ships, and went along with them to St. Johns, and helped them to unload the said ships, and carried up the river provisions, ammunition, and other goods to Vilboon's fort.

The Major having ranged all places that were thought proper, returned back to the place where they first landed; and finding several prisoners had come in, who were troubled to see their cattle, sheep, hogs and dogs lying dead about their houses, chopped and hacked with hatchets, which was done without order from the Major; however he told them, "It is nothing to what our poor English, in our frontier towns are forced to look upon. For men women and children are chopped and hacked so, and left half dead, with all their scalps taken off, and your Indians served ours so; and our savages would be glad to serve them so too, if I would permit them," which caused them to be mighty submissive, and begged the Major that he would not let the savages serve them so. Our Indians being somewhat sensible of the discourse, desired to have some of them to roast, and so make a dance. And dancing in a hideous manner, to terrify them, said that they could eat any sort of flesh, and that some of theirs would make their hearts strong. Stepping up to some of the prisoners, said, they must have their scalps, which much terrified the poor prisoners, who begged for their lives. The Major told them he did not design the savages should hurt them; but it was to let them see a little what the poor English felt, saying, it was not their scalps he wanted, but the savages, for he should get nothing by them; and told them, that their fathers, the Fri-

ars and Governors, encouraged their savages, and gave them money to scalp our English, notwithstanding they were with them, which several of our English, there present, did testify to their faces, that their fathers and mothers were served so in their sight. But the Major bid them tell their fathers the Friars, and the Governors, that if they still persisted, and let their wretched savages kill and destroy the poor English at that rate, he would come with some hundreds of savages, and let them loose amongst them, who would kill, scalp, and carry away every French person in all those parts; for they were the root from whence all the branches came that hurt us; for the Indians could not do us any harm, if *they* did not relieve and supply them. The French being sensible of the Major's kindness to them, kissed his hand, and were very thankful to him for his favour to them in saving their lives; owned that their Priests were at the taking of Pemequid fort, and were now gone to Layhone, with some of the Indians, to meet the French ships, but for what they would not tell.

The Commander, with his forces, having done all they could in those parts, concluded to go to St. Johns river, to do further service for their king and country, and embarked all on board their transports.* Having a fair wind, they soon got to Monogenest, which lies a little distance from the mouth of St. Johns river. Next morning early the Major with his forces landed, to see what discoveries they could make, travelled across the woods to the old fort, or falls, at the mouth of

* The 20th September, 1696.

St. Johns river, keeping themselves undiscovered from the enemy. Finding there were several men at work, and having informed themselves as much as they could; the enemy being on the other side of the river could not come at them, they returned back; but night coming on, and dark wet weather, with bad travelling, were obliged to stop in the woods till toward day next morning, and then went on board. Soon after the Major ordered all the vessels to come to sail, and go into the mouth of the river. Being done, it was not long before the Major and his forces landed on the east side of the river, the French firing briskly at them, but did them no harm; and running fiercely upon the enemy, they soon fled into the woods. The Major ordered a brisk party to run across the neck to cut them off from their canoes, which the day before they had made a discovery of; so the commander with the rest, ran directly toward the new fort they were building, not knowing but they had some ordnance mounted. The enemy running directly toward their canoes, were met by our forces, who fired at them, and killed one, and wounded Corporal Canton, who was taken; the rest threw down what they had and ran into the woods. The said prisoner Canton being brought to the Major, told him, if he would let his surgeon dress his wound and cure him, he would be serviceable to him as long as he lived. So, being dressed, he was examined, and gave to the Major an account of the twelve great guns which were hid in the beach, below high water mark, the carriages, shot and wheelbarrows, and some flour and pork; all hid in the woods. The next morning the officers being all ordered to meet

together to consult about going to Vilboon's fort, and none among them being acquainted but the Aldens, who said the water in the river was very low, so that they could not get up to the fort. And the prisoner Canton told the Commander, that what the Aldens said was true. So not being willing to make a Canada expedition, concluded it was not practicable to proceed. He then ordered some of the forces to get the great guns on board the open sloops, and the rest to range the woods for the enemy, who took and brought in one prisoner; and in their ranging found a shallop haled into a creek; and a day or two after there came in a young soldier to our forces, who, upon examination, gave an account of two more which he left in the woods at some distance. So immediately the Major, with some of his forces, went in pursuit of them, taking the said prisoner with them, who conveyed them to the place where he left them, but they were gone. He then asked the prisoner whether there were any Indians in those parts? who said, No; it was as hard for Vilboon, their Governor, to get an Indian down to the water side, as it was for him to carry one of those great guns upon his back to his fort; for they having had intelligence by a prisoner out of Boston gaol, that gave them an account of Major Church and his forces coming out against them. Now having, with a great deal of pains and trouble, got all the guns, shot and other stores on board, intended on the design which we came out first for; but the wind not serving, the commander sent out his scouts into the woods, to seek for the enemy; and four of our Indians came upon three Frenchmen undiscovered, who concluded that if

the French should discover them they would fire at them, and might kill one or more of them, which to prevent they fired at the French, killed one, and took the other two prisoners. And it happened that he who was killed was Shanelere, the chief man there. The same day they mended their whale-boats, and the shallop which they took, fitting her to row with eight oars, that she might be helpful to the prosecution of their intended design against the enemy, in their return homeward. Then the Commander, ordering all the officers to come together, informed them of his intentions, and ordered that no vessel should depart from the fleet, but to attend the motions of their Commodore, as formerly, except they were parted by storms or thick fogs; and if so it should happen that any should part, when they came to Passemaquaddy they should stop there awhile, for there they intended to stop, and do business, with the help of their boats, against the enemy; and if they missed that, to stop at Machias, which was the next place he intended to stop at, having an account by the prisoners taken, that Mr. Lateril was there trading with the Indians in that river. Encouraging them, he said, he did not doubt but to have a good booty there. And if they should pass those two places, be sure not to pass Naskege point, but to stop there till he came, and not to depart from thence in a fortnight without his orders, having great service to do in and about Penobscot, &c. Then the Major discoursed with Captains Brackit, Hunewell and Larking, and their Lieutenants, commanders of the forces belonging to the eastern parts, who were to discourse with their soldiers about their proceedings when they came

to Penobscot; and the Major himself was to discourse with his Indian soldiers and their captains, who with all the rest readily complied. The projection being such, that when they came to Penobscot, the Commander designed to take what provisions could be spared out of all the sloops, and put on board the two brigantines, and to send all the sloops home with some of the officers and men that wanted to be at home. And then, with those forces before mentioned, viz. the Eastward men and all the Indians; and to take what provisions and ammunition were needful, and to march himself up into the Penobscot country, in search for the enemy, and if possible to take the fort in Penobscot river. Captain Brackit informed the Major, that when the water was low they could wade over, which was at that time the lowest that had been known in a long time; and being there, to range through that country down to Pemequid, where he intended the two brigantines should meet them. And from thence taking more provisions, viz. bread, salt and ammunition suitable, to send those two vessels home also, to travel through the country to Neridgiwack,* and from thence to Ameras-cogen fort, and so down where the enemy used to plant, not doubting but that in all this travel to meet with many of the enemy before they should get to Piscataqua. All which intentions were very acceptable to the forces that were to undertake it, who, rejoicing, said, they had rather go home by land than by water, provided their Commander went with them, who, to try their fidelity, said he was grown ancient, and

* Norridgewock:

might fail them. They all said, they would not leave him, and when he could not travel any further they would carry him. Having done what service they could at and about the mouth of St. Johns river, resolved on their intended design; and the next morning having but little wind, came all to sail; the wind coming against them, they put into Mushquash cove, and the next day the wind still being against them, the Major with part of his forces landed, and employed themselves in ranging the country for the enemy, but to no purpose. In the night the wind came pretty fair, and at 12 o'clock they came to sail, and had not been out long before they espied three sails of vessels; expecting them to be French, fitted to defend themselves; so coming near, hailed them, and found them to be a man of war, the Province Galley, and old Mr. Alden* in a sloop, with more forces, Colonel Hathorne† Commander. Major Church went aboard the Commodore, where Col. Hathorne was, who gave him an account of his commission and orders, and read them to him. Then his Honor told Major Church, that there was a particular order on board Capt. Southack for him, which is as followeth.‡

* This is the Mr. Alden mentioned by Hutchinson, who was imprisoned for witchcraft, at Salem, and was examined by Major Hawthorn, under whom he appears in this expedition.

† Hawthorn.—HUTCH. vol. ii. p. 94.

‡ Hutchinson says "this was an impolitic measure of the government, unless any misconduct in Church made it necessary that he should be superceded;" but this he does not make appear, nor any other author except Charlevoix. Colonel Church could not but be offended at their conduct, and we need not wonder, that, after this, things went on heavily.

Boston, September 9, 1696.

SIR,

His Majesty's ship Orford having lately surprised a French shallop, with twenty-three of the soldiers belonging to the fort upon Johns river, in Nova-Scotia, together with Villeau, their Captain, Providence seems to encourage the forming of an expedition to attack that fort, and to disrest and remove the enemy from that post, which is the chief source from whence the most of our disasters do issue, and also to favour with an opportunity for gaining out of their hands the ordnance, artillery, and other warlike stores, and provisions, lately supplied to them from France, for erecting a new fort near the river's mouth, whereby they will be greatly strengthened, and the reducing of them rendered more difficult. I have therefore ordered a detachment of two new companies, consisting of about a hundred men to join the forces now with you for that expedition, and have commissioned Lieut. Col. John Hathorne, one of the members of his Majesty's Council, who is acquainted with that river, and in whose courage and conduct I repose special trust, to take the chief command of the whole during that service, being well assured that your good affections and zeal for his Majesty's service will induce your ready compliance and assistance therein, which, I hope, will take up no long time, and be of great benefit and advantage to these his Majesty's territories, if it please God to succeed the same. Besides, it is very probable to be the fairest opportunity, that can be offered unto yourself and men, of doing execution upon the Indian enemy and rebels, who may reasonably be expected to

be drawn to the defence of that fort. I have also ordered his Majesty's ship *Arundel*, and the Province galley to attend this service.

Col. Hathorne will communicate unto you the contents of his commission and instructions recieved from myself for this expedition, which I expect and order that yourself, officers and soldiers, now under you, yield obedience unto. He is to advise with yourself and others in all weighty attempts. Praying for a blessing from Heaven upon the said enterprize, and that all engaged in the same may be under the special protection of the Almighty;

I am your loving friend,

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

The Major having read his last orders, and considering his commission, found that he was obliged to attend all orders, &c. was much concerned that he and his were prevented in their intended projection, if carried back to St. Johns. Then discoursing with Col. Hathorne, gave him an account of what they had done at St. Johns, viz. That as to the demolishing the new fort, they had done it, and got all their great guns and stores aboard their vessels; and that if it had not been that the waters were so low, would have taken the fort up the river; also before he came away. Told him also that one of the prisoners which he had taken at St. John's, upon examination, concerning the Indians in those parts, told him, it was as hard for *Vilboon*,* their Governor to get one of their Indians down to the water-side, as to carry one of those great guns upon his back;

* *Villebon*.

and that they had an account of him and his forces coming to those parts by a prisoner out of Boston goal. Also told his Honour, that if they went back, it would wholly disappoint them of their doing any further service, which they came for to Penobscot, and places adjacent. But all was to no purpose, his Honour telling the Major that he must attend his orders then received. And to encourage the officers and soldiers, told them they should be wholly at the Major's ordering and command in the whole action. And to be short did go back, and the event may be seen in Col. Hathorne's journal of the said action.* Only I must observe one thing by the way. When they drew off to come down the river again, Col. Hathorne came off and left the Major behind to see that all the forces were drawn off, who coming down the river, in or near the rear, in the night heard a person halloo, not knowing at first but it might be a snare to draw them into, but upon consideration, sent to see who or what he was, found him to be a negro man belonging to Marblehead, that had been taken, and kept a prisoner among them for some time. The Major asked him, whether he

* It is not particularly mentioned about this expedition in any thing extant. It appears that the French commander, Villebon, had notice of their return, and had prepared to receive them. They effected a landing, Oct. 7; not, however, without opposition. They raised a battery near the fort, on which they planted two field-pieces, and commenced an attack upon it. The following night being very cold, the English made fires that they might not perish; but this being a mark for the enemy's cannon, were obliged to put them out, and suffer the inclemencies of the weather. Their clothing being as it were worn out, rendered their situation intolerable. No mention is made of the number killed in these encounters.

could give any account of the Indians in those parts? He said yes, they were or had been all drawn off from the sea coast, up into the woods, near an hundred miles, having had an account by a prisoner out of Boston gaol, that Major Church and his forces were coming out against them in four brigantines, and four sloops, with 24 petti-augers, meaning whale-boats, which put them into a fright, that notwithstanding they were so far up in the woods, were afraid to make fires by day, lest he and his forces should discover the smokes, and in the night lest they should see the light. One thing more, I would just give a hint of, that is, how the French in the eastward parts were much surprised at the motion of the whale-boats. They said, there was no abiding for them in that country. And I have been informed since, that soon after this expedition, they drew off from St. Johns fort and river. But to return. Going all down the river, they embarked and went homeward. By the way, *Candid Reader*, I would let you know of two things that proved very prejudicial to Major Church and his forces. The first was, that the government should miss it so much as to send any prisoner away from Boston before the expedition was over. Secondly, that they should send Col. Hathorne to take them from the service and business they went to do; who, with submission, doubtless thought they did for the best, though it proved to the contrary. So shall wind up with a just hint of what happened, at their coming home to Boston. After all their land service, both night and day, the government took away all the great guns, and warlike stores, and gave them not a penny for them, except some powder,

and that they gave what they pleased for. And besides the Assembly passed a vote, that they should have but half pay. But his Honour, the Lieutenant Governor being much disturbed at their so doing, went into the Town-House, where the Representatives were sitting, and told them, except they did reassume that vote, which was to cut Major Church and his forces off their half-pay, they should sit there till the next spring. Where, upon it was reassumed; so that they had just their bare wages. But as yet never had any allowance for the great guns and stores; neither has Major Church had any allowance for all his travel and great expenses in raising the said forces.

FIFTH & LAST EXPEDITION EAST.

IN the year 1703—4, Major Church had an account of the miserable devastations made on Deerfield,* a town in the westward parts of this Province, and the horrible barbarities and cruelties exercised on those poor innocent people, by the French and Indians; especially of their cruelties toward that worthy gentlewoman, Mrs. Williams,* and several others, whom they marched in that extreme season, forcing them to carry great loads, and when any of them by their hard usage could not bare with it, they were knocked on the head, and so killed in cool blood. All which, with some other horrible instances done by those barbarous savages, which Major Church himself was an eye-witness to, in his former travels in the

* See Appendix.

eastward parts, did much astonish him. To see a woman that those barbarous savages had taken and killed, exposed in the most brutish manner that can be expressed, with a young child seized fast with strings to her breast; which infant had no apparent wound, doubtless was left alive to suck his dead mother's breast, and so miserably to perish. Also to see other poor children hanging upon fences dead, of either sex, in their own poor rags, not worth their stripping them of, in scorn and derision. Another instance was, of a straggling soldier, who was found at Casco, exposed in a shameful and barbarous manner. His body being staked up, his head cut off, and a hog's head set in the room, his body ripped up, and his heart and inwards taken out, and private members cut off, and hung with belts of their own, the inwards at one side of his body, and his privates at the other, in scorn and derision of the English soldiers, &c. These and such like barbarities caused Maj. Church to express himself to this purpose, "that if he were Commander in Chief of these provinces, he would soon put an end to those barbarities done by the barbarous enemy, by making it his whole buisness to fight and destroy those savages, as they did our poor neighbours; which doubtless might have been done if rightly managed, and that in a short time." So that these, with the late inhumanities done upon the inhabitants of Deerfield, made such an impression on his heart as cannot well be expressed; so that his blood boiled within him. Making such impulses on his mind, that he forgot all former treatments, which were enough to hinder any man, especially the said Maj. Church, from doing any further ser-

vice. Notwithstanding all which, having a mind to take some satisfaction on the enemy, his heart being full, took his horse and went from his own habitation, near seventy miles, to wait upon his Excellency, and offered his service to the Queen, his Excellency and the country, which was readily accepted of. He desired Maj. Church to draw a scheme for the ensuing action, or actions; so taking leave went home, and drew it; which is as followeth.

