Chapter V

KING PHILIP'S WAR
KING PHILIP AND HIS ASSOCIATES
THEIR ACTIVITIES DURING HOSTILITIES

King Philip's War

It is not my purpose in this chapter to tell a complete story of the Indian war, but rather to make a brief resume of the warlike activities which took place within the territory to which this story relates and the activities of King Philip as the leader of the Pokonoket nation and of the Indians who exercised leadership in the Pocasset and Sakonet tribes, including Squaw Sachems Weetamoe and Awashonks and their subjects. Even here I shall not attempt to include all that is generally known about them, but to be rather exhaustive in the researches I have personally made.

The Indian war of 1675 interrupted the building of homes upon those lands which had been purchased from the natives along the shores of Narragansett Bay. While lands along the Providence River and on the island of Rhode Island had been occupied by the colonists for almost two score years and dwellings there were numerous, and while lands on the easterly shore of Narragansett Bay lying northerly of the falls river and south of Tiverton had been allotted to the proposed settlers, there had been very limited building operations in these sections. The land lying between the falls river and the southerly line of Tiverton and the vast hinterland extending to the Lakeville Ponds, as well as the Mount Hope lands and much territory to the west of the Taunton River as far northerly as the north line of Berkley, was still in the possession and control of the Indians and their ownership continued to the end of hostilities, at which time these lands came into the possession of Plymouth Colony and many were sold to pay the debts of the war.

There is a tendency among historians to treat this Indian war as an unjust war of persecution and conquest, and instances have been cited where the white man acquired land by improper means but no such inference can be drawn from the treatment accorded to King Philip and his lands by the Colony of Plymouth which had a co-extensive territorial limit with those of his Indian nation. Plymouth Colony always maintained a

fair and just attitude toward individual and tribal Indian rights. While individual wrongful acts on both sides can, of course, be cited, Indian misdeeds were more frequently ignored and less severely punished in Plymouth Colony than those which were committed by the white men. The Indians, including Philip himself (Volume V, page 24) had become frequent litigants as petitioners in the Plymouth Courts and records show that they invariably received justice. (Many instances of this character I have referred to specifically in another chapter.)

The first mortality of the Indian war which is recorded in the Plymouth Colony records occurred on the banks of the fall river stream when Thomas Layton was killed there on June 24, 1675 (Volume X, p. 364).[1] He was a Portsmouth man and he and his brother George were both signers of the original compact there in 1639. He had been at various times an overseer of the poor, assessor, constable and commissioner but as he is not mentioned in Portsmouth records for several years prior to his death, it is believed that he had settled upon Plymouth lands and probably in Dartmouth when in 1652 those lands were bought. We find that an Isaac Layton and a John Layton are referred to in the colony records relating to Dartmouth, the former as a proprietor and the latter for not attending public worship (Vol. V, 169). (John Layton was ordered to mend his ways or depart.)

Out of a total of twelve Indian tribes which were component parts of the Pokonoket nation, headed by Sachem Philip, only three (the Pocassets, Sakonets and Wampanoags) took part in the war, and these three tribes were the most remote from Plymouth. Philip had been pampered by the Bay colony, had been prejudiced by his brother's widow (Squa Weetamoe) and had listened to old Anawan, until he felt obliged to resort to massacre to uphold his prestige. He saw that a large majority of his tribes had adopted the new civilization, saw their improved social condition, their easier lives, and at the same time knew that his authority and power were waning. Although he had adopted a certain measure of civilization himself (including the keeping of swine — see Portsmouth record of June 7, 1669) the praying Indians no longer recognized him as supreme, his winter life in the wigwam was severe when compared with the adopted home-life of Indian servants in the white men's houses, and he felt peeved, felt the ultimate end of his nation in world progress, and knew that it must be met either by acceptance or war. Bad counsel pushed him into the contest which he himself knew would most likely mean his banishment or death.

[1] Citations referring only to "vol. etc." refer to the "Records of Plymouth Colony" which were published by the State of Massachusetts in 1855.

He entered the war in violation of his tribal treaties and contrary to his promises, brought massacre upon those who had risked their own lives to restrain his tribal enemies from eliminating his own nation.

