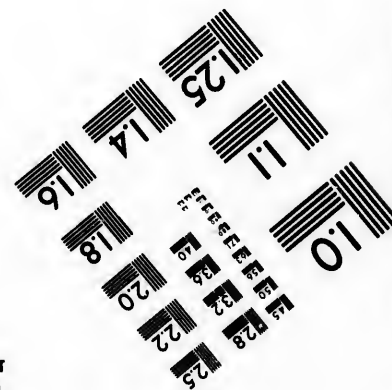
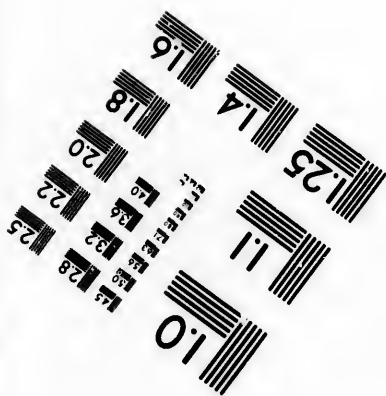
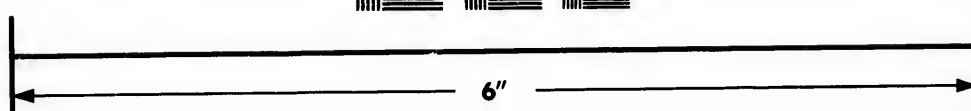
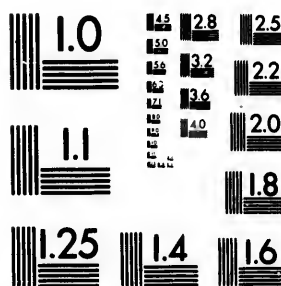


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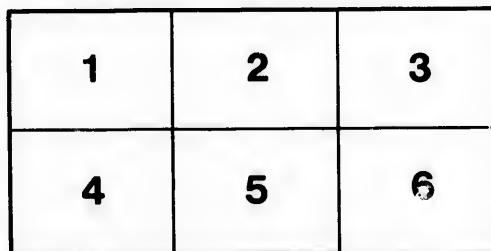
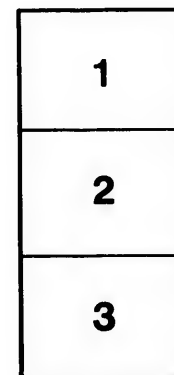
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Col. *BENJAMIN. CHURCH.*



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T H E
E N T E R T A I N I N G
H I S T O R Y
O F

King *Philip's* W A R,
Which began in the Month of *June*, 1675.

AS ALSO OF
E X P E D I T I O N S

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

With some ACCOUNT of the Divine
Providence towards

Col, Benjamin Church:

By THOMAS CHURCH, Esq. HIS SON.

THE SECOND EDITION.

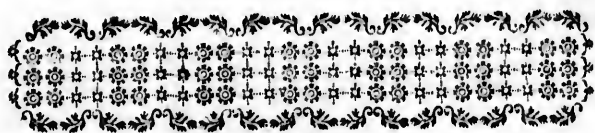
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T O T H E
R E A D E R.

*T*H E subject of this following narrative offering itself to your friendly perusal, relates to the former & later wars of New-England, which I myself was not a little concerned in: For in the year 1675, that unhappy & 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 clear'd 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 ser-

vice, had our lives, for the most part, wonderfully preserved, by the over-ruling hand of the Almighty, from first to last; which doth aloud bespeak our praises: And to declare his wonderful works is our indispensable duty. I was ever very sensible of my own littleness, and unfitness to be employed in such great services, but calling to my mind that **G O D** 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 **G O D** 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 **G O D**, to us children of men, should appear to the world; and having my minutes by me, my son has taken the care and pains to collect from them the 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 **J E S U S C H R I S T** loving of me.

Benjamin Church.



The entertaining HISTORY of
Philip's W A R,

Which began in the Year 1675.