Tiverton, February 5, 1703.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

According to your request, when I was last with yourself, and in obedience thereunto, I present you with these following lines, that concern the preparation for next spring's expedition, to attack the enemy. According to my former direction, for it is good to have a full stroke at them first, before they have opportunity to run for it; for the first of our action will be our opportunity to destroy them, and to prevent their running away, in way-laying every passage; and make them know we are in good earnest, and so we being in a diligent use of means, may hope for a blessing from the Almighty, and that He will be pleased to put a dread in their hearts, that they may fall before us and perish. For my advice is,

1st, That ten or twelve hundred good able soldiers, well equipped, be in a readiness fit for action, by the first of April at farthest, for then will be the time to be upon action.

2dly, That five and forty or fifty good whale-boats be had ready, well fitted, with five good

oars, and twelve or fifteen good paddles to each boat; and upon the wale of each boat five pieces of strong leather be fastened on each side, to slip five strong ash bars through, so that, whenever they land, the men may step overboard, and slip in said bars across, and take up said boat, that she may not be hurt against the rocks; and that two suitable brass kettles be provided to belong to each boat, to cook the men's victuals in, to make their lives comfortable.

3dly, That four or five hundred pair of good Indian shoes be made ready, fit for the service, for the English and Indians, that must improve the whale-boats, and birch canoes, for they will be very proper, and safe for that service; and let there be a good store of cow-hides, well tanned, for a supply of such shoes; and hemp to make thread, and wax, to mend and make more such shoes when wanted, and a good store of awls.

4thly, That there be an hundred large hatchets, or light axes, made pretty broad, and steeled with the best steel that can be gotten, (and made by workmen, that they may cut well, and hold, that the hemlock knots may not break or turn them,) to widen the landing place up the falls, for it may happen that we may get up, with some of our whale-boats, to their falls or headquarters.

5thly, That there be a suitable quantity of small bags, or wallets provided, that every man that wants may have one, to put up his bullets in, of such a size as will fit his gun, and not be served as at Casco. That every man's bag be so marked that he may not change it. For if so, it will make a great confusion in action. That every man's store of ball be weighed to him, that

so he may be accountable, and may not squander it away. And also his store of powder, that so he may try his powder and gun before action. And that every particular company may have a barrel of powder to themselves, and so marked that it may by no means be changed; that men may know before hand, and may not be cheated out of their lives, by having bad powder; or not knowing how to use it. This will prove a great advantage to the action.

6thly, That Col. John Gorham, if he may be prevailed with, may be concerned in the management of the whale-boats, he having been formerly concerned in the eastern parts, and experienced in that affair. And whale-men will be very serviceable in this expedition, which having a promise made to them, that they shall be released in good season, to go a whaling in the fall, your Excellency will have men enough.

7thly, That there may be raised for this service three hundred Indians at least, and more if they may be had; for I know certainly of my own knowledge, that they exceed most of our English in hunting and skulking in the woods, being always used to it; and it must be practised if ever we intend to destroy those Indian enemies.

8thly, That the soldiers already out eastward in the service, men of known judgment, may take a survey of them and their arms; and see if their arms be good, and that they know how to use them, in shooting right at a mark; and that they be men of good reason and sence, to know how to manage themselves in so difficult a piece of service, as this Indian hunting is; for bad men are but a clogg and hindrance to an army, being a

trouble and vexation to good commanders, and so many mouths to devour the country's provision, and a hindrance to all good action.

9thly, That special care be had in taking up the whale-boats, that they be good and fit for that service; so that the country be not cheated, as formerly, in having rotten boats; and as much care that the owners may have good satisfaction for them.

10thly, That the tenders or transports, vessels to be improved in this action, be good decked vessels, not too big, because of going up several rivers; having four or six small guns apiece for defence, and the fewer men will defend them; and there are enough such vessels to be had.

11thly, To conclude all, if your Excellency will be pleased to make yourself great, and us a happy people, as to the destroying of our enemies, and easing of our taxes, &c. be pleased to draw forth all those forces now in pay in all the eastward parts, both at Saco and Casco Bay; for those two trading houses never did any good, nor ever will, and are not worthy the name of Queen's forts; and the first building of them had no other effect than to lay us under tribute to that wretched pagan crew, and I hope they will never be wanted for what they were first built. But sure it is, they are very serviceable to them, for they get many a good advantage of us to destroy our men, and laugh at us for our folly, that we should be at so much cost and trouble to do a thing that does us so much harm, and no manner of good. But to the contrary, when they see all our forces drawn forth, and in the pursuit of them, they will think that we begin to be roused up, and to be awakened,

and will not be satisfied with what they have pleased to leave us, but are resolved to retake from them what they formerly took from us, and drive them out of their country also. The which being done, then to build a fort at a suitable time, and in a convenient place; and it will be very honourable to your Excellency, and of great service to her Majesty, and to the enlargement of her Majesty's government. The place meant is at Port Royal.

12thly, That the objection made against drawing off the forces in the eastward parts will be no damage to the inhabitants; for former experience teaches us, that so soon as drawn into their country, they will presently forsake ours to take care of their own. That there be no failure in making preparation of these things aforementioned, (for many times the want of small things prevents the completing of great actions;) and that every thing be in readiness before the forces be raised, to prevent charges, and the enemy having intelligence. And that the General Court be moved to make suitable acts, for the encouraging both English and Indians; that so men of buisness may freely offer estates and concerns to serve the publick.

Thus hoping what I have taken the pains to write in the sincerity of my heart and good affections, will be well accepted; I make bold to subscribe, as I am, your Excellency's most devoted humble servant,

BENJAMIN CHURCH.

Then returning to his Excellency presented the said scheme, which his Excellency approved of;

and returned it again to Maj. Church, and desired him to see that every thing was provided, telling him that he should have an order from the Commissary General to proceed. Then returned home and made it his whole business to provide oars and paddles, and a vessel to carry them round; and then returned again to his Excellency, who gave him a commission. Which is as followeth.

JOSEPH DUDLEY,* Esq. Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over her Majesty's Provinces of the Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire, in New-England, in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

To BENJAMIN CHURCH, Esq. Greeting.

“BY virtue of the power and authority, in and by her Majesty's royal commission, to me granted, I do by these presents, reposing special trust and confidence in your loyalty, courage, and good conduct, constitute and appoint you to be Colonel of all the forces raised, or to be raised for her Majesty's service, against the French and Indian enemy and rebels, that shall be improved in the service to the eastward of Casco Bay; and to be Captain of the first company of the said forces. You are therefore carefully and dilligently to perform the

* Mr. Dudley was educated at Harvard College. When Sir Edmund Andros was Governor, Mr. Dudley was president of the Council and was seized upon as belonging to his party. He was imprisoned for sometime, and treated with inhumanity. King William sent for him to England. He embarked Feb. 1689. In 1690, he went over to New-York, and was Chief Justice of that province. But he never was satisfied any where but in the Chief Magistracy of Massachusetts. He was succeeded by Governor Shute, 1716, and died, 1720.

duty of a Colonel and Captain by leading, ordering and exercising the said regiment and company in arms, both inferior officers and soldiers, and to keep them in good order and discipline. Hereby commanding them to obey you as their Colonel and Captain ; and with them to do and execute all acts of hostility against the said enemy and rebels. And you are to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall receive from myself, or other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, pursuant to the trust reposed in you. Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Boston, the 18th day of March, in the third year of her Majesty's reign, Anno Dom. 1703.

By his Excellency's command,

J. DUDLEY.

ISAAC ADDINGTON, Sec.

Col. Church no sooner received his commission, but proceeded to the raising of men volunteers, by going into every town within the three counties, which were formerly Plymouth government, and advising with the chief officer of each company, to call his company together, that so he might have the better opportunity to discourse and encourage them to serve their Queen and country. Treating them with drink convenient, told them he did not doubt but with God's blessing to bring them all home again. All which, with many other arguments, animated their hearts to do service, so that he enlisted out of some companies near twenty men, and others fifteen. He having raised a sufficient number of English soldiers, proceeded to the enlisting of

Indians in all those parts where they dwelt, which was a great fatigue and expense ; being a people that need much treating, especially with drink, &c. Having enlisted the most of his soldiers in those parts, who daily lay upon him, and were not less than 5*l.* per day expences, some days, in victuals and drink ; who doubtless thought (especially the English) that the country would have reimbursed it again, otherwise they would have hardly accepted it of him. Col. Church's soldiers both English and Indians in those parts being raised, he marched them all down to Nantasket, according to his Excellency's directions. Where being come, the following gentlemen were commissioned to be commanders of each particular company, viz. Lieut. Col. Gorham, Captains John Brown, Constant Church, James Cole, John Dyer, John Cook, Caleb Williamson and Edward Church, of the forces raised by Col. Church, each company being filled up with English and Indians as they agreed among themselves, and by the Colonel's. directions. Capt. Lamb, and Capt. Mirick's company, who were raised by his Excellency's direction, were ordered to join those aforesaid, under the command of Col. Church. Matters being brought thus far on, Col. Church waited upon his Excellency at Boston to know his pleasure, what further measures were to be taken ; and did humbly move that they might have liberty in their instructions to make an attack upon Port-Royal. Being very well satisfied in his opinion, that with the blessing of God, what forces they had or should have ; and whale-boats so well fitted with oars and paddles, as they had with them, might be sufficient to have taken it.

His Excellency, looking upon Col. Church, replied, he could not admit of that, by reason of the advice of her Majesty's Council, he had to write to her Majesty about the taking of Port-Royal fort, and how it should be disposed of when taken, &c. However, Col. Church proceeded to get every thing ready for the forces down at Nantasket, which was the place of parade. He happening one day to be at Capt. Belcher's, where his Excellency happened to come, was pleased to order Colonel Church to put on his sword, and walk with him up the common, which he readily complied with. Where being come he saw two mortar pieces with shells, and an engineer trying with them, to throw a shell from them to any spot of ground where he said it should fall. Which, when Col. Church had seen done, gave him great encouragement and hopes that it would promote their going to Port Royal, which he had solicited. Returning from thence, and coming near to Capt. William Clark's house, over against the Horse-shoe, his Excellency was invited by Capt. Clark to walk over and take a glass of wine, which he was pleased to accept of, and took Col. Church with him. And in the time they were taking a glass of wine, Col. Church once more presumed to say to his Excellency, "Sir, I hope that now we shall go to Port Royal in order to take it; those mortars being very suitable for such an enterprize." His Excellency was pleased to reply; "Col. Church, you must say no more of that matter, for the letter I told you of, I wrote by the advice of her Majesty's Council, now lies at home on the board before the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's

foreign plantations," &c. After some days every thing being ready to embark, Col. Church received his instructions, which are as followeth.

By his Excellency **JOSEPH DUDLEY, Esq.** Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over her Majesty's Province of the **Massachusetts-Bay, &c.** in **New-England,** and Vice-Admiral of the same.

INSTRUCTIONS for Colonel **BENJAMIN CHURCH,**
in the present expedition.

" In pursuance of the Commission given to you, to take the chief command of the land and sea forces by me raised, equipped, and set forth on her Majesty's service, against her open declared enemies the French and Indian rebels, you are to observe the following instructions.

" First, you are to take care, that the duties of religion be attended to on board the several vessels, and in the several companies under your command, by daily prayers unto God, and reading his holy word. And that the Lord's day be observed and duly sanctified to the utmost of your power, as far as the circumstances and necessity of the service can admit, that you may have the presence of God with, and obtain his blessing on, your undertaking.

" You are to take care, that your soldiers have their due allowance of provisions and other necessaries; that their arms be well fixed, and kept fit for service, and that they be furnished with a suitable quantity of powder and ball, and be always in readiness to pass upon duty.

“That good order and discipline be maintained, and all disorders, drunkenness, profane swearing, cursing, omission or neglect of duty, disobedience to officers, mutiny, desertion, and sedition be duly punished according to the rules and articles of war; the which you are once a month, or oftener, to cause to be published, and made known to your officers and soldiers for their observance and direction in their duty. Let notorious and capital offenders be sent away to the next garrisons, there to be imprisoned until they can be proceeded with.

“Let the sick and wounded be carefully looked after, and accommodated after the best manner your circumstances will admit of, and be sent either to Casco-Fort, or to Mr. Peperel’s at Kittery,* which may be the easier, so soon as you can.

“You are forthwith to send away the forces and stores by the transports, with the whale-boats to Piscataqua, on Kittery side, there to attend your coming; whither you are to follow them with all expedition.

“You are to embark in the Province-Galley, Capt. Southack,† commander, and let Lieut. Col. Gorham go on board Capt. Gallop; who are both directed to attend your motion on the French side, after which they are to return. Let the commanders of all the store sloops and transports know that they sail, anchor, and serve at your discretion.

“When you sail from Piscataqua, keep at such distance off the shore, that you be not observed by the enemy to alarm them. Stop at Montinius, and there embark the forces in the whale-

* Nearly opposite, Portsmouth, N. H.

† Reported as a man of great personal courage, but not dequate to any considerable command.

boats for the main, to range that part of the country in search of the enemy, to Mount-Desart, sending the vessels to meet you there; and after having refreshed and recruited your soldiers, proceed to Machias, and from thence to Passamaquado;* and having effected what spoils you possibly may upon the enemy in those parts, embark on your vessels for Menis and Signecto,† to Port Royal gut. Use all possible methods for the burning and destroying of the enemy's houses, and breaking the dams of their corn grounds in the said several places, and make what other spoils you can upon them, and bring away the prisoners. In your return call at Penobscot, and do what you can there, and so proceed westward.

“ This will probably employ you a month or six weeks; when you will draw together again, and by the latter end of June consider whether you can march to Norrigewack,‡ or other parts of their planting, to destroy their corn and settlements, and keep the expedition on foot until the middle of August next.

“ Notwithstanding the particularity of the foregoing instruction, I lay you under no restraint, because I am well assured of your courage, care, caution and industry; but refer you to your own resolves, by the advice of your Commissioned Officers, not under the degree of Captains, and the sea Commissioned Captains, whom you will, as often as you can, advise with, according to the intelligence you may receive, or as you may find needful upon the spot.

“ You are, by every opportunity, and once a week certainly, by some means, either by the way

* Passamaquady.

† Chignecto.

* Norridgewock.

of Casco, Piscataqua, or otherwise to acquaint me of your proceedings, and all occurrences, and what may be further necessary for the service. And to observe such further and other instructions as you shall receive from myself.

“As often as you may, advise with Capt. Smith and Capt. Rogers, Commanders of her Majesty’s ships.

“Let your Minister, Commissary and Surgeons be treated with just respects. I pray to God to preserve, prosper and succeed you.

“Given under my hand at Boston, the fourth day of May, 1704. J. DUDLEY.”