Philip's first act as sachem was to complain about the relationship existing between Weetamoe and the Narragansetts. In this instance the Plymouth Court was palliative, for while advising Weetamoe to dismiss the Indians who were entertained by her "to Philip's offense", the Court also suggested that "unkindness be buried and that they live in peace and love". Almost immediately thereafter Philip began to claim further compensation for the lands which his elder brother and father had sold,[2] and a series of readjustments followed; he was given eleven pounds in goods "to continue peace and friendship" on account of a disputed boundary line at New Meadows Neck (in Barrington, R. I.); he was given ten pounds "to prevent any claim of his" in marking out the bounds of Acushena and Coaxet (Dartmouth, which also included the present city of New Bedford). In July, 1664 the town of Plymouth offered him a "gratuity" for his "satisfaction, reward and encouragement" if he would confirm their title in the Puncatest lands.[3] (This was the land concerning which Weetamoe had filed complaint in 1662.) Although the extension of the colony lines alarmed him, he evidently preferred money to his lands for in 1664 he sold Mattapoiset, which was in the Pocasset territory and was the ancestral home of Corbitant, his daughter Weetamoe and of his own wife Wootonekamuske, to William Brenton of Newport. His wife joined in this deed.

The Pilgrims seemed to have always been conciliatory to Philip's demands, but when in June 1669 he put several swine on Hog Island, which was claimed by the "Antinomians" of Rhode Island to be a part of Portsmouth, and which Massasoit had deeded away to one Richard Smith, the town brusquely informed him[4] that he was intruding on the town's rights and directed him to "forthwith remove said swine".

On August 6, 1662 it having been brought to Philip's attention that he was suspected of some plot against the English, he appeared before the Court at Plymouth, and "earnestly desiring a continuance of amity and friendship" he signed articles indicating a continuance of the former treaty. He offered one of his brothers as a hostage until his fealty could be proved, but this offer was declined. His principal chieftains executed the treaty.

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[2] This was not an unusual thing for Indians to do. Pumham joined in the sale of portions of Warwick to Rev. Samuel Gorton "agreeably to the laws and usages of the Indians", yet he subsequently claimed ownership. Drake III, 71.

[3] Pl. Town-Bk 1, p. 73.

[4] Portsmouth, p. 149.

He seemed to rely upon the Plymouth Courts to enforce his rights. In March 1663 he complained about certain inhabitants of Rehoboth for felling some of his swamp timber, and Captain Willet made a satisfactory adjustment.

Nothing further occurred to mar the friendly relationship between Philip and the Plymouth colonists until he had been a sachem for five years. In the spring of 1667 one of his captains reported to Plymouth that Philip had told his men that he was willing to join with either the French or Dutch settlements against the English in order to enrich his warriors with their lands and goods. Although little credence was placed on such Indian rumors, the Court set out to ascertain the facts and a party of prominent colonial officials was sent to bring Philip and his captain to a conference.[5] The captain reaffirmed his statement and Philip denied it, alleging that Ninigret had hired his captain to spread the rumor.

On June 4, 1667[6] Philip came before the Court and produced a letter from a Narragansett sachem which tended to corroborate his statement about Ninigret, but the Court being suspicious of the letter sent two army officers to Narragansett who caused the sachem to be brought before the Warwick Court. Upon examination he denied that he had written any letter concerning Ninigret. Roger Williams also spoke favorably of Ninigret so that the Plymouth Court, in view of the fact that Philip was present and still continued his professions of love and faithfulness, concluded that Philip's tongue "had been running out" but judged it better to keep a watchful eye over him and to continue terms of "love and amity".[7] Philip continued to appeal to the Court and in October 1668 he demanded justice against one Francis Wast[8] concerning a gun and some swine. The selectmen of Taunton furnished relief.

In 1671 Philip appeared in Boston and misrepresented certain facts concerning the Plymouth Court; and reports increasing as to his entertainment of strange Indians, he was asked to appear before the September Court. Philip failed to appear and went to Boston and made further complaint there, whereupon the Massachusetts authorities tendering their aid to adjust the matter, it was arranged to have a joint conference in Plymouth on September 24, 1671. A fair and deliberate hearing was then had, Philip being present with interpreters. The conference lasted till September 29.

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[5] Ply. Col. Vol. 4, p. 151.
[6] Ply. Col. Vol. 4, p. 164.
[7] Ply. Col. Book IV, p. 166 (July 2nd, 1667.)
[8] Ply. Col. Book V, p. 6.