With the Proceedings of

Benjamin Church, Esq;



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 gain'd a good acquaintance with the natives; got

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 unto other good men to become his neighbours: Behold! the rumour of 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 rid 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

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 *Umpame* 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 posture 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 quashed, and *Awasbunks* 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

filled with bullets, asked them what those bullets were for? They scoffingly reply'd, to shoot *pigeons* with.

Then Mr. *Church* turned to *Awasbunks*, 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 *Awasbunk'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, join'd with them, and urged Mr. *Church* to go aside with him among the bushes, that he might have some private discourse with him, which other Indians immediately forbid, being sensible of his ill design: But the Indians began to 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 *Awasbunks* he thought it might be most adviseable 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, to join with her neighbours 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

which when they came there, urged him to take care to secure his goods, which he refused for the reasons before-mentioned: But desired the Indians, that if what they feared should happen, they would take care of what he left, and directed them to a place in the woods where they should dispose of them; which they faithfully observed.

He took his leave of his guard and bid them tell their mistress, 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 Nummit*, 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 entertain'd the young men from all parts of the country. And added, that *Philip* expected to be sent for to *Plymouth*, to be examined about *Sassamon's* death, who was murder'd at *Assawomset-Ponds*;† knowing himself guilty of contriving that murder. The same *Peter* told him that he saw Mr. *Jamés Brown*, of *Swanzey*, and Mr. *Samuel Gorton*, who was an 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 shew 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 desir'd Mr. *Church* to go and see his wife, who was but 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

B

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

† *M. d. d. borough*.

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, 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 comply'd with it, and they march'd the next day.— Major *Bradford* desired Mr. *Church*, with a commanded party, consisting of *English* and some friend Indians, to march in the front, at some distance from the main body. Their orders were to keep so far before as not to be in sight of the army. And so they did, for by the way they killed a deer, flect, roasted, and eat the most of him, before the army came up with them; but the *Plymouth* forces soon arrived at *Swanzey*, & were chiefly posted at Major *Brown's* and Mr. *Mile's* garrisons; and were there soon joined with

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, dismembring 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 centinels at Mr. *Mile's* garrison, under the very noses of most of our forces. These provocations drew out the resentment of some of Captain *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 discovered 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,

* In *Swansey*.

at length stormed and stamp'd, 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 offer'd, 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, & they, with Mr. *Gill*, went, but the wounded man fainted and fell off his horse before they came to him ; but Mr. *Church* and the stranger dismounted, took up the man dead, and laid him before Mr. *Gill* on 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 causeway toward the enemy ; but before he got over the causeway 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 at one clap, though every shot missed him ; yet 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 heroick 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

at a place called *Keckanuit*,* 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 but to strengthen themselves, and to gain a more advantageous post. However, some, and not a few, pleased themselves with the fancy of a mighty conquest.

A grand council was held, and a resolve past, 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 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 the enemy on *Pocasset* side, and with the greater earnestness, because of his promise made to *Awasbunks*, before mentioned. The council adjourned themselves from *Mount-Hope* to *Roboboth*, 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

* Upper part of *Bristol*.

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 Captain *Fuller* also urged the same, until at length there came further orders concerning the fort; and withal an order for Captain *Fuller* with six file: to cross the river to the side so much insisted on, and to try if he could get speech with any of the *Pocasset* or *Sogkonate* Indians, and that Mr. *Church* should go his second. Upon the 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; tho' he thought the enterprise was hazardous enough for them to have more men assigned them. Captain *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 in two ambuscades before day, hoping to surprize 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 of 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;

troublesome, and then returned unto the place of rendezvous, where they were acquainted with the other party's disappointment, and the occasion of it. Mr. *Church* calls for the breakfast he had ordered to be brought over in the boat; but the man that had the charge of it confessed that he was 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, propos'd 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 comply'd 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 reflect'd upon Mr. *Church*; that notwithstanding his talk on the other side of the river, he had not shewn them any Indians since they came over. Which now mov'd him to tell them, that if it was their desire to see Indians, he believ'd he should now soon shew them what they should say was enough.