Pursuant to his instructions he sent away his transports and forces to Piscataqua, but was obliged himself to wait upon his Excellency by land to Piscataqua, in order to raise more forces in the way thither; and did raise a company under the command of Capt. Harridon. Took care also to provide a pilot for them in the Bay of Fundy, Col. Church being directed to one — Fellows, whom he met with at Ipswich. And going from hence to Piscataqua with his Excellency, was met by that worthy gentleman Maj. Winthrop Hilton,* who was very helpful to him in the whole expedition, whose name and memory ought not to be forgotten. Being ready to embark from Piscataqua; Col. Church requested the Commanders

* Afterwards Col. Hilton. He is mentioned by other writers, as a “meritorious citizen.” He had been successful in capturing Indians, and like Maj. Waldron, was doomed to fall by savage hands. In 1710, Col. Hilton with two others, were ambushed and killed by Indians in Exeter, New-Hampshire.

of her Majesty's ships, Capt. Smith and Capt. Rogers, to tarry at Piscataqua a fortnight, that so they might not be discovered by the enemy before he had done some spoil upon them. Then moving in their transports, as directed, got safe into Montineus, undiscovered by the enemy. Next morning early fitted out two whale-boats with men, Capt. John Cook in one, and Capt. Constant Church in the other, and sent them to Green-Island, upon a discovery. And coming there they parted, one went to one part, and the other to another part, that so they might not miss of what could be discovered. Here they met with old Lafaure with his two sons, Thomas and Timothy, and a Canada Indian. The enemy seeing that they were discovered, threw down their ducks and eggs, having got a considerable quantity of each, and ran to their canoes, got into them, and stood directly for the Main. Looking behind them, perceived the whale-boats to gain so fast upon them, clapt side by side, and all four got into one canoe, which proved of little advantage to them, for the whale-boats gained so much upon them, and got so near that Capt. Cook, firing at the steer's-man, which was the Indian, and happened to graze his skull, and quite spoiled his paddling. Upon which old Lafaure and sons, seeing their companion's condition, soon begged for quarter, and had it granted. The two Captains with their success presently returned to their Commander, taking care that their captives should not discourse together before they were examined; when brought to Col. Church, he ordered them to be apart, and first proceeded to examine old Lafaure, whom he found to be very surly and cross, so that he could

gain no manner of intelligence by him. Upon which the Commander was resolved to put in practice what he had formerly done at Senecto. Ordering the Indians to make two large heaps of dry wood, at some distance one from the other, and to set a large stake in the ground, close to each heap; then ordered the two sons, Thomas and Timothy, to be brought, and to be bound to the stakes; also ordering his Indians to paint themselves with colours, which they had brought for that use. Then the Colonel proceeded to examine first Timothy, and told him, he had examined his father already, and that if he told him the truth he would save his life, and take him into his service, and that he should have good pay and live well. He answered, that he would tell him the truth, and gave him an account of every thing he knew, which was all minuted down. He being asked whether his brother Thomas did not know more than he? his answer was, Yes, for his brother Thomas had a Commission sent him from the Governor of Canada, to command a company of Indians, who were gathered together at a place where some French gentlemen lately arrived from Canada, who were Officers to command the rest that were to go westward to fight the English, and that there was sent to his father and brother Tom, a considerable quantity of flower, fruit, ammunition and stores, for the supply of the said army. He being asked, whether he could pilot our forces to them? said No; but his brother Tom could, for he had hid it, and that he was not then with him. The Colonel asked him, what gentlemen those were that came from Canada? He answered Monsieur Gourdan, and Mr. Shar-

kee. Being asked where they were? answered, at Passamequado, building a fort. Being asked what number of Indians and French there were at Penobscot? he answered, there were several families, but they lived scattering. Asked him further, if he would pilot our forces thither? Answered, he would if the Commander would not let the savages roast him. Upon which the Colonel ordered him to be loosed from the stake, and took him by the hand, told him, he would be as kind to him as his own father; at which he seemed to be very thankful. And then the Colonel proceeded to examine his brother Tom, and told him that he had examined his father and brother, and that his brother had told him every tittle he knew, and that he knew more than his brother Timothy did; and that if he would be ingenuous and confess all he knew, he should fare as well as his brother; but if not, the savages should roast him. Whereupon he solemnly promised that he would, and that he would pilot him to every thing he knew, to the value of a knife and sheath, which without doubt he did. Then the Colonel immediately gave orders for the whale-boats to be ready, and went directly over where the said goods and stores were, and found them as informed, took them on board the boats, and returned to their transports. And ordering provisions to be put into every man's knapsack for six or eight days, in the dusk of the evening left their transports, with orders how they should act. Then went directly for the main land of Penobscot, and mouth of that river, with their pilots Tom and Timothy, who carried them directly to every place and habitation, both of French and Indians thereabouts, with the assistance of

one De Young, whom they carried out of Boston gaol for the same purpose, and he was very serviceable to them. Being there we killed and took every one, both French and Indians, not knowing that any one did escape in all Penobscot. Among those that were taken was St. Casteen's daughter, who said that her husband was gone to France, to her father Monsieur Casteen. She having her children with her, the Commander was very kind to her and them. All the prisoners that were then taken, held to one story in general, which they had from Lafaure's sons. That there were no more Indians thereabouts, but enough of them at Passamequado; upon which they soon returned to the transports with their prisoners and plunder. The Commander giving order immediately for the soldiers in the whale-boats to have a recruit of provisions for a further pursuit of the enemy, giving orders to the transports to stay a few days more there, and then go to Mount-Desart, and there to stay for her Majesty's ships, who were directed to come thither, and wait his further order. Then Col. Church with his forces immediately embarked on board their whale-boats, and proceeded to scour the coast, and to try if they could discover any of the enemy coming from Passamequado; making their stops in the daytime at all the points and places where they were certain the enemy would land, or come by with their canoes, and at night to their paddles. Then coming near where the vessels were ordered to come, having made no discovery of the enemy, went directly to Mount-Desart, where the transports were just come; and taking some provisions for his soldiers, gave direction for the ships and transports

in six days to come directly to Passamequado, where they should find him and his forces. Then immediately moved away in the whale-boats, and made diligent search along shore, as formerly, inspecting all places where the enemy were likely to lurk, particularly at Machias; but found neither fires nor tracks. Coming afterwards to the west harbour at Passamequado, where they entered upon action; an account whereof Col. Church did communicate to his Excellency, being as followeth.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“ I received yours of this instant, October 9th, with the two inclosed informations, that concern my actions at Passamequado, which I will give a just and true account of as near as I possibly can, viz. on the 7th of June last, 1704. In the evening we entered in at the westward harbour at said Passamequado; coming up said harbour to an island, where landing, we came to a French house and took a French woman and children, the woman upon her examination said, her husband was abroad a fishing. I asked her whether there were any Indians thereabouts? She said yes; there were a great many, and several on that island. I asked her, whether she could pilot me to them? Said no; they hid in the woods. I asked her when she saw them? Answered, just now, or a little while since. I asked her whether she knew where they had laid the canoes? She answered, No; they carried their canoes into the woods with them. We then hastened away along shore, seizing what prisoners we could, taking old Lotriell and his family.

This intelligence caused me to leave Col. Gorham, and a considerable part of my men, and boats, with him at that island, partly to guard and secure those prisoners, being sensible it would be a great trouble to have them to secure and guard at our next landing, where I did really expect, and hoped to have an opportunity to fight our Indian enemies. For all our French prisoners that we had taken at Penobscot, and along shore, had informed us, that when we came to the place where these Canada gentlemen lived, we should certainly meet with the savages to fight us. (Those being the only men that set the Indians against us, or upon us, and were newly come from Canada, to manage the war against us,) pleading in this account and information their own innocency, and partly in hopes that he, the said Col. Gorham would have a good opportunity in the morning to destroy some of those our enemies, (we were informed by the said French woman as above) with the use of his boats, as I had given direction. Ordering also Maj. Hilton to pass over to the next island, that lay east of us, with a small party of men and boats, to surprise and destroy any of the enemy that in their canoes might go here and there, from any place, to make their flight from us, and as he had opportunity, to take any French prisoners. We then immediately moved up the river, in the dark night, through great difficulty, by reason of the eddies and whirlpools, made with the fierceness of the current. And here it may be hinted, that we had information that Lotriél had lost part of his family passing over to the next island, falling into one of those eddies were drowned, which the two pilots told to discourage

me. But I said "nothing of that nature shall do it;" for I was resolved to venture up, and therefore forthwith paddling our boats as privately as we could, and with as much expedition as we could make with our paddles, and the help of a strong tide, we came up to Monsieur Gourdan's a little before day. Where taking notice of the shore, and finding it somewhat open and clear, I ordered Capt. Mirick and Capt. Cole, having English companies, to tarry with several of the boats, to be ready; that if any of the enemy should come down out of the brush into the bay, (it being very broad in that place) with their canoes, that they might take and destroy them. Ordering the remainder of the army, being landed, with myself and the other officers to march up into the woods, with a wide front, and to keep at a considerable distance; for that if they should run in heaps the enemy would have the greater advantage. And further directing them, that, if possible, they should destroy the enemy with their hatchets, and not fire a gun. This order I always gave at landing, telling them the inconveniency of firing, in that it might be, first dangerous to themselves; they being many of them young soldiers. (As I had some time observed, that one or two guns being fired, many others would fire, at they knew not what; as happened presently after.) And it would alarm the enemy, and give them the opportunity to make their escape; and it might alarm the whole country, and also prevent all further action from taking effect. Orders being thus passed, we moved directly towards the woods. Le Faver's son directing us to a little hut or wigwam, which we immediately surround-

ed with a few men, the rest marching directly up into the woods, to see what wigwams or huts they could discover. Myself made a little stop, ordering the pilot to tell them in the hut, that they were surrounded with an army, and that if they would come forth, and surrender themselves, they should have good quarter, but if not, they should all be knocked on the head and die. One of them showed himself. I asked who he was ? He said Gourdan ; and begged for quarter. I told him, he should have good quarter ; adding further, that if there were any more in the house, they should come out. Then came out two men ; Gourdan said they were his sons, and asked quarter for them, which was also granted. Then came out a woman and a little boy ; she fell upon her knees, begged quarter for herself and children, and that I would not suffer the Indians to kill them. I told them they should have good quarter, and not be hurt. After which I ordered a small guard over them, and so moved presently up, with the rest of my company, after them that were gone before ; but looking on my right hand, over a little run, I saw something look black just by me, stopped ; and heard a talking ; stepped over, and saw a little hut or wigwam with a crowd of people round about it, which was contrary to my former directions ; asked them what they were doing ? They replied, there were some of the enemy in a house, and would not come out. I asked, what house ? They said, a bark house. I hastily bid them pull it down, and knock them on the head, never asking whether they were French or Indians ; they being all enc-

mies alike to me.* and passing then to them, and seeing them in great disorder, so many of the army in a crowd together, acting so contrary to my command and direction, exposing themselves, and the whole army to utter ruin, by their so disorderly crowding thick together. Had an enemy come upon them in that interim, and fired a volley among them, they could not have missed a single shot. And wholly neglecting their duty, in not attending my orders, in searching diligently for our lurking enemies in their wigwams, or by their fires, where I had great hopes and real expectations to meet with them.

I most certainly know that I was in an exceeding great passion, but not with those poor miserable enemies; for I took no notice of half a dozen of the enemy, when at the same time, I expected to be engaged with some hundreds of them, of whom we had a continued account, who were expected from Port-Royal side. In the heat of action, every word that I then spoke, I cannot give an account of, and I presume it is impossible. I stopped but little here, but went directly up into the woods, hoping to be better employed, with the rest of the army. I listened to hear and looked earnestly to see what might be the next action; but meeting with many of the soldiers, they told me they discovered nothing. We fetching a small compass round, came down again. It being pretty dark, I took notice, I saw two men lying dead, as I thought, at the end of the house where the

* The Colonel was accused of taking a rash step at this time. Seeing his men off their guard it is probable he did not consider, being in the heat of passion, as he afterwards acknowledged.

door was, and immediately the guns went off, and they fired, every man, as I thought, and most towards that place where I left the guard with Monsieur Gourdan. I had much ado to stop their firing, and told them I thought they were mad, and I believed they had not killed and wounded less than forty or fifty of our own men. And I asked them what they shot at? They answered, at a Frenchman that ran away. But to admiration no man was killed, but him, and one of our men wounded in the leg. And I turning about, a Frenchman spoke to me, and I gave him quarter. Day-light coming on, and no discovery made of the enemy, I went to the place where I had left Monsieur Gourdan, to examine him and his sons, who agreed in their examinations. Told me two of their men were abroad. It proved a damage; and further told me, that Monsieur Sharkee lived several leagues up, at the head of the river, at the falls, and all the Indians were fishing, and tending their corn there; and that Monsieur Sharkee had sent down to him to come up to him, to advise about the Indian army, that was to go westward; but he had returned him answer, his business was urgent, and he could not come up; and that Sharkee, and the Indians would certainly be down that day, or the next at farthest, to come to conclude of that matter. This was a short night's action, and all sensible men do well know, that actions done in the dark (being in the night as aforesaid) so many difficulties as we then laboured under, as before related, was a very hard task for one man, matters being circumstanced as in this action; which would not

admit of calling a council, and at that time could not be confined thereunto. At which time I was transported above fear, or any sort of dread; yet, being sensible of the danger in my army's crowding so thick together, and of the great duty incumbent on me, to preserve them from all the danger I possibly could, for farther improvement, in the destruction of our implacable enemies; am ready to conclude, that I was very quick and absolute in giving such commands and orders, as I then apprehended most proper and advantageous. And had it not been for the intelligence I had received from the French we took at Penobscot, as before hinted, and the false report the French woman (first taken) gave me, I had not been in such haste. I questioned not but those Frenchmen that were slain, had the same good quarter of other prisoners. But I ever looked upon it a good providence of Almighty God, that some few of our cruel and bloody enemies were made sensible of their bloody cruelties, perpetrated on my dear and loving friends and countrymen. And that the same measure (in part) metted to them, as they had been guilty of in a barbarous manner at Deerfield, and I hope justly. I hope God Almighty will accept hereof, although it may not be eligible to our French implacable enemies, and such others as are not our friends. The foregoing journal, and this short annexment, I thought it my duty to exhibit, for the satisfaction of my friends and countrymen, whom I very faithfully and willingly served in the late expedition; and I hope will find acceptance with your Excellency, the honourable Council and Representatives now assembled, as being done from the zeal I had in

the said service of her Majesty, and her good subjects here.

“ I remain your most humble and obedient servant,
BENJAMIN CHURCH.”

This night's service being over, immediately Col. Church leaves a sufficient guard with Gourdan, and the other prisoners, moved in some whale-boats with the rest, and as they were going espied a small thing upon the water, at a great distance, which proved to be a birch canoe, with two Indians in her. The Colonel presently ordered the lightest boat he had, to make the best of her way, and cut them off from the shore. But the Indians perceiving their design, run their canoe ashore and fled. Col. Church fearing they would run directly to Sharkee, made all the expedition imaginable; but it being ebb-tide and the water low, was obliged to land, and make the best of thair way through the woods, hoping to intercept the Indians, and get to Sharkee's house before them, which was two miles from where our forces landed. The Colonel being ancient and unwieldy, desired Sergeant Edee to run with him, and coming to several trees fallen, which he could not creep under, or readily get over, would lay his breast against the tree, the said Edee turning him over, generally had cat-luck, falling on his feet, by which means kept in the front; and coming near Sharkee's house, discovered some French and Indians making a wear* in the river, and presently discovered the two Indians aforementioned, who called to them at work in the river; told them there was an army of English and Indians

* Or, wier, a rack to catch fish in.

just by. They immediately left their work and ran, endeavouring to get to Sharkee's house, who hearing the noise, took his lady and child, and ran into the woods. Our men running briskly fired and killed one of the Indians, and took the rest prisoners. Then going to Sharkee's house found a woman and child, to whom they gave good quarter. And finding that Madam Sharkee had left her silk clothes and fine linen behind her, our forces were desirous to have pursued and taken her; but Col. Church forbade them, saying he would have her run and suffer, that she might be made sensible what hardships our poor people had suffered by them, &c. Then proceeded to examine the prisoners newly taken, who gave him the same account he had before, of the Indians being up to the falls, &c. It being just night, prevented our attacking them that night. But next morning early they moved up to the falls, which were about a mile higher. But doubtless the enemy had some intelligence by the two aforesaid Indians, before our forces came, so that they all got on the other side of the river, and left some of their goods by the water-side, to decoy our men, that so they might fire upon them, which indeed they effected. But through the good providence of God never a man of ours was killed, and but one slightly wounded. After a short dispute Col. Church ordered that every man might take what they pleased of the fish which lay bundled up, and to burn the rest, which was a great quantity. The enemy seeing what our forces were about, and that their stock of fish was destroyed, and the season being over for getting any more, set up a hideous cry, and so ran all away into the

woods; who being all on the other side of the river, ours could not follow them. Having done, our forces marched down to their boats at Shar-kee's. Then took their prisoners, beaver, and other plunder which they had gotten, and put it into their boats, and went down to Gourdan's house, where they had left Lieut. Col. Gorham, and Major Hilton, with part of the forces to guard the prisoners, (and kept a good look-out for more of the enemy) who, upon the Colonel's return, gave him an account that they had made no discovery of the enemy since he left them, &c. Just then her Majesty's ships and transports arrived. The Commanders of her Majesty's ships told Col. Church that they had orders to go directly for Port-Royal gut, and wait the coming of some store-ships, which were expected at Port Royal from France. Col. Church advising with them, proposed that it was very expedient and serviceable to the Crown, that Capt. Southack in the Province galley should accompany them, in which they did readily acquiesce with him. Upon which the Colonel immediately embarked his forces on board the transports, and himself on board Capt. Jarvis. Ordering the commissary of the stores, the minister, surgeons and pilots all to embark on board the same vessel with him; ordering all the whale-boats to be put on board the transports, and then to come to sail. The ships standing away for Port-Royal gut, and Colonel Church with the transports for Menis. In their way the Colonel inquired of their pilot — Fellows, what depth of water there was in the creek, near the town of Menis? He answered him that there was water enough near the town to float the

vessel they were in, at low water. So when coming near, Col. Church observed a woody island between them and the town, so that they run up on the back side of the said island, with all their transports undiscovered by the enemy, and came to anchor. Then the Colonel and all his forces embarked in the whale-boats; it being late in the day, moved directly for the town, and in the way asked for the pilot, who he expected was in one of the boats; but he had given him the slip, and tarried behind. The Colonel not knowing the difficulties that might attend their going up to the town, immediately sent Lieut. Giles, who could speak French, with a flag of truce up to the town, with a summons, which was wrote before they landed, expecting their surrender; which is as followeth:

Aboard her Majesty's ship *Adventure*, near the gut of *Menis*, June 20, 1704.