It was found, in accord with Philip's admission, that he had refused to have a right understanding of the matters in dispute and that he had harbored and abetted strange vagabond Indians, professed enemies of the English, who had left their own sachem.

Even after this the terms of the old treaty rights were continued and Philip often relied on the Plymouth Court for aid in his tribal administration. On September 20, 1672 Philip accepted a reference by the Court to settle the boundary of lands concerning which several Indians had made complaint. The Court records reveal that Philip said he "wished to be helpful".

On October 29, 1672 it appearing to the Court that Philip owed eighty-three pounds to Harvey and Richmond of Taunton, the Court adjusted the matter by arranging with Philip that upon the assignment of these claims and the payment of an additional sum, he would convey certain lands to the town of Taunton in cancellation of the debt and purchase.

Between 1672 and 1675 rumors of hostile activity among the Indians increased. Gookin says that one of the Indian chiefs named "Walcut" disclosed a hostile rumor, as did John Sassamon, an educated praying Indian who had become a scribe to Philip and (afterwards deserting him) had settled upon land near Nemasket. Sassamon verified the fact that an uprising was being planned.

Mather says that this information was not much regarded because "one could hardly believe the Indians when they did speak the truth", to which Drake adds that "scarcely any one could be found who would allow that an Indian could be faithful or honest in any affair". It seems that, although secrecy was enjoined, Philip came to know what Sassamon had disclosed, decreed that he had thus forfeited his life and ordered him to be killed. Early in 1675 Sassamon's body was found in the ice of Assawamset Pond in Lakeville, with his neck broken. Three Indians were tried for the murder and after conviction by a jury of mixed English and Indians, all of whom concurred in the verdict, they were executed. One of them named Tobias, who had been a counsellor of Philip, confessed. When Benjamin Church met Weetamoe and Benjamin[9] (or Peter) in Pocasset, Peter told Church that Philip had said he was guilty of contriving Sassamon's death, and that he expected to be called to Plymouth for examination about it;[10] also that, in order to prevent his young men from killing the messengers who came to him from Plymouth, he had promised that on the next Lord's Day

[9] Church calls him "Peter" Nunnuit. Drake calls him Petananuet. Probably Peter and Benjamin were the same person, so Weetamoe may have had only one husband between 1663 and 1675. (Church, p. 27, and Drake III, p. 3.)

[10] Church, p. 27.

they might rifle the English houses and thereafter kill their cattle.[11]

The Plymouth colony records indicate that the war began exactly as Peter had forewarned, hence we assume the accuracy of his information. The Plymouth records[12] show events as follows:

1675, June 14 (June 24 n. s.) Brown, one of the messengers from Plymouth to Philip could get no reply from Philip to the colony's amicable letter.

June 20 (June 30 n. s.) (Sunday) sundry houses were burned.

24 (July 4 n. s.) Thomas Layton was slain at the falls river.

25 (July 5 n. s.) sundry persons in Swansea were slain.

It is to be noted that this all happened at places within or adjoining the Pocasset territory.

While these events were transpiring between Philip and Plymouth colony, at least some of the vagabond Indians who had left their sachem at Narragansett, had left their Assonet Neck homes, and were living in Weetamoe's Pocasset tribe. These were the very Indians concerning whom Philip had complained against Weetamoe, and the very ones who, in conjunction with the hostile faction of the Narragansett tribe, were urging Philip to his doom. This is evidenced by a certificate which I find recorded under date of April 27, 1673 in Vol. 12 page 242 of the Plymouth records. The lands that were included in the Freeman's deed executed by Weetamoe in 1659 extended northerly as far as Stacey's creek on the westerly side of Assonet neck. Next northerly of this bound was a strip of land bordering on the Taunton River, which was in the possession of one Piowant (an Indian), and ran up along the "Dighton Rock" section to the southerly bound of Taunton. This certificate was designed to establish the boundary line of the colonial lands and was signed by Weetamoe, by her husband Benjamin and by four other Indians, one of whom was "Quanowin". Such deeds were usually signed by Indian captains as an indication of their assent to the action of their chieftain, and there is no known Indian with name similar to Quanowin, except Quanopin, who became the next and last consort of Weetamoe.[13] He was a Narragansett of the "royal" house,[14] was at least ten years younger than Weetamoe, and was leader of the warlike faction of the Narragansett nation; he is referred to as a "young lusty sachem and a very rogue", and had three squaws, Weetamoe being the

[11] Church, p. 29.