The number allowed him soon drew off to him, which could not be many, because their whole company consist'd of no more than thirty-six. They mov'd towards *Sogkonate*, until they came to the brook that runs into *Nunnaqualquat* neck, where they discover'd 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 express'd their willingness to follow the track, and mov'd in it, but had not gone far before one of them narrowly escap'd being bit with a rattle-snake: And the woods that the track led them

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 should have returned to give account how many.

Now they pass'd down into *Punkatees* neck; and in their march discovered a large wigwam full of Indian truck, 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 discover'd fresh Indian tracks very lately pass'd before them into the neck. They then got privately and undiscover'd unto the fence of *Capt. Almy's* pease-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 discover'd coming out of the pease-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 shewed 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 climb'd 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 fir'd upon him that had discharged his piece; and they concluded, by the yelling they heard, that the Indian was wounded; but the Indians soon got into the thickets, whence they saw them no more for the present.

Mr. Church then marching over a plain piece of ground, where

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 very surprisngly 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 snokes 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 Pease-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 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 surpris'd by those that lay under the fence; but casting his eyes to the side of the hill above them, the hill seem'd to move, being covered over with Indians, with their bright guns glittering in the sun, and running in a circumference with a design to surround them.

Seeing such multitudes surrounding him and his little company, it put him upon thinking what was become of the boats that were ordered to attend him; and looking 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 wonder'd what should be the occasion, until he was afterwards inform'd, that the boats had been over that morning from the island, and had landed a party of men at *Fogland*, that were design'd in *Punkatee's* neck, to fetch off some cattle and horses, but were ambuscaded, and many of them wounded by the enemy.

* *Tiverton*, about half a mile above *Fogland* ferry. C Now

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 a while among the pease to gather a few, being about four rods from the wall; the enemy from behind hail'd them with a shower of bullets; but soon all but one came tumbling over an old hedge down the bank, where Mr. *Church* and the rest were, and told him that his brother *B. Southworth*, 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 means of the *English* powder was now their greatest misfortune; when they were immediately upon this beset with multitudes of Indians, who possessed themselves of every rock, stump, tree or fence that was in sight, firing upon them without ceasing; while they had no other shelter but a small bank 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

canoe ashore to 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 cry out, *For God's sake to take them off, for their ammunition was spent, &c.* Mr. Church being sensible of the danger of the enemy's hearing their complaints, and being made acquainted with the weakness and scantiness of their ammunition, 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 re-animated, 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 yet, told them, *That he had observed so much of the remarkable and wonderful providence of God 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 ammunition, 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 an end before him in the sand, when a bullet from the enemy, with a full force, struck the stone, while he was pitching it an end; which put the poor fellow to a miserable start, 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 Captain Golding, whom he knew to be a man for business, and would certainly fetch them off, if he came.* The wind being fair, the vessel was soon with them; and Captain 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 itern, 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 cutlafs 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 cutlafs 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 at the enemy, until he took up what he went for; at his return he discharged his gun at the enemy, to bid them farewell for that time; but had not powder enough to carry the bullet half way to them.

Two bullets from the enemy 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 Gentlemen with his army, making in all 20 men, himself and his pilot being numbered with them, got all

all safe on board after six hours engagement with 300 Indians; whose number we were told afterwards by some of themselves. *A deliverance which that good Gentleman often mentions to the Glory of God, and his protecting providence.* The next 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 quarters 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 south west from the Mount, where orders were given for an halt: The commander in chief told them he thought it proper to take advice before he went any further; called Mr. *Church* and the pilot, and 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

* Squaw Sachem of *Pocasset*.

com-

commander insisted on this, *That the enemies number were so great, and he did not know what numbers more might be added unto them by that time: And his company so small, that he could not think it practicable to attack them:* Added moreover, *That if he was sure of killing all the enemy, and knew that he must lose the life of one of his men in the action, he would not attempt it.* Pray Sir, then (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 the *Fall river*,* in order to visit *Weetamore's* camp. Mr. Church, one Baxter, and Captain Hunter an Indian, proffered to go out on the 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. Captain Hunter wounded one of them in his knee, who, 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 but shot down. The enemies fires, and what shelter they had was by the edge of a thick cedar swamp, into which, on this alarm, they betook themselves, and the *English* as nimbly pursued; but were soon commanded back by their chieftan, 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