An agreement made by the Field Officers commanding her Majesty's forces for the present expedition against the French enemies, and Indian rebels.

AGREED,

That a declaration or summons be sent on shore at *Menis* and *Port-Royal*, under a flag of truce. Particularly,

We do declare to you, the many cruelties and barbarities that you and the Indians have been guilty of towards us, in laying waste our country here in the East, at *Casco*, and the places adjacent. Particularly, the horrid action at *Deerfield*, this last winter, in killing, massacring, mur-

dèring and scalping, without giving any notice at all, or opportunity to ask quarter at your hands; and after all, carrying the remainder into captivity in the height of winter, of which you killed many in the journey, and exposed the rest to the hardships of cold and famine, worse than death itself; which cruelties we are yet every day exposed unto, and exercised with.

We do also declare, that we have already made some beginnings of killing and scalping some Canada men, which we have not been wont to do or allow, and are now come with a great number of English and Indians, all volunteers, with resolutions to subdue you, and make you sensible of your cruelties to us, by treating you after the same manner.

At this time we expect our men of war and transport ships to be at Port-Royal. (We having but lately parted with them.)

In the last place, We do declare to you, That inasmuch as some of you have shown kindness to our captives, and expressed a love to, and desire of being under the English government, we do therefore, notwithstanding al this, give you timely notice, and do demand a surrender immediately, by the laying down your arms, upon which we promise very good quarter; if not, you must expect the utmost severity.

To the Chief Commander of the town of Menis, and the inhabitants thereof, and we expect your answer positively, within an hour.

BENJAMIN CHURCH, *Col.*

JOHN GORHAM, *Lt. Col.*

WINTHROP HILTON, *Maj.*

Then moving to the creek, expecting to have had water enough for the boats, as the pilot had informed them, but found not water enough for a canoe; so were obliged to land, intending to have been up to the town before the hour was out, as the summons expressed. (For their return was, that if our forces would not hurt their estates, then they would surrender; if otherwise intended, they should fight for them, &c.) But meeting with several creeks near twenty or thirty feet deep, which were very muddy and dirty, so that the army could not get over them, were obliged to return to their boats again, and wait till within night before the tide served them. They then intended to go up pretty near the town, and not to fall-to till morning, being in hopes that the banks of the creeks would shelter them from the enemy. But the tide rising so high, exposed them all to the enemy, who had the trees and woods to befriend them. And so they came down in the night and fired smartly at our forces; but Col. Church being in a pinnace that had a small cannon placed in the head, ordered it to be charged several times, with bullets in small bags, and fired at the enemy, which made such a rattling among the trees, that caused the enemy to draw off. And by the great providence of Almighty God, not one of our forces was hurt that night. I have been informed, they had one Indian killed, and some others wounded, which was some discouragement to the enemy. Next morning, by break of day, Col Church ordered all his forces, (and placed Maj. Hilton on the right wing,) to run all up, driving the enemy before them, who leaving their town to our forces, but had carried away the best

of their goods, which were soon found by our soldiers. The bulk of the enemy happening to lie against our right wing, caused the hottest dispute there, who lay behind logs and trees, till our forces, and Maj. Hilton, who led them, came upon them, and forced them to run. Notwithstanding the sharp firing of the enemy at our forces, by the repeated providence of God, there was not a man of ours killed or wounded.

Our soldiers not having been long in town, before they found considerable quantities of strong drink, both brandy and claret; and being very greedy after it, especially the Indians, were very disorderly, firing at every pig, turkey or fowl they saw, of which were very plenty in the town, which endangered our own men. The Colonel perceiving the disorder, and firing of his own men, ran to put a stop to it, had several shot come very near him. And finding what had occasioned this disorder, commanded his officers to knock out the heads of every cask of strong liquor they could find in the town, to prevent any further disturbance among his army; knowing it was impossible to have kept it from them, especially the Indians, if it were saved. Then some of the army, who were desirous to pursue the enemy, having heard them driving away their cattle, requested the Colonel to let them go, who did; and gave them their orders. Capt. Cook and Capt. Church to lead the two wings, and Lieut. Barker, who led the Colonel's company, in the centre. And the said Capt. Cook, and Capt. Church desired Lieut. Barker not to move too fast; so that he might have the benefit of their assistance, if he had occasion. But the said Lieutenant not being so careful as he

should have been, or at least was too eager, was shot down, and another man, which were all the men that were killed in the whole expedition. Towards night Col. Church ordered some of his forces to pull down some of the houses, and others to get logs and make a fortification for his whole army to lodge in that night, so that they might be together. And just before night ordered some of his men to go and see if there were any men in any of the houses in town; if not, to set them all on fire; which was done, and the whole town seemed to be on fire all at once. The next morning the Colonel gave orders to his men to dig down the dams and let the tide in, to destroy all their corn, and every thing that was good, according to his instructions; and to burn the fortifications which they had built the day before. And when the tide served to put all their plunder which they had got into the boats. Then ordering his soldiers to march at a good distance one from another; which caused the enemy to think that there were no less than a thousand men, as they said afterwards, and that their burning of the fortification and doing as they did, caused the enemy to think that they were gone clear off, and not to return again. But it proved to the contrary, for the Colonel and his forces only went aboard their transports, and there staid till the tide served; and in the night embarked on board their whale-boats, and landed some of his men. Expecting they might meet with some of the enemy mending their dams, which they did, and with their boats went up another branch of the river, to another town or village, upon such a surprise, that they took as many prisoners as they could desire. And it happened

that Col. Church was at the French Captain's house when two gentlemen came post from the Governor of Port-Royal who was the chief Commander at Menis, with an express to send away two companies of men to defend the King's fort there, and to give him an account, that there were three English men of war come into Port-Royal gut or harbour; and that the men sent for must be posted away with all speed. Col. Church, as was said before, being there, treated the two gentlemen very handsomely, and told them he would send them back again post to their master upon his business; and bid them give him his hearty thanks for sending him such good news, that part of his fleet was in so good a harbour. Then reading the summons to them that he had sent to Menis, further added, that their Master, the Governor of Port-Royal, must immediately send away a post to the Governor of Canada, at Quebec, to prevent his further sending of his cruel and bloody French and savages, as he had done lately upon Deerfield, where they had committed such horrible and bloody outrages upon those poor people, that never did them any harm, as is intolerable to think of; and that for the future, if any such hostilities were made upon our frontier towns, or any of them, he would come out with a thousand savages and whale-boats convenient, and turn his back upon them, and let his savages scalp and roast the French; or at least treat them as their savages had treated ours. Also gave them an account of part of that action at Passamequado, and how now that his soldiers had killed and scalped some Canada men there, and would be glad to serve them so too, if he would permit them, which ter-

rified them very much.* The two French gentlemen that came post made solemn promises that they would punctually do the Colonel's message to their Governor. So with the desire of the French people there, that the Governor might have this intelligence, Col. Church dismissed them, and sent them away. Telling the same story to several of the prisoners, and what they must expect if some speedy course was not taken to prevent further outrages upon the English. The number of prisoners then present, which were considerable, did unanimously entreat of Col. Church, that he would take them under the protection of the crown of England; making great promises of their fidelity to the same, begging with great agony of spirit, to save their lives, and to protect them from his savages, whom they extremely dreaded. As to the savages, he told them, it would be just retaliation for him to permit his savages to treat the French in the same manner, as the French with their savages treated our friends in our frontier towns. But as to his taking them under the protection of the crown of England, he utterly refused it, urging to them their former perfidiousness. They also urging that it would be impossible for any French to live any where in the Bay of Fundy, if they were not taken under the English government; for with the benefit of the whale-boats, as the English called them, they could take and destroy all their people in the town of Menis, in one night. But he replied to them, it should never be. Alleging to them that when

* This, the Commander of Port-Royal, says a certain author, "must know to be a gasconade."

they were so before, when Port-Royal was taken last by the English, that it proved of very ill consequence to the crown of England, and the subjects thereof in our frontiers. For that our English traders supplying them, enabled them to supply the Indians, our bloody enemies. And therefore, he could make no other terms of peace with them than that; if the French at Menis, Signecto and Canada, would keep at home with their bloody savages, and not commit any hostilities upon any of our frontiers, we would return home and leave them; for that we lived at a great distance off, and had not come near them to hurt them now, had not the blood of our poor friends and brethren in all the frontiers of our province, cried for vengeance. Especially that late unheard of barbarity committed upon the town of Deerfield, which wrought so generally on the hearts of our people, that our forces came out with that unanimity of spirit, both among the English and our savages, that we had not, nor needed a pressed man among them. The Colonel also telling them, that if ever hereafter any of our frontiers, East or West were molested by them, as formerly, that he would if God spared his life, and they might depend upon it, return upon them with a thousand of his savages, if he wanted them, all volunteers, with our whale-boats, and would pursue them to the last extremity. The Colonel's warm discourse with them wrought such a consternation in them, which they discovered by their panic fears and trembling, their hearts sensibly beating, and rising up, as it were, ready to choke them; confessed they were all his prisoners, and begged of him, for Jesus' sake, to save their lives, and the lives of their poor

families; with such melting terms, as wrought relentings in the Colonel's breast toward them. But however, he told them, that his intent was to carry as many prisoners home as he could, but that he had taken so many, they were more than he had occasion for, nor desired any more; and therefore he would leave them. The Colonel resolved the next day to complete all his actions at Menis, and so draw off. Accordingly he sent his orders to Col. Gorham, and Maj. Hilton, with all the English companies both officers and soldiers, except some few, which he thought he might have occasion for to go with the Indians in the whale-boats up the eastward river, where a third part of the inhabitants lived, that so he might prevent any reflection made on them, in leaving any part of the service undone. And therefore in the evening ordered all the whale-boats to be laid ready for the night's service. And accordingly when the tide served, he went with his Indians up the river, where they did some spoil upon the enemy going up. In the morning several of their transports came to meet them, to their great rejoicing, of whom they went on board, and soon came up with the whole fleet, with whom they joined, bending their course directly towards Port-Royal, where they were ordered. Coming to Port-Royal gut, where their ships were, and calling a council according to his instructions, drew up their result. Which is as followeth.

Present all the Field Officers and Captains of the land forces.

Aboard the Province Galley, 4th July, 1704, in Port-Royal harbour.

WE whose names are hereunto subscribed, having deliberately considered the cause in hand, whether it be proper to land all our forces, to offend and destroy as much as we can at Port-Royal, all or any part of the inhabitants thereof, and their estates. We are of opinion, that it is not for our interest and honour, and the country's whom we serve, to land or expose ourselves, but quit it wholly, and go on about our other business we have to do, for this reason, that we judge ourselves inferiour to the strength of the enemy; and therefore, the danger and risk we run, is greater than the advantage we can, or are likely to obtain; seeing the enemy hath such timely notice, and long opportunity to provide themselves against us, by our ships lying here in the road about twelve days, before we could join them from Menis, where we were during that time, and being so very meanly provided with necessaries convenient for such an undertaking, with so small a number of men, not being above four hundred capable and fit for service to land; and understanding by all the intelligence we can get from both English and French prisoners, that the fort is exceeding strong.

JOHN GORHAM, *Lieut. Col.*

WINTHROP HILTON, *Major.*

JOS. BROWN,	CONSTANT CHURCH,
JAMES COLE,	JOHN DYER,
JOHN COOK,	JOSHUA LAMB,
ISAAC MYRICK,	CALEB WILLIAMSON,
JOHN HARRADON,	EDWARD CHURCH.

Having, pursuant to my instructions, taken the advice of the gentlemen above subscribed, and considering the weight of their reasons, I do concur therewith. **BENJAMIN CHURCH.**

WHEREAS Col. Church hath desired our opinions, as to the landing the forces at **Port-Royal**, they being but 400 effective men to land, and by all the information both of **French** and **English** prisoners, the enemy having a greater number of men, and much better provided to receive, than they are to attack them. We do believe it is for the service of the crown, and the preservation of her Majesty's subjects to act as above mentioned.

THOMAS SMITH,
GEORGE ROGERS,
CYPRIAN SOUTHACK.

After this, they concluded what should be next done; which was, that the ships should stay some days longer at **Port-Royal** gut, and then go over to **Mount-Desart** harbour, and there stay till Col. Church with his transports should come to them. Being all ready, the Colonel with his transports and forces went up the bay to **Signecto**, where they needed not a pilot, being several of them well acquainted there. And they had not met with so many difficulties at **Menis**, had it not been that their pilot deceived them, who knew nothing of the matter, kept out of the way and landed not with them. And coming to **Signecto**, the enemy were all in arms ready to receive them. Col. Church landing his men; the Commander of the enemy waving his sword over his head, bid a challenge to them. The Colonel ordering his two wings to march up a pace, and come upon the

backs of the enemy; himself being in the centre, and the enemy knowing him, having been there before, shot chiefly at him. But through God's goodness he received no harm, neither had he one man killed, nor but two slightly wounded, and then all ran into the woods, and left their town with nothing in it. They having had timely notice of our forces, had carried all away out of the reach of our army. Col. Church, while there, with part of his forces ranged the woods, but to no purpose. Then returning to the town, did them what spoil he could, according to his instructions, and so drew off, and made the best of their way for Passamequado. Going in there in a great fog, one of their transports ran upon a rock, but was soon got off again. Then Col. Church with some of his forces embarked in their whale-boats, and went among the islands, with an intent to go to Sharkee's, where they had destroyed the fish; but observing a springy place in a cove, went on shore to get some water to drink, it being a sandy beach, they espied tracks. The Colonel presently ordered his men to scatter, and make search. They soon found De Bois'* wife, who had formerly been Col. Church's prisoner, and carried to Boston; but returned, who seemed very glad to see him. She had with her, two sons that were nearly men grown. The Colonel ordering them apart, examined the woman first, who gave him this account following; that she had lived thereabouts ever since the fleet went by, and that she had never seen but two Indians since, who came in a canoe from Norrigwock; who asked her,

* Du Bois. Pronounced Duboy.

what made her to be there alone? She told them, she had not seen a Frenchman nor an Indian, except those two since the English ships went by. Then the Indians told her there was not one Indian left except those two, who belong to the gut of Canso, on this side of Canada; for those Friars coming down with the Indians to M. Gordan's, and finding the Frenchmen slain, and their hair spoiled, being scalped, put them into a great consternation. And the Friars told them it was impossible for them to live thereabouts, for the English with their whale-boats would serve them all so. Upon which they all went to Norrigwock. Also told her that when the English came along through Penobscot, they had swept it of the inhabitants, as if it had been swept with a broom, neither French nor Indians escaping them. Further told her, that when their fathers, the Friars, and the Indians met together at Norrigwock, they called a council, and the Friars told the Indians, that they must look out for some other country, for that it was impossible for them to live there; also told them there was a river called Mossippee, where they might live quietly, and no English come near them; it being as far beyond Canada, as it was to it, &c. and if they would go and live there, they would live and die with them; but if not they would leave them, and never come near them again. Whereupon they all agreed to go away, which they did, and left their rough household stuff, and corn behind them, and went all, except those two for Canada. Also her sons giving the same intelligence, so we had no reason to think but it was true.