[12] See Ply. Col. Vol. X, p. 362 et. seq. (Report to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, made in Nov. 1675).

[13] Drake says (page 161) that according to Indian laws, if a wife deserts her husband another may take her.

[14] Sachems pp. 74, 87. His name was spelled in almost every possible way (See Drake's Book III, p. 51).

second. Quanopin's absence from the Narragansett country is accounted for not only because Canonicus and Ninigret of the peace party were in power, but also because he was a fugitive from justice from Rhode Island. As early as 1671 he had harbored and refused to deliver up to the constable of Prudence Island an Indian who had there been guilty of a felonious assault, and having on account of his connivance been committed for trial to the jail at Newport, he and one John Carr had broken the prison and got over to Narragansett, whence Quanopin "gave out threatening to do mischief to the English" and prepared to fight and to draw other Indians into his conspiracy, whereupon the Rhode Island Assembly resolved that the Warwick assistants demand from "Mosup and Ninecraft" that they apprehend said Carr and Quanopin and deliver them up to his Majesties officers.[15] Quanopin was not apprehended, by reason of his escape from Narragansett, and this is doubtless the time when he went into the Wampanoag territory, and began the mischief he had threatened.

After the breaking out of the war, and upon the first approach of the colonial troops into Swansea, Philip and his forces withdrew to Mt. Hope and thence crossing over to Tiverton and entering the Pocasset swamp,[16] joined forces with the warriors of Weetamoe. After this they outmanoeuvered the English forces who thought them surrounded, and circling through the swamp they came out to the Taunton river (about August 10th, 1675 N. S.), probably through the Mowry trail, substantially at the line which now marks the boundary between Fall River and Freetown. After crossing the river Philip and Weetamoe separated, he and his army proceeding northwesterly through Rehoboth[17] into the Nipmunk country, while Weetamoe proceeded to Shawomet, known also as Warwick, in the Narragansett country.[18] There is no record which places Quanopin with her at

[15] For this record I acknowledge the cordial assistance of Mr. Lloyd M. Mayer, of the Newport Historical Society. (See R. I. Col. Records 1664-1677, pages 295 and 420).

[16] It is said that in the "swamp fight" a brother of Philip who had been educated at Harvard College, was killed, and that, when leaving the swamp approximately 100 men, children and infirm persons were left behind. (Church p. 50 note).

[17] While crossing Seekonk plain, Weetamoe's army was discovered by an English force under Rev. Noah Newman, and at daybreak her camp at Nipsachick, R. I. was attacked and plundered, but Philip's fighting men executed a counter attack in which there was considerable loss of life. The combined forces of Weetamoe and Philip numbered 250 men, but with the withdrawal of Weetamoe, desertions, etc. only 40 warriors reached Quabaug with Philip, about August 15 n. s. (See Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass. Vol. 1, page 293; Ellis & Morris, p. 80. Drake p. 214).

[18] The contest over tribal supremacy at Shawomet had caused much strife. Pumham, the local sachem had maintained his independence even against Samuel Gorton who claimed title under deed given to him in 1643 by Miantunnomoh. During the dispute Pumham had stabbed a rival claimant and Uncas had become involved. It was here that the bitterness between Uncas and Miantunnomoh germinated. The Commissioners of the United Colonies endeavored to settle the trouble in 1649 by decree that although it had heretofore been a part of Massasoit's domain yet henceforth it should be a part of Massachusetts. The Pockonockets continued to have such a large following among the Warwick chieftains that in 1653 Roger Williams called the attention of Massachusetts to the "wretched state" of Warwick. Pumham was one of the first to follow Weetamoe and Philip into the war. (See Drake, bk. III, ch. V.).

that time, but historians agree that at this time her consorting with this "lusty outlaw" began, and they also agree that throughout the campaign Quanopin maintained separate living quarters for each of his three squaws.[19] That they had servants is indicated by the fact that Mrs. Rowlandson was the servant of Weetamoe, she having been "purchased" by Quanopin for that purpose.