* South part of Freetown. † Probably a wooden spit. wounded

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 that *Weetamore* and her's (but now mentioned) had; they took into a swamp, and their pursuers were commanded back. After this *Dartmouth's* distresses required succour, great part of the town being laid desolate, and many of the inhabitants kill'd; 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 friend 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. But in spite of all that Capt. *Eels*, *Church* or *Earl* could say, argue, plead, or beg, some body else that had more power in their hands 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 eighty-score persons. An action so hateful to Mr. *Church*, that he oppos'd it to the loss of the good will and respects of some that before were his good friends. But while these things were acting at *Dartmouth*, *Philip* made his escape, leaving his country, fled over *Taunton* river, and *Rebobob* plain, and *Petuxet* 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 prov'd as troublesome and chargeable as that at *Mount-Hope*; and the remainder of the summer was im-

* In *Dartmouth*.

proved

proved in providing for the forts and forces there maintained, while our enemies were fled some hundred of miles into the country, near 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: Governor *Winslow* to command the army. He undertaking the expedition, invited Mr. *Church* to command a company in the expedition, which he declin'd, craving excuse from taking commission, he promised to wait upon him as a *Reformado* through the expedition. Having rid 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 to provide for the coming of General *Winslow*; who marched round through the country with his army, proposing by night to surprize *Pumbam** (a certain *Narraganset* Sachem) and his town; but being aware of the approach of our army, 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 enemies resorts, wigwams, or sleeping places, and having gained some intelligence, he proposed to the *Eldriges*, and some other brisk hands that he met with, to attempt the surprizing of some of the enemy, to make a present of to the General, when he should arrive, which might advantage his design: Being brisk blades, they readily 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 they had captured. The General, pleased with the exploit, gave them thanks, particularly to

* Sachem of *Shawomet*, or *Warwick*.

Mr.

Mr. *Church*, the mover and chief actor of the business; and sending two of them, (likely boys) a present to *Boston*; smiling on Mr. *Church*, told him, *That he made no doubt but his faculty would supply them with Indian boys enough before the war was ended.*

Their next move was to a swamp, which the Indians had fortified with a fort. Mr. *Church* rid 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, that was the passage into the fort, where they saw many men and several valiant Captains lie slain: Mr. *Church* spying Captain *Gardner* 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 *Gardner* settled down, Mr. *Church* stepped to him, and seeing the blood run down his cheek, lifted up his cap, and calling 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 despatched information to the General that the best and forwardest of his army, that hazarded their lives to enter the fort, upon the muzzle of the enemies guns, were shot in their backs, and 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

in the tract, he soon spied one of the enemy who clapped his gun a-crofs his breast, made towards Mr. *Cchurch*, and beckoned to him with his hand; Mr. *Cchurch* immediately commanded no man to hurt him, hoping by him to have gained some intelligence of the enemy, that might be of advantage; but it unhappily fell out that a fellow that had lagged behind coming up, shot down the Indian, to Mr. *Cchurch's* great grief and disappointment; but 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. *Cchurch'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 Serjeant 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. *Cchurch* and his company were favoured by a heap of brush that was between them and the enemy, and prevented their being discovered to them. Mr. *Cchurch* had given his men their particular orders for firing upon the enemy, and as they were rising up to make their shot; the afore-mentioned Serjeant in the fort called out to them, *for God's sake not to fire, for he believed they were some of their friend Indians*; 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. *Cchurch*, 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. *Cchurch* to his men) *if we mind our bits, 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

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 surpris'd, that they scamper'd, they knew not whither themselves, about a dozen of them ran right 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 on upon the hovel, and overset it, calling, as he ran on, to some that were in the fort, to assist him in oversetting it; they no sooner came to face the enemies shelter, but Mr. *Church* discovered that one of them had found a hole to point his gun through, right at him; but however encouraged his company, and ran right on, till he was struck with three bullets, one in his thigh, which was near half 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 Captain *Prentice*; being wrapped up 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 of him, until they had perfected their project of oversetting the enemies shelter; bid them run, *for now the Indians had no guns charged.* While he was urging them to run on, the Indians began to shoot arrows, and with one pierced through the arm of an *Englishman* that had hold of Mr. *Church's* arm to support him. The *English*, in short, were discouraged, and drew back; and by this time the *English* people in the fort had began to set fire to the wigwams and houses in the fort, which Mr. *Church* laboured hard to prevent; they