Col. Church having done what he could there, embarked on board the transports, and went to **Mount-Desart**, found no ships there, but a rundlet rode off by a line in the harbour, which he ordered to be taken up, and opening of it found a letter, which gave him an account that the ships were gone home for **Boston**. Then he proceeded and went to **Penobscot**. Where being come, made diligent search in those parts for the enemy, but could not find, or make any discovery of them, or that any had been there since he left those parts, which caused him to believe what **De Bois'** wife had told him was true.

I will by the way just give a hint of what we heard since of the effects of this expedition, and then proceed. First, That the **English** forces that went next to **Norrigwock**, found that the enemy were gone, and had left their rough household stuff and corn behind them. Not long after this expedition, there were several gentlemen sent down from **Canada**, to concert with our Governor about the settling of a cartile for the exchange of prisoners. And that the Governor of **Canada** has never since sent down an army upon our frontiers, that I know of, except sometimes a scout of **Indians** to take some prisoners, that he might be informed of our state, and what we were acting, &c. and always took care that the prisoners so taken should be civilly treated, and safely returned; as I have been informed, some of the prisoners that were taken gave such account. So that we have great cause to believe that the message Col. Church sent by the two **French** gentlemen from **Menis**, to the Governor of **Port-Royal**, took effect, and was a means to bring peace into our

borders. Then Col. Church with his forces embarked on board the transports, and went to Casco-Bay, where they met with Capt. Gallop, in a vessel from Boston, who had brought Col. Church further orders, which were to send some of his forces up to Norrigwock, in pursuit of the enemy; but he being sensible that the enemy were gone from thence, and that his soldiers were much worn out, and fatigued in the hard service they had already done, and wanted to get home, called a council, and agreed all to go home, which accordingly they did.

To conclude this expedition, I will just give a hint of some treatment* Col. Church had before and after he came home. For all his great expenses, fatigues and hardships, in and about this expedition, viz. He received of his Excellency fifteen pounds, as an earnest penny, towards raising volunteers. And after he came to receive his debenture for his Colonel's pay, there was two shillings and four pence due to him. And as for his Captain's pay, and man Jack, he has never

* It appears from authentic documents, that Church was censured wrongfully, and for some time bore the faults due only to Gov. Dudley. For it was generally thought by the people, that Col. Church went on this expedition for the express purpose of reducing Port-Royal, not knowing that he was expressly ordered to the contrary; therefore, we are not surprised that he should be blamed until the fact should be known. It appears that nothing hindered the Colonel from taking it, but orders. The Governor was accused of preserving Port-Royal to benefit himself by an illegal trade with the inhabitants. However this may be, he excused himself by saying, he had no orders from the Queen authorizing its reduction, and that her Majesty was to send over in the spring, a force expressly for that purpose. See pages 216 and 217.

recieved any thing as yet. Also after he came home, some ill minded persons did their endeavour to have taken away his life, for that there were some of the French enemy killed,† this expedition. But his Excellency the Governor, the Honourable Council, and House of Representatives saw cause to clear him, and gave him thanks for his good service done.

† See page 229. Some persons in a house who would not come out by the request of the soldiers. Also, see NOTE. Page 230.

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NOTES.

The following Notes were not prepared in season to be inserted in their proper places, but the word or phrase after which they should have been placed will readily meet the eye on turning to the page here designated.

NOTE I.

Page 28, after "Capt. Fuller." Capt Fuller and Mr. Church were sent together into Pocasset neck to make peace with the Indians there, or war, as they should be found treatable, or otherwise. Capt. Fuller parted from Mr. Church, being weary of hunting without meeting with something to do, and marched down to the water where they found more than they could do, but happening to get possession of an old house were soon taken off by a vessel, and so escaped, as Mr. Church did afterward.

NOTE II.

Page 35, "300 Indians." The battle of the Pease Field happened on the 8th July, 1675.

NOTE III.

Page 53, "Clark's Garrison." On the 12th March, 1676, Mr. Clark's house, containing two families, in all eleven persons, was destroyed, and every one cruelly murdered. Mr. Church calls

it a garrison, but its strength did not make it so, being only a common house, though very good for those days.

NOTE IV.

Page 54, "Warwick." The 17th March following was burned. Also many other places about the Narraganset country. On the 28th of the same month, several hundred Indians fell upon Rehoboth, and burned about seventy buildings, forty of which were houses. On the 29th, Providence shared the same fate, having thirty houses consumed by this motley crew. These were days of great gloominess to New-England. The enemy's successes about this time, particularly in February and March, so elated them, that they even threatened Boston itself. They came as near as Medfield, and notwithstanding two or three hundred soldiers were stationed there, they burned down half the town, and killed eighteen of the inhabitants. Medfield is twenty miles from Boston.

NOTE V.

Page 111, "Howoh." In a note at page 99, the authority to alter the spelling of the word *Annawon*, is questioned; the substance of which is, that its termination ought to be written *won*, for "we, who never heard the native tongue, cannot tell, but that they," the Natives, "pronounced it as if written *wun*, allowing this to have been the case, it is certainly more proper to write *won*." I now very much question the authority of Dr. Morse, notwithstanding his erudition, to write *Howah*, instead of *Howoh*. It is very evident to

me from the writings of those days, that the writer of this history, intended in the termination of that word, to convey the sound of *oh!* and not *ah!* Much more might be said in support of the ancient manner of writing this word, but to those who wish to preserve antiquity, especially of our own country, no further proof, it is thought, will be required. It is desirable that these things be attended to by modern historians, and let posterity judge for themselves, as well as we, for ourselves, who, no doubt, will think that they are more capable of judging than we.

NOTE VI.

Page 143, "Casco." In the Fort at Casco, about 100 persons were besieged for some time, and on the 17th of May, 1690, they surrendered. For many years the eastern country was in the greatest distress, and many flourishing places entirely deserted, others entirely destroyed.

NOTE VII.

Page 186, "Pemaquid." In 1696, two men of war were despatched to take possession of Nova Scotia. As they lay in the mouth of the river St. Johns, as it afterward appeared, the French at Quebeck were fitting out a fleet, on board of which were two companies of soldiers and about fifty Michmack Indians, for the taking of the fort at Pemaquid. Though the French force consisted of but two ships, they were much too heavy for the English. Iberville, a brave and experienced commander, conducted the French force. When he arrived at St. Johns, Villebon, commander there, informed him of the situation and cir-

circumstances of the English ships. He immediately was in quest of them, and fell upon them when they thought themselves secure. One ship, called the Newport, after exchanging a few broadsides with the enemy, had her topmast shot away, and was obliged to surrender. By the sudden appearance of a fog the other ship escaped, and returned to Boston, bearing the news of their defeat. In the mean time the French fleet proceeded upon their expedition with the addition of the Newport. At Penobscot, Baron Castine joined them, with 200 Indians. The whole force arrived before the fort at Pemaquid, July the 14th. Capt. March, having previously resigned the command of the fort a short time before, and a Capt. Chubb was his successor. He received a summons from Iberville to surrender. Chubb returned for answer, a mere gasconade. Says he, "if the sea were covered with French ships, and the land with Indians, yet I would not give up the fort." The attack was immediately begun by the Indians, and the fort answered them with their musketry and cannon. The night following Iberville landed his cannon and mortars, and the next day, before three in the afternoon, had raised his works, and planted his mortars, so as to throw five bombs into the fort. This so terrified Chubb and the garrison in general, that a parley was immediately beat, and the fort surrendered. Fifteen pieces of well mounted cannon, and ninety able men, which if they had been well commanded, would have been a match for double that force, now fell into the hands of the French. They surrendered on terms, that they should be sent to Boston and exchanged for the like number of French and Indian pris-

oners, and the injunction that the savages should be restrained from any violence on them.

The surrender of the fort appears to have been hastened by Castine, who found means to convey a letter into the fort, informing them, that if they held out, the savages would not be controled, for he had seen such orders from the King to Iberville.

Chubb was greatly censured, and put under an arrest, but afterward dismissed. It is not probable that the garrison could have held out until succour should have arrived, and without doubt they considered the longer they should hold out, the more enraged the savages would be; therefore, it is not unlikely that Capt. Chubb's conduct was at first too highly censured.

NOTE VIII.

Page 50, mention is made of Sudbury. There appears no very particular account of the distresses of that place; from what does appear, it seems that the Indians were exasperated by the success of some Sudbury men, who were engaged in the war. About the 17th March, 1676, a small number of them joined one Lieut. Jacobs, of Marlborough, another suffering town, and when about half a mile from a garrison house, came upon nearly 300 Indians before day, encamped by their fires. Notwithstanding the number of the English was so small, being but forty in all, they ventured to fire upon them; and before the enemy could arouse and escape, the English had several well directed fires, killing and wounding nearly fifty. On the 18th of April, they came upon Sudbury, and burned several houses and barns, and killed some of

the inhabitants. About ten or twelve English on their way from Concord, (a place about five miles from Sudbury,) to assist their neighbors, were all killed near a garrison, by a party of the enemy, who had knowledge of their coming. Not long before this, one Thomas Eames, that kept a farm at Sudbury, but lived about three miles out of town, had his house burned, his wife killed, and his children carried away into the wilderness.

LIFE

OF

COLONEL BENJAMIN CHURCH.



Colonel **BENJAMIN CHURCH** was born in 1639, at **Duxbury**, near **Plymouth**, of respectable parents, who lived and died there. His father's name was **Joseph**, who, with two of his brethren, came early into **New-England**, as refugees from the religious oppression of the parent state. **Mr. Joseph Church**, among other children had three sons, **Joseph**, **Caleb** and **Benjamin**. **Caleb** settled at **Watertown**; the other two at **Seconet**, or **Little Compton**. **Benjamin**, the hero of this history, was of a good stature, his body well proportioned, and built for hardiness and activity. Although he was very corpulent and heavy in the latter part of his life, yet when he was a young man he was not so, being then active, sprightly and vigorous. He carried dignity in his countenance, thought and acted with rational and manly judgment, which, joined with a naturally generous, obliging and hospitable disposition, procured him both authority and esteem. He married **Mrs. Alice Southworth**, by whom he had a daughter, **Mrs. Rothbotham**, and five sons, viz. **Thomas Church**, the author or publisher of

this history, and father of the Hon. Thomas Church, Esq. now living at Little Compton; Constant Church, a Captain under his father in the eastern expedition, and in the militia, and of a military and enterprising spirit; Benjamin Church, who died a bachelor; Edward Church, whose only son, now living, is Deacon Benjamin Church, of Boston, who furnishes these memoirs of the family; and Charles Church, who had a numerous issue. Colonel Church was a man of integrity, justice and uprightness, of piety and serious religion. He was a member of the Church of Bristol at its foundation, in the Rev. Mr. Lee's day. He was constant and devout in family worship, wherein he read and often expounded the Scriptures to his household. He was exemplary in observing the Sabbath, and in attending the worship and ordinances of God in the sanctuary. He lived regularly, and left an example worthy of the imitation of his posterity. He was a friend to the civil and religious liberties of his country, and greatly rejoiced in the revolution. He was Colonel of the militia in the county of Bristol. The several offices of civil and military trust, with which he was invested from time to time, through a long life, he discharged with fidelity and usefulness. The war of 1675 was the most important Indian war that New-England ever saw. Philip or Metacomet, (a son of good old Massasoit, and his second successor,) had wrought up the Indians of all the tribes through New-England, into a dangerous combination to extirpate the English. It was one of the last works of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, (a council which subsisted, the great security of New-England, from

1643 to 1678,) to break up this confederacy. An army of 1000 English was on foot at once, under the command of Gov. Winslow. Whoever desires further information concerning this war, may consult Mr. Hubbard's* history of it. The part Col. Church acted in it is exhibited in this plain narrative, given by his son two years before his father's death. Col. Church perfectly understood the manner of the Indians in fighting, and was thoroughly acquainted with their haunts, swamps, and places of refuge on the territory between Narraganset and Cape Cod. There he was particularly successful. On that field he gathered his laurels. The surprisal and seizure of ANNAWON was an act of true boldness and heroism. Had the eastern Indians been surrounded with English settlements, there is reason to think he would have been more successful among them. But on a long and extended frontier, open to im-

* Mr William Hubbard, minister of Ipswich. This gentleman, often referred to in the notes attached to this edition, wrote a very full history of all the Indian wars in New-England, from the first discovery of the country, to the year 1677; and is the best history of the Indian affairs of that period, ever published. As Mr. Hubbard wrote at the time of the greatest wars with the Indians, we may naturally suppose, that his history is very correct; yet, there are but few historians, who write without committing some errors, and we believe Mr. Hubbard's history contains as few as any other, on those wars.

Gov. Hutchinson, in speaking of the character of Mr. Hubbard, says, "he was a man of learning, of a candid and benevolent mind, accompanied, as it generally is, with a good degree of catholicism; which, I think, was not accounted the most valuable part of his character in the age in which he lived." Vol. ii, p. 136.

He died Sept. 14th, 1704, at the age of 83 years.

mense desarts, little more has ever been done by troops of undaunted courage, than to arouse and drive off the Indians into a wide howling wilderness, where it was as much in vain to seek them, as for Cæsar to seek the Gauls in the Hircinian forests.

The present edition of this history is given without alteration in the body of it; it being thought best that it should go down to posterity with its own internal marks of originality. However, in the margin the editor hath given the English names of places described by Indian names in the narrative; and also some few notes and illustrations.

After Philip's War, Col. Church settled, and at first at Bristol, then at Fall River, (Troy,) lastly at Seconet; at each of which places he acquired and left a large estate. Having served his generation faithfully, by the will of God, he fell asleep, and was gathered unto his fathers. He died and was buried at Little Compton. The morning before his death, he went about two miles on horseback, to visit his only sister, Mrs. Irish, to sympathise 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 exceedingly 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 with great funeral pomp, and was buried under arms, and with military honours. On his tombstone is this inscription:

Here lieth interred the body
of the Honourable
Col. BENJAMIN CHURCH, Esq.
who departed this life
January the 17th, 1717-18,
in the 78th year of his age.

Newport, April 8, 1772

APPENDIX.

I. DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

WITH the fall of the Roman Empire, an age of ignorance began. This happened about 447 years after Christ. And not until the fourteenth century, did science and the arts make much advancement; it was then, that Navigation rose. It did not rise alone, the immortal Columbus* rose

* Christopher Columbus was born in Genoa, a province of Spain, in the year 1447. He was early discovered to possess a strong propensity toward a seafaring life, the occupation of his ancestors, who were not unmindful of his inclinations, and gave him a suitable education. Like other great geniuses he viewed the mathematical and its relative sciences, only, as worthy of attention. When he was fourteen years of age, he commenced going to sea. In 1467, he sailed in the service of a relative of his, who was a Captain Columbus, and was engaged in a war against the Mahometans. In this war our Columbus discovered the qualifications necessary to great undertakings. He was at last unfortunate; for in a severe battle the vessel in which he served, taking fire, he had the only alternative, to throw himself into the sea; and, being a good swimmer, reached the shore, although the distance was six miles. He immediately went to Lisbon, and his abilities being duly appreciated there, was taken much notice of among the first class of people. Here he married the daughter of a nobleman, who had been engaged in adventures of discovery, and, who favoured him with all his charts, and other papers of great value. It is probable, the descriptions of new countries,

with it. This great man was a native of Genoa. In him we behold the greatest genius, and a mind competent to the most daring, and ardent enterprises, ever performed by man.

given him in the journals of his father-in-law, first kindled the flame of discovery in *his* breast; which, in its extent and magnitude, has never found a parallel.

The Portuguese were planning the rout to India by passing round the south point of Africa, when Columbus conceived the **MIGHTY PLAN**, which led to the discovery of **AMERICA**. He first divulged his theory to a Florentine gentleman of great learning, who highly approved the plan, and encouraged him to persevere therein. He applied first to the government of Genoa for patronage, then to that of Portugal, who in order to rob him of the honour which they (the latter) thought might accrue, despatched a vessel in the same direction pointed out by him; but those to whom was committed the performance of his plan, had neither courage nor fortitude to venture far upon it. He next addressed himself to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, while he despatched his brother Bartholomew to solicit the aid of Henry VII. of England. However, after eight years of disappointment and mortifying delays, Isabella was prevailed with, through the influence of the noble Quintanilla and Santangel, to second his design. He was on his way to England as his last hope, whence the Queen immediately had him recalled, and he immediately set out on his first voyage of discovery with three small ships, and ninety men. After proceeding a while in the then unknown vast Atlantic ocean, the magnetic needle was found to vary. This phenomenon appeared strange to Columbus, as well as his men, and although he assigned an ingenious reason for it, yet, his men looked upon their proceeding, as an encroachment on the works of nature, and that her bounds were passed, and this was a warning to them to desist from proceeding any farther. When they had been about twenty-one days on this strange sea, the crew began to mutiny, and had formed the design of throwing their Admiral overboard, and to return home. He however dispelled their murmurs by promising them that he would return in three days, if land did not appear; at the end of which time, to their great joy, land was discovered, which proved to be one of the

In the great plan of the world, which he seemed to comprehend, thought it necessary to the equipois of the globe, that there should be more land, than was then known. He, therefore, conceived the idea of sailing to the East Indies, by steering west.