In his flight to the Nipmunk country Philip had as a definite objective the Quabaug territory (North Brookfield) because the tribes there had also previously been tributary to his father. It would seem that when in 1659 Alexander and Philip took over the chief sachemship of the Pokonoket nation upon the alleged death of their father Massasoit (then spoken of in all the records as Ousamequin or Wassamequin), he was not in fact deceased, but troubles having developed at Quabaug in 1661 he was engaged there in a war with Uncas.[20] It is likely that he deceased at Quabaug about that time, for Mr. John Mason then wrote a letter to the Massachusetts magistrates in behalf of Uncas, indicating that there had been a dispute between Wesamequin and Onopequin (his deadly enemy), the latter a Quabaug native, as to who was the overlord of the Quabaug tribe and that "Alexander, sachem of Sowamsett challenged the Quabaug Indians to belong to him and had warred against Uncas on that account".

The Massachusetts magistrates as peacemakers ordered Uncas to make "remuneration" and it seems that Uncas in some measure complied; that "*the old peaceable Ousamequin, put up with the result without avenging his wrongs,*" and that Alexander, being involved in troubles at home, ceased to follow up his quarrel with Uncas. It is extremely likely that after Massasoit's death, a friendly sachem (not improbably one of his sons) was at the head of the Quabaug tribe, that they were unfriendly to Uncas and so at heart anti-English. Philip knew that in his flight thence, he was reaching friends, as his emissaries and his example had already induced them to begin hostilities. So also Weetamoe had in her flight from Pocasset the definite objective of reaching the Narragansett territory and the warlike friends of Quanopin who resided near Warwick.

By the end of October, due largely to the influence of Weetamoe (See Chapin's Sachems, p. 78) the Narragansett war party was in full control of that nation, whereupon Canonchet the leader of the party issued his famous defiance to the English refusing to surrender the Wampanoag refugees, and various massacres occurred until the English army invaded

[19] Sachems p. 88.
[20] See Drake, book II, p. 101, and the documents there collected.

the country, and the "Great Swamp fight" (near Kingston, R. I.) took place. Here Quanopin was the second in command and thereafter Canonchet remained behind in charge of his defeated warriors while Quanopin and Weetamoe with their forces proceeded northerly in January and joined the Wampanoags at Quabaug. This was prior to Philip's return from the Mohawk country.

Toward the end of the war Philip had visited the Mohawk country and urged that nation to join in the war and to exchange wampum for powder. In his first quest he was not only unsuccessful but vengeance was inflicted upon his army because he ordered the murder of a few straggling Mohawks under circumstances calculated to lead the warriors to believe that the crime was committed by the English. One of the men who had been attacked lived to tell the correct version and so Philip's cunning frustrated his own plans and forced him back upon his supporting body of warriors at the Connecticut river near South Vernon, Vt. Such deceitful practices on the part of Philip led him into disrepute among his supporters.[21] It is to be remembered that at Sakonet, while urging Awashonks to join his forces, he threatened her that he would "kill the English cattle and burn their houses" under circumstances which would cause the English to believe the acts were committed by her unless she joined his forces. (Church, p. 25). At a prior time Philip had untruthfully told Awashonks that the English were getting together a great army to invade his territory.[22]

When Philip returned from his trip to the Mohawk country and rejoined Canonchet, Weetamoe and Quanopin, they knew that their power was waning and that some extraordinary effort was needed to stem its collapse. Even while he was on the return journey the command of his army had vested in Quanopin, under whom on February 20, 1676 n. s. Lancaster was sacked. Then Mrs. Rowlandson was captured and her narrative furnishes much to enlighten the closing events of our story, for (although captured by another chief) she was sold to Quanopin and used as co-servant with an Indian maid for Weetamoe. On March 1, 1676, a great council of war was held by the Indians, and it was then that Canonchet and Philip first met (Palfrey II, p. 85); they discussed the all important questions of "Supplies". There had been such need of supplies that Canonchet, then a leader in the Nipmuck country, returned to the Pawtucket river for seed corn (Church, p. 107). On March 8th, 1676 when Philip rejoined his confederates, Mrs. Rowlandson as an occupant of the

[21] See Increase Mather's Brief History p. 108.
[22] Church p. 23.

same camp wrote of the event. That Philip had no part in the Lancaster attack and that it was deliberately planned from Quabaug is evidenced by the fact that James Wiser, an Indian convert, employed as an English scout notified the magistrates on February 4, 1676 n. s. that the Indians would fall on the English settlements in twenty days.[23]

The Sudbury fight took place on April 28th, 1676 n. s. and Mrs. Rowlandson says that although it was hailed as a great Indian victory the Indians returned home without that rejoicing and triumph which they were wont to show at other times.[24] To restore their morale a great wigwam was built preparatory to a war dance, and on the following Sunday the dance was carried on by eight of them, of whom Quanopin and Weetamoe were two. "He was dressed in his Holland shirt with great laces sewed at the tail of it, with silver buttons, white stockings, his garters hung round with shillings and girdles of wampum on his head and shoulders. She had a jersey coat, covered with girdles of wampum from the loins upward, her arms from elbows to hands covered with bracelets, handfuls of necklaces about her neck and several sorts of jewels in her ears — with fine red stockings, white shoes and her hair powdered and her face painted red, that was always before black. Two others sang and knocked on a kettle for music. They kept hopping up and down, with a kettle of water in the midst (upon embers) to drink of when they were dry and they held on till almost night, throwing out wampum to the standers by".

Philip did not participate in the dance nor in the negotiations for Mrs. Rowlandson's release which began after the dance. He refused to attend the "General Court" (as they called it) but Quanopin promised to release her if he could have "one pint of liquors" in addition to the ransom. After promising the release before three witnesses, as was required by the English, he was furnished the liquor, and became drunk. Mrs. Rowlandson says he was the first Indian she saw drunk during her captivity, but it was not a new experience for Quanopin, since Roger Williams describes his father as a "poor beast (always drunk)", and Chapin says that Quanopin took after his father and was one of the few sachems who were accustomed to get drunk (Sachems pp 68 and 89).

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[23] See notes to Mrs. Rowlandson's narrative in appendix.

[24] Mrs. Rowlandson says (p. 56) they were "unstable and like madmen" — "little more trust to them than to the master they served", so reduced by hunger that they would pick up old bones, scald them till the vermin came out, then boil them, drink the liquor, pound the bones in a mortar and eat them, with horses guts and ears, dogs, skunks, rattle snakes and the very bark of trees.

After the inception of the war the praying Indians, professing fidelity to the English, secretly supplied powder and shot to the warriors. A letter from Mary Pray (from Providence) (see publication of Dec. 29, 1923 by the Rhode Island Society of Colonial Wars) complains of their doings in this respect and says (see page 24) "there is no trusting them — they are so subtle to deceive".

It is now generally recognized that this change of policy from warfare to barter, accompanied by the failing of Philip's attempt to secure Mohawk aid, and the hardships which the Indians were enduring, led to dissension in their ranks. The Nipmucks who were bearing the brunt of the war wavered in their allegiance and then withdrew from their alliance with Quanopin and Philip, who in their turn withdrew into their own country as the war entered upon its final stage. Parleying with the English is said by Drake to have been "detestable to Philip" (book III, p. 88), but it is better to infer that had Philip been a bold and commanding leader he would not have refused to attend the council meetings or slyly tried to secure a gift for himself from Mrs. Rowlandson for "speaking a good word for her", when he had already been over-ruled. The drunken debauch of Quanopin which Mrs. Rowlandson describes on page 65 of her narrative, the fact that such a man was in control of the councils, and the vacillating attitude of all the sachems must have been a controlling reason why the Nipmucks should repudiate their confederates, who had brought so many hardships upon them and so little gain.

Whether the withdrawal of Weetamoe and Philip into their own country was due to fear resulting from an assault made upon them by the Mohawks who had attacked Philip's force and killed about fifty of them in June, as stated in Hubbard's Indian Wars at page 239; or whether it was due to their precarious supply of crops and stores, or to the attitude of the Nipmucks, it is true that there was a collapse of Indian power and that at the end of June Philip and the Narragansetts had gone "to their own places" to do what mischief they could to the English there. (See Ellis & Morris, p. 236; see Daniel Henchman's letter in Hubbard's Indian Wars at Page 237; see Drake book III, p. 88).