Bahama Islands. After visiting many other Islands in that quarter, he took his departure homeward. On his passage he encountered a dreadful storm, and when all was given up for lost, he retired to his cabin, and wrote an account of his voyage upon parchment, sealed it in a cake of wax, put it into a tight cask, and threw it into the sea; hoping, that by some fortunate circumstance, it might be found. But presently the storm ceased, and he arrived at Lisbon, having been absent about seven months. The 25th of September, 1493, another armament was got ready for him, consisting of seventeen ships, and he again embarked. He visited the places he discovered before, and made some new discoveries. But while he was absent, lying and malicious persons brought him into disrepute at home, and on the arrival of his brother Bartholomew, he returned to Spain, in 1476; where his dignified mien abashed every accuser, and the court dismissed him with honour.

In 1498, he sailed on his third voyage, and after touching along the continent some distance, returned to his old colony at Hispaniola, which he found in sedition, but soon restored things to order. In the mean time, his enemies succeeded in procuring his arrest, and he was sent home in irons, where he was instantly released by the king, and received his usual honours.

He sailed on a fourth voyage in 1502. On arriving in the gulf of Mexico his fleet encountered a violent storm and was cast on the Island of Jamaica. Here the natives annoyed them until Columbus told them of an eclipse, which came to pass as he had predicted, and ever after they were treated with great respect. At length he was taken off, and carried to Spain, in 1504. Isabella was dead, his only patroness, and the king would redress no wrongs he had received. This so depressed his spirits, that infirmities came upon him, and he died at Valladolid, the 12th of May, 1506, in the 59th year of his age.

After fully digesting in his own mind, this great plan, he set about soliciting assistance to put it in execution. He was not only discountenanced by one court after another, but looked upon, as “a visionary and chimerical projector.”

At length, Ferdinand and Isabella, of Spain, lent him their aid. He sailed from Spain in August, and on the 11th of October following, 1492, discovered America, which he considered as a part of the continent of Asia, known by the name of India. Hence the name of Indians, and West-Indies; because they were discovered by sailing west.

II. DISCOVERY OF NORTH AMERICA.

John and Sebastian Cabot, in the year 1497, sailed along the coast of North-America from Nova Scotia to Florida, and made a discovery of its whole extent.

In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold, and Capt. John Smith, in 1614, made a particular discovery of New-England. Capt. Smith made an accurate survey of its coast.

III. SETTLEMENT OF NORTH AMERICA.

The first permanent settlement made in North-America by the English, was at Jamestown, in Virginia, in 1607. From that time settlements began to be made all along the coast.

As it was not the design of this work to give a particular account of all the settlements, we pass on to that of New-England.

IV. LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH.

The cause of Our Forefather's forsaking their native country, for this, then dreary and howling

wilderness, was because they were not permitted the free enjoyment of their religious principles. In those times of persecution a society fled from England into Holland, and not being pleased with the manners of the Dutch, whose morals they considered had a tendency to corrupt those of their children, resolved to venture across the vast Atlantic Ocean, and seek an Asylum in the West.

Two small vessels were prepared, and on the 5th of August, 1620, they put to sea. Jones and Reynolds were the names of the two commanders.

They had not proceeded far, before Capt. Reynolds complained, that his ship was so leaky he dared not proceed farther, so both ships returned. On being repaired they put to sea again; and after sailing about one hundred leagues, Capt. Reynolds again, to their great astonishment, said his ship would never perform the voyage, and that he must return; so both ships bore away for England. On searching the ship, very little was found to be the matter; the true cause of these delays, as yet not being known. But it was afterward found, that the Dutch had bribed the said Reynolds to waste away the season, and to land them thus far north, so late that they could not go to Hudson's river, as they first intended. But to proceed, it was finally agreed to dismiss the bad ship; which was done, and the other to go on the intended voyage, which after encountering violent storms, and long head winds, arrived on the coast in November. And on coming near the land, found it to be Cape Cod. They held a council, and resolved to go south for Hudson's river. They had not sailed long before they found themselves nearly encompassed with dangerous shoals; so they bore up

again for the Cape, and entered the harbour on the 11th. They immediately sent out a party to explore, who fixed upon a place, whither they all went, and on the 25th, was begun the first house ever built in New-England. The place was called Plymouth, from the last place they left in England.

Proceedings of the Pilgrims for the first three months after their arrival, as related by Mr. Nathaniel Morton, in his New-England's Memorial; being copied verbatim from an old edition of that work.

Of the first planters, their combination, by entering into a body politick together; with their proceedings in discovery of a place for their settlement and habitation.

Being thus fraudulently dealt with (as you have heard) and brought so far to the northward, the season being sharp, and no hopes of their obtaining their intended port; and thereby their patent being made void and useless, as to another place: Being at Cape Cod upon the eleventh day of November, 1620, it was thought meet for their more orderly carrying on of their affairs, and accordingly by mutual consent they entered into a solemn combination, as a body politick, to submit to such government and governors, laws and ordinances, as should by a general consent, from time to time, be made choice of, and assented unto. The contents whereof followeth. This was the first foundation of the government of New-Plymouth.

In the name of God, amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread

sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honour of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politick, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: And by virtue hereof, do enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts constitutions and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November, in the reign of our sovereign Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Dom. 1620.

John Carver,	Samuel Fuller,	Edward Tilly,
William Bradford,	Christopher Martin	John Tilly,
Edward Winslow,	William Mullins,	Francis Cooke,
William Brewster,	William White,	Thomas Rogers,
Isaac Allerton,	Richard Warren,	Thomas Tinker,
Miles Standish,	John Howland,	John Ridgdale,
John Alden,	Stephen Hopkins,	Edward Fuller,
John Turner,	Digery Priest,	Richard Clark,
Francis Eaton,	Thomas Williams,	Rich. Gardiner,
James Chilton,	Gilbert Winslow,	John Allerton,
John Craxton,	Edmund Morgeson,	Thomas English,
John Billington,	Peter Brown,	Edward Doten,
Joses Fletcher,	Richard Bitteridge,	Edward Liester.
John Goodman,	George Soule,	

After this, they chose Mr. John Carver, a man godly and well approved among them, to be their governor for that year.

Necessity now calling them to look out a place for habitation, as well as the master and mariners, importunity urging them thereunto; while their carpenter was trimming up of their boat, sixteen of their men tendered themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places, which was accepted; and they being well armed, were sent forth on the sixteenth of November, 1620, and having marched about a mile by the sea-side, they espied five Indians, who ran away from them, and they followed them all that day sundry miles, but could not come to speak with them; so night coming on, they betook themselves to their rendezvous, and sent out their sentinels, and rested in quiet that night; and the next morning they followed the Indian tracks, but could not find them or their dwellings, but at length lighted on a good quantity of clear ground near to a pond of fresh water, where formerly the Indians had planted Indian corn, at which place they saw sundry of their graves; and proceeding further, they found new stubble where Indian corn had been planted the same year, also they found where lately a house had been, where some planks and a little kettle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly paddled with their hands, which they digged up, and found in them divers fair Indian baskets filled with corn, some whereof was in ears, fair and good, of divers colours, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, having seen none before. Of which rarities they took some to carry to their friends on shipboard, like as the Israelites' spies brought from Eshcol some

of the good fruits of the land; but finding little that might make for their encouragement as to situation, they returned, being gladly received by the rest of their company.

After this, their shallop being ready, they set out the second time for a more full discovery of this place, especially a place that seemed to be an opening as they went into the said harbour some two or three leagues off, which the master judged to be a river; about thirty of them went out on this second discovery, the master of the ship going with them; but upon the more exact discovery thereof, they found it to be no harbour for ships, but only for boats. There they also found two of their houses covered with mats, and sundry of their implements in them; but the people ran away, and could not be seen. Also there they found more of their corn and beans of various colours; the corn and beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meet with any of them. About six months after they gave them full satisfaction to their content. And here is to be noted, a special and a great mercy to this people, that here they got them seed to plant them corn the next year, or otherwise they might have starved, for they had none, nor any likelihood to get any, until the season had been past, as the sequel did manifest, neither is it likely that they had had this, if the first discovery had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, and hard frozen; but the Lord is never wanting unto those that are his, in their greatest needs. Let his holy name have all the praise.

Having thus discovered this place, it was controverted among them what to do, touching their abode and settling there. Some thought it best for many reasons to abide there.

1st. Because of the convenience of the harbour for bosts, though not for ships.

2d. There was good corn ground ready to their hands as was seen by experience in the goodly corn it yielded, which again would agree with the ground, and be natural seed for the same.

3d. Cape Cod was like to be a place for good fishing, for they daily saw great whales of the best kind for oil.

4th. The place was likely to be heathful, secure and defensible.

5thly, and lastly. The especial reason was, that now the heart of the winter and unseasonable weather was come upon them, so as they could not go upon coasting and discovery, without danger of losing both men and boat, upon which would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable winds and sudden storms do there arise; also cold and wet lodging had so tainted their people, as scarce any of them were free from vehement coughs, as if they should continue long, it would endanger the lives of many, and breed diseases and infection among them. Again, that as yet they had some provisions, but they would quickly be spent, and then they should have nothing to comfort them in their labour and toil that they were like to undergo. At the first it was also conceived, whilst they had competent victuals, that the ship would stay, but when that grew low, they would be gone and let them shift for themselves.

Others again urged to go to Agawam, alias Angawam, a place about twenty leagues off to the northward, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for ships, better ground, and better fishing.

Secondly, for any thing they knew there might be hard by as a better seat, and it would be a great hindrance to seat where they should remove again.

But to omit many reasons and replies concerning this matter, it was in the end concluded to make some discovery within the bay, but in no case so far as Angawam.* Besides, Robert Copping, their pilot, made relation of a great navigable river and good harbour in the other headland of the bay, almost right over against Cape Cod, being in a right line not much above eight leagues distant, in which he had once been, and beyond that place they that were to go on discovery, were enjoined not to go. About this time Mrs. Susanna White was delivered of a son, who was named Peregrine; he was the first of the English that was born in New-England, and still surviveth,† and is the Lieutenant of the military company of Marshfield.

The month of November being spent on these affairs, and having much foul weather; on the sixth of December they concluded to send out their shallop again on a third discovery. The names of those that went on this discovery, were Mr. John Carver, Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John

* Supposed to be where Salem now is. Ed.

† 1668.

Howland, Mr. Richard Warren, Mr. Stephen Hopkins, Mr. Edward Tilly, Mr. John Tilly, Mr. Clark, Mr. Coppin, John Allerton, Thomas English, Edward Doten, with the master gunner of the ship, and three of the common seamen; these set sail on Wednesday the sixth of December, 1620, intending to circulate the deep bay of Cape Cod, the weather being very cold, so as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed, notwithstanding, that night they got down into the bottom of the bay, and as they drew near the shore they saw some ten or twelve Indians, and landed about a league off them, but with some difficulty, by reason of the shoals in that place, where they tarried that night.

In the morning they divided their company to coast along, some on shore and some in the boat, where they saw the Indians had been the day before cutting up a fish like a Grampus; and so they ranged up and down all that day, but found no people, nor any place they liked, as fit for their settlement; and that night, they on shore met with their boat at a certain creek, where they made them a baricado of boughs and logs, for their lodging that night, and being weary betook themselves to rest. This is thought to be a place called Namskeket. The next morning, about five o'clock, (seeking guidance and protection from God by prayer) and refreshing themselves, in way of preparation, to persist on their intended expedition, some of them carried their arms down to the boat, having laid them up in their coats from the moisture of the weather; but others said they would not carry theirs until they went themselves:

but presently all on a sudden, about the dawning of the day, they heard a great and strange cry, and one of their company being on board, came hastily in, and cried, **Indians! Indians!** and, withal, their arrows came flying among them; on which all their men ran with speed to recover their arms; as by God's good providence they did. In the mean time some of those that were ready discharged two muskets at them, and two more stood ready at the entrance of their rendezvous, but were commanded not to shoot until they could take full aim at them; and the other two charged again with all speed, for there were only four that had arms there, and defended the barricado which was first assaulted. The cry of the Indians was dreadful, especially when they saw their men run out of their rendezvous towards the shallop to recover their arms; the Indians wheeling about upon them; but some running out with coats of mail, and cuttle axes in their hands, they soon recovered their arms, and discharged among them, and soon stayed their violence. Notwithstanding, there was a lusty man, and no less valiant, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot, and let his arrows fly among them; he was seen to shoot three arrows, which were all avoided, and stood three shot of a musket, until one taking full aim at him, made the bark or splinters of the tree fly about his ears; after which he gave an extraordinary shriek, and away they went all of them; and so leaving some to keep the shallop, they followed them about a quarter of a mile, that they might conceive that they were not afraid of them, or any way discouraged. This place, on this occasion, was called the **First Encounter.**

Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies, and to give them deliverance, and by his special providence so to dispose, that not any of them was either hurt or hit, though their arrows came close by them; and sundry of their coats, which hung up in the barricado, were shot through and through; for which salvation and deliverance they rendered solemn thanksgiving unto the Lord.

From hence they departed, and coasted all along, but discerned no place likely for harbour, and therefore hasted to the place the pilot, as aforesaid, told them of, who assured them that there was a good harbour, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad, for it began to be foul weather.

After some hours sailing, it began to snow and rain, and about the middle of the afternoon the wind increased, and the sea became very rough, and they broke their rudder, and it was as much as two men could do to steer the boat with a couple of oars; but the pilot bid them be of good cheer, for he saw the harbour; but the storm increasing, and night drawing on, they bore what sail they could to get in while they could see; but herewith they broke their mast in three pieces, and their sail fell overboard in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by God's mercy they recovered themselves, and having the flood with them, struck into the harbour. But when it came to, the pilot was deceived, and said, Lord be merciful to us, my eyes never saw this place before; and he and the master's mate would have run the boat ashore in a cove full of breakers before the wind, but a lusty seamen, who steered, bid them that rowed, if they

were men, about with her, else they were all cast away, the which they did with all speed; so he bid them be of good cheer, and row hard, for there was a fair sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other they might ride in safety. And although it was very dark, and rained sore, yet in the end they got under the lee of a small island, and remained there all night in safety. But they knew not this to be an island until the next morning, but were much divided in their minds; some would keep the boat, doubting they might be among the Indians, others were so wet and cold they could not endure, but got on shore, and with much difficulty got fire, and so the whole were refreshed, and rested in safety that night. The next day, rendering thanks to God for his great deliverance of them, and his continued merciful good providence towards them; and finding this to be an island, it being the last day of the week, they resolved to keep the Sabbath. This was between the place called the Gurnet's Nose and Sagaquab, by the mouth of Plymouth harbour. This was afterwards called Clark's island, because Mr. Clark, the master's mate, first stepped ashore thereon.

On the second day of the week following they sounded the harbour, and found it fit for shipping, and marched into the land, and found divers corn fields, and little running brooks, a place, as they supposed, fit for situation, at least it was the best that they could find, and the season and the present necessity made them glad to accept of it. So they returned to their ship with this news to the rest of the people, which did much comfort their hearts.

On the fifteenth of December they weighed anchor, to go to the place they had discovered, and arrived the sixteenth day in the harbour they had formerly discovered, and afterwards took better view of the place, and resolved where to pitch their dwellings; and on the five and twentieth day of December began to erect the first house for common use, to receive them and their goods. And after they had provided a place for their goods and common store, (which was long in unloading for want of boats, and by reason of foulness of the winter weather, and sickness of divers,) they began to build some small cottages for habitation, as time would admit; and also consulted of laws and orders both for their civil and military government, as the necessity of their present condition did require. But that which was sad and lamentable, in two or three months time half of their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter, wanting houses and other comforts, being infected with the scurvy and other diseases, which this long voyage and their incommode condition had brought upon them, so as there died, sometimes two, sometimes three on a day, in the aforesaid time, that of one hundred and odd persons, scarcely fifty remained. Among others in the time fore named, died Mr. William Mullins, a man pious and well-deserving, endowed also with a considerable outward estate; and had it been the will of God that he had survived, might have proved an useful instrument in his place, with several others who deceased in this great and common affliction, whom I might take notice of to the like effect. Of those that did survive in this time of distress

and calamity that was upon them, there was sometimes but six or seven sound persons, who, to their great commendation be it spoken, spared no pains night nor day to be helpful to the rest, not shunning to do very mean services to help the weak and impotent. In which sickness the seamen shared also deeply, and many died, to about the one half of them, before they went away. Thus being but few, and very weak, this was an opportunity for the savages to have made a prey of them, who were wont to be most cruel and treacherous people in all these parts, even like lions; but to them they were as lambs, God striking a dread in their hearts, so that they received no harm from them. The Lord also so disposed, as aforesaid, much to waste them by a great mortality, together with which were their own civil dissensions, and bloody wars, so as the twentieth person was scarce left alive when these people arrived, there remaining sad spectacles of that mortality in the place where they seated, by many bones and skulls of the dead lying above ground; whereby it appeared that the living of them were not able to bury them. Some of the ancient Indians that are surviving at the writing hereof, do affirm, that about some two or three years before the first English arrived here, they saw a blazing star, or comet, which was a fore-runner of this sad mortality, for soon after it came upon them in extremity. Thus God made way for his people, by removing the heathen, and planting them in the land; yet we hope in mercy to some of the posterity of these blind savages, by being a means, at least stepping-stones, for others to come and preach the gospel among them; of which afterwards in its proper

place. This seemeth to be the same star that was seen about that time in Europe. But to return;

The Indians, after their arrival, would show themselves afar off, but when they endeavoured to come near them they would run away. But about the sixteenth of March, 1621, a certain Indian, called Samoset, came boldly among them, and spoke to them in broken English, which yet they could well understand; at which they marvelled; but at length they understood that he belonged to the eastern parts of the country, and had acquaintance with sundry of the English fishermen, and could name sundry of them, from whom he learned his language. He became very profitable to them, in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the eastern parts, as also of the people here; of their names, number and strength, of their situation and distance from this place, and who was chief among them. He told them also of another Indian called Squanto, alias Sisquantam, one of this place, who had been in England, and could speak better English than himself; and after courteous entertainment of him he was dismissed. Afterwards he came again with some other natives, and told them of the coming of the great Sachem, named Massasoiet, who, about four or five days after, came with the chief of his friends and other attendants, with the aforesaid Squanto, with whom, after friendly entertainment and some gifts given him, they made a league of peace, which continued with him and his successors to the time of the writing hereof.

V. WARS WITH THE INDIANS.

Story of Capt. Smith and Pocahontas.

The southern Indians were exasperated against the English before any regular settlement was made. An Indian town was burnt by Sir Richard Greenville, only because a native had stolen a silver cup. At another time a Mr. Lane and his company killed a Chief, and several others. These, with other acts of inhumanity, were not forgotten; but as soon as a settlement was made, and an opportunity offered, they took revenge.

The colony of Virginia were involved in perpetual broils with the Indians, and to add to their calamities, their governors sent over by the king, were at first, cruel and oppressive. At length Capt. John Smith was sent over, and affairs took a different turn. But a predatory war was every day carried on by the Indians, and nothing could put a stop to these outrages, but their subjugation. Capt. Smith, while engaged in this business, unfortunately for the Colony, was taken by a party of Indians, subjects of Powhatan, in making his escape across a swamp, having got stuck fast in the mud. He was conveyed in triumph to Powhatan, who resolved on his immediate death. The manner being agreed upon, and performed with all its terrors. Two huge stones were placed, and Capt. Smith was brought, and his head laid upon one, while the other was raised to dash out his brains. At this moment, Pocahontas, the king's darling daughter, stayed the arm of the executioner, by throwing herself between, and covering his head with her own. At the same time beseeching her father to spare his life, with all the ten-

derness, which female innocence inspires. Powhatan was moved, for the sake of his daughter, to prolong his life.

His release was affected in a singular manner. He told Powhatan, that if he would send one of his men to the English, on a certain day, he should find under a certain tree, such implements of war, &c. as should be agreed upon for his ransom. Powhatan consented, but without much confidence. Captain Smith took a leaf from his pocket-book, wrote on it what his situation was, and what arrangements he had made for his release. The messenger taking it directly to the English, at the day appointed, every thing was found agreeably to stipulation. This mode of doing business they thought miraculous, and that, at least, Capt. Smith was a worker of magic. He was therefore sent home, and ever after held in great respect by them. On his return to the colonists he found them in a wretched condition. Pocahontas often visited him, and always presenting some kind of provisions, of which, at this time, they were very much in want. Not long after this, a plan was laid by the Indians for destroying the whole settlement.

Pocahontas set out the night preceding, in the most violent storm, and arrived in time to save them, by informing them of the design. This justly celebrated woman was afterward married to an English gentleman by the name of Rolf, with whom she lived happily. She visited England with her husband, was introduced to the royal family, and many of the nobility. She died as she was about to return to America, leaving a son from whom have descended some of the most respectable personages of Virginia.

VI. WAR WITH THE PEQUOTS.

This tribe of Indians inhabited the east side of Connecticut river, near its mouth. In the year 1634, they murdered Capt. Stone, and a Capt. Norton, who came to trade with them. In 1635, a Mr. Oldham was killed at Block Island. In 1636, about Wethersfield, many of the inhabitants were killed and some carried away and tortured in their barbarous manner. They had a fort at Mystic,* which was their place of rendezvous, and until this should be destroyed, nothing decisive could be done.

In May 1637, Capt. Mason was sent from Connecticut, who soon fell upon the fort, and after a heavy discharge through the palisades, entered it sword in hand. The enemy made a desperate resistance, and for some time the day seemed doubtful; the Indians secreting themselves in and about the houses. At length Capt. Mason employed a stratagem, which had the desired effect. He took a brand of fire, and communicated it to the mats, with which their houses were covered, and in a few moments they were all in flames; then retreating out of the fort, surrounded it on all sides. The Indians were obliged to issue out, who were no sooner out, than shot down. Thus in about an hour was the work completed, and this great horde broken up. After this the Pequots made but little resistance, but were pursued some distance west,† and many more surprised at different places. Before the pursuit was finished,

* On Mystic river.

† Into the country of the Nipmucks.

and at the fort, about 700 were slain. This put such a check to them, that till the time of Philip, did nothing of great moment occur.

VII. DESTRUCTION OF MONTREAL.

In 1688, the Indians known by the name of the Five Nations, being exasperated against the French, with an army of about 1200 men, attacked the island of Montreal, and killed 1000 inhabitants, and carried away many prisoners. They fell upon the island again the same year, and went off with about the same success. In consequence of which, a garrison fell into their hands, and considerable military stores; among which were twenty-seven barrels of powder.

VIII. SCHENECTADY DESTROYED, &c.

In 1690, the French stirred up the Canada Indians to destroy our frontier settlements. Count Frontenac, then Governor of Canada, planned three expeditions in the midst of winter, which were by different routs to surprise the frontier inhabitants. In February, one party, consisting of French and Indians, arrived in the vicinity of Schenectady. They were on the point of surrendering themselves prisoners of war, on account of their wretched condition from so tedious a march, and the severity of the season; when their spies returned, and informed them of the defenceless state of the town. On this intelligence, they received new courage. And in the middle of the night, entered the town in small parties, and before the people could leave their beds, their houses were entered; and shocking to relate, about 100 persons were killed, or carried away to endure a

captivity, even worse than death itself. No one can conceive of the horrors of this fatal night. Infants torn from their mothers, and thrown into the flames, or their brains dashed out against the walls of their houses; nay, more, ravishing and murder were added to their crimes.

Many escaped without clothes, and perished in the cold and storm of that night. Twenty-five of those who returned, lost their limbs.

They killed all the cattle, and horses, except about forty to bear off their plunder. The Mohawks joined a party of young men from Albany, and fell upon their rear, killed and made prisoners about thirty of them.

IX. DESTRUCTION OF DEERFIELD.

Captivity of Mr. Williams and Family.

In 1703, Hertel, with about 300 French and Indians, fell upon the town of Deerfield, on Connecticut river, put about forty persons to death, took 100 captives, burned the buildings, collected what booty they could and made off.

Among the captives were, the Rev. Mr. Williams and his wife. Mr. Williams' house was about the first assaulted. It being in the dead of the night, by the time he was out of bed, the Indians had made their way into his room, he seized his pistol, and would have shot down the first, but it missed fire; that moment he was laid hold of by others, who bound him, naked as he was, a whole hour, notwithstanding the cold was intense. He was then suffered to put on a few clothes, and his wife likewise,* who at this time had a very young

* And five children.

child. Alas, how changed the scene! in this weak state, compelled to wade in deep snows through dismal woods, instead of a warm habitation, and the kind attention of a husband. She did not endure it long. On the 2d day, her savage master, finding it was not in her power to keep along with the rest, sunk his hatchet into her head, and she was no more! What excessive horror, what heart rending grief, must have seized the bosom of Mr. Williams! no adequate idea can be formed. Mr. Williams was carried to Canada, and afterward ransomed, and returned to Boston. A daughter of Mr. Williams married an Indian with whom she continued to live.

X. RAVAGES OF THE EASTERN INDIANS.

In the summer of 1722, the Norridgewock Indians became troublesome. Among them was one Ralle, a French Priest or Prophet, whom they held in the greatest veneration; insomuch, that nothing was undertaken unless approved of by him; therefore, all broils between the English and Indians, Ralle was thought necessary to. A force was ordered to Norridgewock, their principal town, but on their approach it was abandoned. The expedition affected nothing but the bringing away Ralle's papers, by which however, it was ascertained that the French had caused the war. The Indians thought this such an insult on the divine agency, that they were at once more open in their depredations.

A company of about 70 of them, fell upon Merrymeeting Bay, an arm of the Winnipisiogee, and carried off nine families. Shortly after they took a vessel with passengers, and burnt Brunswick.

The war now became general. In February following, 130 men under Col. Westbrook, ranged the coast with small vessels, went up to Penobscot, burned a handsome Indian town, and returned without doing any thing but this savage act.

Soon after, Capt. Moulton traversed the country, and by his lenity in preserving Indian villages, effected more than many of his predecessors by their burning.

In the summer of 1723, Canso was destroyed, and sixteen sail of fishing vessels taken, by the enemy. Capt. Eliot, in a man of war sloop, with about fifty men, recaptured seven of them, which were at Winepang harbour. On cruising the coast, and seeing them in the harbour, made directly in. On board of one vessel were about 60 Indians, who thought themselves sure of another prize. Capt. Eliot having secreted his men, and as he approached them they boldly cried out, "Strike you English dogs, for you are all prisoners." Eliot's men then all rose up, and boarded them sword in hand. They made brave resistance for half an hour; but could not withstand the force of the heavy swords of the English, and those who survived took to the water, where their fate was as certain; five only reached the shore.

XI. NORRIDGEWOCK TAKEN, AND DEATH OF RALLE.

The great retreat of those Indians was Norridgewock, where they had a strong fort; nothing, therefore, could put a stop to their ravages, until it was destroyed. Accordingly in August, 1724, an expedition was planned, and four companies sent on this enterprise. The brave Capt. Moul-

ton commanded that directed to fall immediately on the fort. On coming up the Indians rushed out, in number about sixty, and with a furious yell attacked them. The English returned their fire with such deadly effect, that they fled in confusion to the river, some reached the opposite shore, but many were shot in crossing; the water being deep. Moulton then returned to the town and utterly destroyed it.

The famous Ralle was at this place. Capt. Moulton had given orders that he should not be killed; but a Lieutenant seeing him engaged in the work of death, forced into his house, and shot him through the head; not however till he had refused to have or give quarter.

This was a final overthrow to the Norridgewocks. Charlevoix gives a shocking account of this affair, in which he accuses the English with more than savage cruelty. He gives Ralle all the honour of a saint, without charging him with any crimes. Ralle was a man of great erudition. His letters, written in Latin, were said to be highly classical.

XII. LOVEWELL'S FIGHT.

In the winter of 1725, the famous Capt. John Lovewell, of Dunstable, engaged in the war against the Indians. A premium of 100 pounds being offered by government for each Indian's scalp. Lovewell raised a company of volunteers, and in less than three months, made about 1200 pounds.

On the 5th of May, 1726, as they were ranging the wilderness at a great distance from home, they were attacked by a party of eighty Indians. When the battle began they were not far from the

edge of a small pond. Lovewell immediately retreated to the water's edge, and thus prevented being surrounded. Here one of the most desperate battles was fought ever related in Indian story. Here thirty-two brave men, for six hours together, withstood the repeated shocks of eighty savages. Night coming on, each party thought themselves happy to escape from the other. Capt. Lovewell, his Lieutenant and Ensign were among the first that fell, who, with five more, were left on the field of battle. Sixteen escaped unhurt. Eight were left in this hideous wilderness, badly wounded, two of whom only returned, the rest having died of hunger, and their wounds. The loss of the enemy could not be known, but must have been very great.

This was a severe blow to the English, yet the Indians were sadly disappointed. And was the means of bringing about a peace which lasted many years.

XIII. WASHINGTON'S EXPEDITION.

Disturbances between the French and English nations, soon involved the colonies in a war. In 1754, Maj. Washington was advanced to the rank of Colonel, and at the head of about 300 Virginians, was directed to repel the encroachments of the French and Indians on the Ohio. Troops from Carolina and New-York, were to join them: Washington, without the expected re-enforcements from New-York, advanced boldly to meet the enemy. The commander of fort Du Quesne,* a strong fort in the possession of the French,

* Now Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania.

sent out a body of French and Indians, whom Washington fell in with, and after a hard fought battle, entirely defeated them. The commander of the fort then appeared in person, with about 900 men, besides Indians. Washington had only time to throw up some slight works, which he called Fort Necessity, when he was hailed by the yells of the savages, and the furious attack of the French. He, with his few brave men, made a gallant defence, and hourly looked for the New-York troops, but in vain. They could expect nothing but to sell their lives as dear as they could. At length, to their great astonishment, the French commander sent in a flag of truce, offering an honourable capitulation, which was, that they should march out with the honours of war, and with their arms, &c. to return to their native country, which Washington was pleased to accept.

Here, at the first setting out of the great Washington, we discover in him a second Leonidas. Who can trace his youthful steps, without the greatest admiration? At the age of 23, baffling the skill of experienced commanders.

XIV. GEN. BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.

In the beginning of the year 1755, Gen. Braddock was sent over by the British Government with about 1500 men, to proceed against the French on the Ohio. On arriving in Virginia his army was augmented to rising 2000 men. Much time was lost before the troops were put in motion. Notwithstanding Gen. Braddock arrived early in the spring, yet, it was June before he took up his march. Before he left England, he was often advised of the danger of ambushments,

and when on his march Col. Washington, his aide, modestly urged the necessity of using great caution. He repeatedly requested the favour that he might march in advance of his army with his rangers, but his advice was treated with contempt, and the General in derision observed, "A Buckskin teach a British General how to fight!"

When within about thirteen miles of fort Du Quesne, they had to pass a dangerous defile, and yet, no precaution was taken to prevent a surprise. The army had all entered the fatal place, when on a sudden, a most tremendous, and deadly fire was opened upon them; yet, there was hardly an enemy to be seen. At this moment the General discovered great intrepidity, and as much imprudence. Instead of retreating from this position, he used his utmost exertions to form his regulars, who were thrown into confusion by the first onset. The Virginians alone stood firm although as much exposed as the regulars; and under the direction of the brave Col. Washington, succeeded in covering their retreat; thereby preventing the total ruin of the shattered army. The General had five horses shot from under him; at length receiving a shot in the head, he fell.

"Beneath his ear the *mortal weapon* went;
The soul came issuing at the narrow vent:
His limbs, unnerv'd, drop useless on the ground,
And everlasting darkness shades him round."

He was immediately conveyed to the rear.

"Him on his car the *Washingtonian* train
In *sad* procession bore from off the plain."