As to the events which took place in Plymouth Colony after the return of Philip and Quanopin we are again indebted to Church's "Indian Wars". When Church came upon the Indian army near Fairhaven, his scouts informed him (Church p. 103) that part of the army belonged to Philip and part to Quanopin; that both of them were about two miles off in a great cedar swamp which was full of Indians from one end to the other. After the attack upon Bridgewater the Indians retreated across the Taunton river over a tree which they had felled, and there Philip's uncle was shot (Church p. 110). The next morning (Sunday, July 30, 1676) Church came across Philip and his family, and Philip escaped by leaping from a tree down the bank on the other side of the river (Church p. 110). He left his wife and nine year old son behind and they were captured. Hubbard

says that Philip had cut off his hair in order that his identity might not be known.

Quanopin and his Narragansetts were with Philip in this retreat, but after crossing the Taunton river Quanopin remained with the warriors while Philip had "fled away in a great fright when the first English gun was fired" (Church p. 111). The next day Church caught up with the women and children of the retreating force. These had been left in the rear by Philip, and acted as a guard against his surprise. During the night Captain Church manoeuvered around the women so as to come upon the main Indian body at day break, but Philip had sent two scouts back upon his own track to see if "he was dogged" and when Church came upon these scouts they made such a noise that Philip fled into the swamp "leaving his kettles boiling and his meat on the spits, roasting".

After this desultory warfare, Philip returned to Mount Hope with only ten of his original followers, but with a few other confederates, among whom were two Puncatest Indians named Alderman.[25] Philip killed one of the Alderman brothers because of a difference in matters of state[26] and the other in revenge, deserting, informed Captain Church of Philip's whereabouts and offered to assist in his capture, whereupon on August 12th Philip was shot at Mount Hope by this same Alderman while he was attempting to escape from his encampment.

Captain Church, knowing of Philip's timidity and believing that if an attack was made upon his front Philip would be the first to escape by the rear, posted an Englishman (Caleb Cook) with Alderman in ambush at the edge of the swamp and Philip was killed in his attempt to escape in the exact way in which Captain Church had anticipated, i.e. he had "catched up his gun, thrown his powderhorn over his head and ran into the ambush with no more clothes than his small breeches and stockings only to fall on his face in the mud and water, with his gun under him and a bullet through his heart".

Weetamoe had returned to Mattapoiset (Gardner's Neck),[27] where her warriors (now reduced to twenty-six men) were attacked by a force of colonists and all of them except Weetamoe were captured. She attempted to cross the Taunton river on her way to the falls river upon a small raft made from pieces of broken wood, and becoming either tired and spent with swimming or starved with cold and hunger, she was found drowned.

[25] Drake III, pp. 35 and 36.
[26] Church, p. 121.
[27] There was another Mattapoiset which was then a part of Rochester, Mass.

With the fall of Weetamoe and her warriors the Pocasset tribe of Indians was decimated. None remained except a few aged men and a few women and children and these were placed by the colonists in an Indian Reservation.

Quanopin was captured on August 16th, 1676 and was turned over to the Rhode Island authorities. The records show that at a court martial held in Newport for the months of August and September 1676, at the impeachment of Edmund Calverly, Attorney General, Quanopin admitted "that he was in arms against the English nation at the Swamp fight, at the burning and destroying of Pettacomscutt, at the assaulting of Carpenter's garrison at Pawtuxet, and at Nashaway. Quanopin did not then deny the statement of his brother that he was a commander in the war and was the second man in command in the Narragansett country, next to Nenanantenentt (alias Conanchet). He was adjudged guilty, ordered to be shot at 1 A. M. on August 26, 1676 and the sentence was executed.

There is something to be admired in the character of many of these chieftains. Nanuntenos (alias Canonchet) was justly aggrieved at the conduct of the Massachusetts magistrates in their consistent support of the unscrupulous Uncas, who by cajolery had led them to interfere with the activities of his father Miantonomi whereby his capture was effected and his execution approved (Drake II, 49 and 66). His was a manly act, when captured after an energetic campaign and condemned to death, he answered "I like it well: I shall die before my heart is soft, or I shall have said anything unworthy".[28] So too his cousin Quanopin, though by inheritance the son of a drunkard, was bold and fearless, his conduct at the "Swamp Fight" showed courage and poise, and his planning and conduct of the various sieges showed the capacity of a warrior. We would criticise his maintenance of a harem on the fighting line and his becoming drunk at the critical stage of the war, but confronted with death he was as fearless as was his cousin.