Many were the brave officers, and men who fell on this fatal day. The number of officers far exceeded the common proportion; in all it is said he

lost half of his army.* In this retreat, we behold in our Washington a second Xenophon.

XV. BOON'S EXPEDITIONS.

Among the most enterprising men, who have contributed to subdue the wilderness, should be mentioned Capt. Daniel Boon. He set out from North-Carolina, in company with five others, and explored the country to the plains of Kentucky, and course of the Ohio. He returned home in 1771, having been absent about two years. In this expedition he was taken prisoner by a number of Indians, and to effect his escape, pretended perfect satisfaction with his situation, until a good opportunity offered. One night, as his Indian companions lay asleep, he crept away softly, and made good his escape.

He was so delighted with the beautiful country of Kentucky, that he resolved to move his family thither. In 1773, he set out with his family in company with several more. After passing two ranges of mountains, and in the vicinity of Cumberland mountains, their company were attacked by a numerous body of Indians, who killed six of them, among whom was Capt. Boon's oldest son. Though they defeated the Indians, yet their cattle were so scattered, and their plans so disconcerted, that they concluded to return to the settlements.

Capt. Boon was then employed by the Governor of Virginia, in surveys, &c. till 1774. After that, he laid out a road through the wilderness to Kentucky, where he erected a fort, and called it Boonsborough. This was on the Kentucky river. In 1775, he moved his family thither. They were

*Rider's History.

continually beset by the Indians. In 1776, they took his daughter prisoner. Capt. Boon pursued them with eight men, came up with them, and with his own hand, killed two of them, and retook his daughter. In 1778, Capt. Boon being out a hunting, was taken by 102 Indians, and conveyed to Detroit, thence to Chilicothe. Here a plan was laid, and 150 warriors collected, and ordered to attack Boonsborough. Capt. Boon resolved to escape, and warn his countrymen of their intentions. Accordingly on the 16th of June, before day, he made his escape, and on the 20th reached Boonsborough, a distance of 160 miles in four days, during which time he had but one meal of victuals.

In August the meditated attack was made on Boonsborough, by about 140 Indians, under the command of a Frenchman. A surrender of the fort was immediately demanded. Capt. Boon told them he should hold out, as long as he had a man left. They commenced the siege, and after about eleven days were obliged to abandon it, having thirty-seven men killed. He went to North-Carolina after this, and removed his family to Kentucky again; for during his captivity with the Indians, his wife thinking him killed, had conveyed herself and family to North-Carolina. But their situation was as bad as before; men were continually killed, women ravished and murdered, and their crops destroyed.

Capt. Boon, and three other officers, with about 176 men, met a large body of savages on Licking river, and fought then to great disadvantage, having sixty-seven men killed; among whom was Capt. Boon's second son. Disturbances continu-

ed for some time after. At length the Indians desiring peace, a formal treaty was concluded with them; and from that time the country wore a different aspect.

XVI. GEN. HARMER'S EXPEDITION, AND DEFEAT BY THE INDIANS.

In 1791, the Indians about the Ohio, had again resumed the hatchet, and every day grew more troublesome. Congress sent out General Harmer, with about 1400 men to destroy their settlements on the Scioto, and Wabash rivers. On the approach of the army to the great Miami village, the Indians set it on fire, and fled. The army was divided, and by a manœuvre of the enemy, again subdivided. The first detachment were surprised by an ambush, and nearly all slain. A second detachment, consisting of about 500, soon met a similar fate. This expedition terminated with the loss of 360 men. Had the enemy followed up their successes, the whole army must have been destroyed.

XVII. GEN. ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.

At that time, Gen. St. Clair was Governor of the western territory. He was furnished with 2000 men to subdue those savages. He marched into the country of the Miamis, and had arrived within about two miles of the Miami village in the evening; made very judicious arrangements, for an expected attack, which was made very early the next morning; but owing to the shameful conduct of the militia, was totally defeated; having about 600 killed. The General, after doing all that could be done on the field of battle, retreated in

good order. In this battle the brave Gen. Butler fell. Among the wounded was Col. Drake, who at the head of his regiment, put the whole left flank of the enemy to flight; but being severely wounded, this success was not long maintained; yet he assisted greatly in the retreat.

XVIII. GEN. WAYNE'S EXPEDITION.

After this, Gen. Wayne took the command, and arrived with his army on the ground where Gen. St. Clair was defeated, in September, 1793. After gathering up the bones of their friends, and committing them to the dust, they erected a fort, which the General called **Fort Recovery**.

The next year, in August, after many ineffectual attempts to bring about a peace, Gen. Wayne found that nothing but coercive measures would succeed. On the 20th, a decisive battle was fought near the Miami, and the Indians completely defeated, and driven out of the country, and their vilages and provisions destroyed to prevent their return. In the battle 2000 Indians were engaged, but the American force was superior, and suffered but little. The Indians lost about 300 warriors.

XIX. GOV. HARRISON ATTACKED AT TIPPECANOE.

For about sixteen years the frontier inhabitants seem to have been tolerably free from the inroads of the savages. But the Wabash Indians, by many thievish ravages, had given much cause of complaint. A Shawanese, assuming the character of a prophet, here appeared primary in forming a combination for invading the white settlements.

This fellow was a brother of the celebrated Tecumseh. Governor Harrison concentrated a considerable force at Tippecanoe, a branch of the Wabash. On the 7th November, 1811, a large body of Indians attempted to surprise him, but by his judicious precautions were prevented, and "ample vengeance inflicted upon them." Harrison's loss was considerable, having 180 killed and wounded, among whom were many valuable officers. The enemy had about 350 killed, and their combination entirely broken up.

XX. AFFAIR OF THE RIVER RAISIN.

In 1813, at Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, Gen. Winchester was invested by a body of British and Indians, under Proctor, and the Indian chiefs, Split-Log and Round-Head. Gen. Winchester marched into this country to relieve the inhabitants of Frenchtown, who were threatened with an Indian massacre. On his arrival here, he met a body of the enemy, and after a severe conflict put them to the rout. But on the arrival of Gen. Proctor, Split-Log and Round-Head, affairs took a turn. A most gallant resistance was made, but, in consequence of superior numbers, they were obliged to capitulate. It was stipulated, that the men should not be pilfered by the savages, and should have protection from the British soldiers. But the perfidious Proctor gave them into the hands of the Indians as soon as they had surrendered, and one of the most inhuman massacres ever recorded was suffered to be carried on, under the eyes of British officers. Upwards of 800 perished in battle before they had surrendered, and more than a hundred in the massacre.

XXI. BATTLE OF THE MORAVIAN TOWN, U. C.

And Death of Tecumseh.

In October, 1813, Gen. Harrison moved up the Thames, a river of Upper Canada, and at a short distance from the Moravian town, was met by about 2000 British and Tecumseh's Indians, who, under Proctor, had retreated thither. The battle soon began, and at the commencement Col. Johnson, of Kentucky, at the head of the mounted riflemen, was ordered to break the enemy's line, which was executed with great intrepidity. The Indians had possession of a thick wood, where they fought with great bravery. Here the tremendous voice of Tecumseh was heard, encouraging his warriors in the most energetic manner. The cavalry were soon in motion to dislodge them. Johnson came directly on the point where Tecumseh was stationed.

“ He boldly stood, collected in his might;
And all his beating bosom claim'd the fight.”

Here the battle was most severe, and “mutual deaths were exchanged on either side.” At length the brave Tecumseh fell, and at nearly the same time the brave Johnson.

“The darts fly round him from a *thousand* hands,
And the red terrors of the blazing *bands*.”

Though not mortally wounded, yet he was covered with wounds. They did not fall alone. Within a few yads around them thirty brave men lay slain. By some, Colonel Johnson is said to have killed Tecumseh; some others, that he was killed by a soldier, as he was about to deal a mor-

tal blow on the head of the Colonel. But it is now generally believed, that he fell by the hand of Col. Johnson.

When Tecumseh's voice was no longer heard, the savages gave way, and in a short time the victory was complete, and almost the whole force were made prisoners.

XXII: CREEK WAR.

Massacre at Fort Mims.

We now return to the South, where the Creek Indians appear in open war. The country along the Mobile was much alarmed on the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and the United States; therefore, forts were erected at different places, of which fort Mims was the chief. Here were a great many families, and about one hundred soldiers, under the command of Major Beasely. They were sufficiently cautioned against a surprise, and yet, the fort was entered by the savages at noon day, (August 30, 1813,) before they were discovered. Never was witnessed a more dreadful scene! People, young and old, women and children, were burned to death in their houses! Some rushing into the flames to avoid a more dreadful fate! Maj. Beasely was among the first that was slain. The whole number that perished in this horrid massacre, was about 350. On intelligence of this disaster in Tennessee, Generals, Jackson, Coffee and Cook, with a considerable army were in motion. In the beginning of November, Gen. Coffee, with a detached party, met the enemy at a place called Tallushatches, where they were ready to receive him, and after a bloody battle, in which they dis-

played great bravery, were cut off to a man; being about 200.

A few days after, Gen. Jackson, at the head of about 1300 men, advanced against Talledega, where about 1000 of the enemy were besieging some friendly Indians. On the arrival of the troops a regular action took place, and in a short time the enemy were put to the rout; leaving about 300 of their warriors dead on the field of battle.

Gen. White, detached by Gen. Cooke, marched against a place on the river Tallapoose. After killing and taking 300 prisoners, and destroying some villages, returned without any loss.

An Indian, known by the name of the Prophet Francis, was a great mover of this war. Some villages on the Tallapoose, called Autossee Towns, were said by the Prophets, to be places where no whites could disturb them. However, General Floyd gained a complete victory over a large body of them here, on the 23d January, 1814, and burned up their towns. In the same month, Gen. Jackson and Gen. Coffee advanced into their country, and subdued them in several battles. Gen. Jackson having encamped on the 21st, was attacked before morning; not however without being in a posture ready to receive the enemy, which in a short time, were put to flight, and although the contest was short, yet they left forty of their warriors slain.

The army began now to be short of provisions, concluded to retreat. The next day after arriving at Enotachopco, they were attacked in the rear while crossing a dangerous defile; this sudden movement of the enemy, caused such disorder in

the undisciplined troops, as threatened a total defeat, but through the promptness and decision of their intrepid General, was prevented, and the enemy entirely defeated.

Gen. Floyd, after leaving the Chatahouchie river, was attacked in his camp, just before day. The battle lasted till morning with great obstinacy and resolution, on the part of the savages; but, as it grew light, they made their escape. Their number of killed was not known; the Americans had 17 killed, and 132 wounded.

Notwithstanding so many successive defeats, these people, like the ancient Britons under the guidance of their druids, adhered to their prophets, and still cherished the belief, that their enemies would at last, be delivered into their hands.

Gen. Jackson came upon a great army of them at what is called the Horse-Shoe-Bend, of the Coose river. Here they had a regular fortified camp, and thought themselves quite secure. On the 27th of March, the plan of attack was put in execution, and after a very severe contest, in which the Indians fought with all the desperation their situation could inspire, were surrounded and cut to pieces. The shore of the river was strewed with their slain. 750 warriors were slain, among whom were three of their prophets. The Americans had about eighty killed, and 140 wounded.

The fate of these prophets, may put the reader in mind of that of Tispaquin.* Although they professed the spirit of prophecy, yet they proved as vulnerable as poor Tispaquin, who made no such pretensions. On the life or death of those, war or peace depended, but Tispaquin's death was

* See page 117 and 118.

downright murder; having put himself under the protection of the government of Plymouth.

Thus ended this dreadful war, dreadful when we consider to what a state of civilization they had arrived, dreadful when we contemplate that civilized men* were the cause of these calamities.

After this, in 1817, some Creeks having escaped into Florida, also, some runaway negroes, took shelter among the Seminole Indians, and again ventured to appear hostile; but Gen. Jackson soon appeared among them, and after some considerable manœuvring, during which little opposition was made, restored things to order.

RECAPITULATION.

From that time to the present, (1825,) few disturbances have arisen; yet, since the settlement of Plymouth, not a year has passed, without complaints against the Indians, from some quarter or other. The natives have sometimes complained to our government, their grounds of complaint were as just, and perhaps not less frequent, than those of the whites; yet, where they have made one, the whites have made many. It is said that the Creeks had not the least cause of war; for in every instance, they had been satisfactorily paid, for all lands claimed by them, whereon any settlements were ever made. But we do not so often hear that Indian wars happen about lands, as other more trifling matters. The distressing eastern war of 1675, is said to have grown out of the foolish conduct of some sailors, who having heard that young Indians could swim naturally, took an opportunity in the absence of a squaw† to try the experiment; and although they did not drown the child, war was the consequence. It is said by some that this was not the only insult that gave rise to that war, but that some of them had been kidnaped on board vessels, near Cape Sable, and carried off and sold as slaves. People, who call themselves civilized, and are found guilty of such atrocities, inflict the blackest colour on the name of civilization. Considering

* British Agents.

† Wife of Squanto, Sachem of Saco.—Hub. Nar. page 291.

such infamous deeds of the whites, we cannot so much wonder at the saying of a great admirer of savage life, viz. that "every attempt at civilization, is another remove from innocence and happiness." This was neither a Banks, nor a Solander; but, not a less greater philosopher.

The Pequot Indians had as little cause for the war of their destruction, as any ever had, according to all accounts, but their history, could it have been written, would doubtless have differed considerably from ours.

Notwithstanding, on a careful and candid examination of relative circumstances, it must be admitted that the sarcasms of the present age, cast upon our Forefathers, emanate, generally, from inconsiderate minds, and such as are unacquainted with the history of those times; or, who read with prejudice, and thereby imbibe it more strongly from the story of retaliation. Whoever views clearly, what must have been the situation, and peculiar circumstances of our Forefathers, in a hideous wilderness, will not reproach them so frequently. Nothing but alarms and strange appearances were presented to their view. They soon learned that they could put no dependance on the words of their savage neighbours. If any of them were true to their promise, no dependance could be made on them by reason of the treachery of others. The early supply of arms, which the Indians received (see page 18, Note,) was a dreadful stroke to the English. In times of dissatisfaction, no one could venture out of his door, or sleep within, without fear of being shot down, or tomahawked in bed. But in times when every appearance of friendship was manifested, was the fatal blow struck. When Indian towns were destroyed, no doubt, many innocent ones were slain, as was the case when the English towns were destroyed, nor could it well be avoided, for who could designate? or even if designation could be made, in the mean time the battle is lost: Therefore, whoever undertakes to decide at this distant period, where the fault lies, if he contemplates a moment, will find himself obliged to answer harder questions, than the poet asks in the lines which follow.

"But where's th' extreme of vice, was ne'er agreed;
Ask where's the North? at York, 'tis on the Tweed;
In Scotland, at the Orcades; and there,
At Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where."

The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including
 Mr. John Smith, Mr. James Brown, Mr. Robert White, Mr. Thomas Green,
 Mr. William Black, Mr. Daniel Hill, Mr. Joseph King, Mr. Benjamin
 Franklin, Mr. George Washington, Mr. John Adams, Mr. Thomas Jefferson,
 Mr. James Madison, Mr. James Monroe, Mr. John Quincy Adams,
 Mr. Andrew Jackson, Mr. Martin Van Buren, Mr. William Henry
 Harrison, Mr. John Tyler, Mr. Zachary Taylor, Mr. James K. Polk,
 Mr. Franklin Pierce, Mr. James Buchanan, Mr. Abraham Lincoln,
 Mr. Andrew Johnson, Mr. Ulysses S. Grant, Mr. Rutherford B. Hayes,
 Mr. James A. Garfield, Mr. Chester A. Arthur, Mr. Grover Cleveland,
 Mr. Benjamin Harrison, Mr. William McKinley, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt,
 Mr. William Howard Taft, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, Mr. Warren G. Harding,
 Mr. Calvin Coolidge, Mr. Herbert Hoover, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
 Mr. Harry S. Truman, Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Mr. John F. Kennedy,
 Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson, Mr. Richard M. Nixon, Mr. Gerald R. Ford,
 Mr. Jimmy Carter, Mr. Ronald Reagan, Mr. George H. W. Bush,
 Mr. Bill Clinton, Mr. George W. Bush, Mr. Barack Obama, Mr. Donald Trump.

This list is a partial list of the names of the Presidents of the United States.
 It is not intended to be a complete list.

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