As to Weetamoe, she had great capacity along the lines of her chosen effort: she was a queen who on account of her personal charms demanded and received obedience from her chieftains; she was true to her inheritance in the belief that her tribal destiny was inconsistent with English supremacy, as well as in her father's belief that there were many inconveniences in a single marital alliance. She was supremely active and she enforced her convictions to the utmost of her power, sacrificing her health and comfort

[28] Church, p. 108. See also Hubbard, II. p. 60.

to remain with her army and at the crisis by leading the dance which was designed to prevent its disintegration. That her warriors were ever true is shown by the fact that at the end they fought to the death that she alone might escape. Even if we disagree with her tenets, we must agree that she was a heroine, and that in this terrible Indian war, although her beliefs were wrong, her conduct and that of the Pocasset tribe, including, of course, Quanopin as its supreme field commander, were shining features.

A fair inference from the facts which I have referred to must as clearly lead to a far different conclusion with reference to sachem Philip. The name "king" or any heroic phrase is not fairly applicable to him or to his aims; he began his reign with the bright example of his father and elder brother before him, his first act being to request aid from the English in causing the hostile Narragansett warriors, who were disseminating anti-English doctrines within his territory, to be removed. Whether this request was truthful or hypocritical there is no evidence that Philip ever resisted their influences or sought to enforce their removal; he at once married into the hostile Pocasset camp; he began to complain of the lessening of his territory, yet was ever ready to confirm old sales and to make new ones. He complained of wrongs, yet was so fairly treated in Plymouth that he petitioned that Court for the enforcement of his rights, and he received justice. As to his character and policy we must adopt not the historical opinions of writers whose conclusions would prove, without clear evidence, that their forefathers were more corrupt and unfair than they; but rather the opinions of those who know their own integrity and who realize that their virtues are not so much self-acquired as they are tendencies inherited from their ancestors. Therefore we should incline, in the absence of definite proof to the contrary, to the opinions of such historians as Palfrey, who discusses those matters in Vol. II at page 184 and seq. of his History of New England, 1873, and such as Goodwin, who completed his estimable "Pilgrim Republic" in 1879. (see p. 544 et seq.). These men were delving for the truth, — they say that "Philip's outbreak was prompted by the vindictiveness and caprice of an unreasoning and cruel barbarian". No portion of his country had been appropriated by the strangers except after the payment of just consideration. Their Indian civilization had been enriched by access to conveniences hitherto unknown. The war arose because the idle Indians demanded support without effort. It was not planned as a redress for grievances, as is evidenced by the fact that no comprehensive plan of campaign had been made. When Philip entered the Pocasset swamp from Mount Hope only thirty of his men had guns, and as he left

the swamp "his powder was almost spent". His warriors had no store of clothing or provisions. That the Narragansetts should plot against the English was at no time unlikely, but they would never have yielded supremacy in any war to Philip, nor did they so yield it. They craftily and cunningly used Philip as the "cat's paw", as a name under which Quanopin, Weetamoe and Canonchet, the real king-makers, sought to carry out their warlike aims. In his own council Philip's wavering and vacillating temperament was used to involve him in reprisals which resulted in a war when no war was by him primarily intended. An Indian sachem was supposed to express and carry out not his own will but the will of the council over which he presided. Philip apparently hoped he could avoid putting this will into effect. He hesitated but when reluctantly drawn in he could not withdraw, he was doomed if there should be a failure, and no one realized that fact better than he. The real Philip was a man who clung to savage life and heathen superstitions; without mental discipline or restraint he had shown aptitude for little except falsehood and treachery; Goodwin says that "a person of his coarseness, ignorance, inexperience in war, inbred indolence and purposelessness could not spring into a great character", — "that he is not known to have been personally present or to have taken active part in any one of the fights of the war". When we add to these opinions the fact that he was such a coward as to disguise his person to escape identification; to place his women and children between himself and danger, and to run to his death, abandoning to their fate chieftains such as Anawan and Tispaquin (see Palfrey, II, 173) and to seek his own safety rather than the welfare of those who had served under his father and had pledged their lives to him, we complete the picture of a chieftain who is some times spoken of as a "king".