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 unto, or depend upon; that he knew that the Plymouth forces had not so much as one biscake left, for he had seen their last dealt out, &c.* The General advising a few words with the Gentlemen that were about him, 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 brushed up another Gentleman, a certain doctor, 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 a-pace from his wounds, told him, *That if he gave such advice as that was, he should bleed to death like a dog before he would endeavour to stench his blood;* though after they had prevailed against his advice, they

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 Captain *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: 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.* Sometime after this fort-fight a certain *Sogkonate* Indian hearing Mr. *Church* relate the manner of his being wounded, told him, *That he did not know but he himself was the Indian that wounded him, for that he was one of that company of Indians that Mr. Church made a shot upon, when they were rising to make a shot into the fort. They were in number about 60 or 70, that just then came down from Pumham'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.

* 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 3 or 4 acres, in the middle of a hedious swamp; about seven miles near due west from *Narraganset* fourth ferry.

Mr. *Church* was mov'd, 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 assistance.

In this march, the first thing remarkable was, 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 pass'd the swamp. But at length the enemy all fled, and a certain *Mobegan*, that was a friend 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 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 ingenuous 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 disenableing him for travelling, it was concluded he should be knock'd on the head : Accordingly he was brought before a great fire, and the *Mobegan* that took him was allowed, as he desired, to be his executioner. Mr. *Church* taking no delight in the sport, fram'd 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, being aware of the blow, dodged his head aside, and the executioner missing his stroke, the hatchet flew out of his hand, and

* Country about *Worcester, Oxford, Craiton, Dudley, &c.*

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, & happened to run right upon Mr. *Church*, who laid hold on him, and a close skuffle they had, but the Indian having no clothes on slip'd from him, and ran again, and Mr. *Church* pursued the Indian, 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, slip'd 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 could be taken of him: And running thro' a swamp that was cover'd 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 cry'd out aloud for help; but Mr. *Church* being soon upon him again, the Indian seized him fast by the hair of his head, and endeavouring by twisting to break his neck, but 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 other's 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 other of them, but was doubtful which of them must now receive the fatal stroke; anon somebody comes up to them, who prov'd to be the Indian that had first taken the prisoner. Without speaking a word, he felt them out, (for 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*

Church's hands were fast'ned 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 hugg'd him in his arms, and thank'd him abundantly for catching his prisoner; and cut off the head of his victim, and carried it to the camp; and giving an account to the rest of the friend Indians in the camp, how Mr. *Church* had seized his prisoner, &c. they all join'd 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 *Mookags** 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 him a great many men, and frighten'd many more into the river, that were hurl'd down the falls and drowned.

Philip got over the river, and on the back side of *Wetuset* hills meets with all the remnants of the *Narraganset* & *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. *Church* was sent for to them, being observed by the whole colony to be a person extraordinary qualified for, and adapted to, the affairs of war. It was proposed in council, that lest the enemy, in their return, should fall on *Rebobob*, or some other of their out-towns, a company, consisting of 60 or 70 men, should be sent into those parts; and Mr.

* *Mohawks.* † Above *Deerfield.* † About *Rutland.* *Church*

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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 that were now mustered together, would be but to deliver so many men into their hands, to be destroyed, as the worthy Captain 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 to, he would go with them for six weeks march, which was long enough for men to be kept in the woods at once; and if they might be sure of liberty to return in such a space, men would go out cheerfully; and he would engage 150 of the best soldiers should immediately list voluntarily to go with him, if they would please to add 50 more; and 100 of the friend Indians; and with such an army, he made no doubt, but he might do good service; but on other terms he did not incline to be concerned.*

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

Now Mr. Church's consort, and his then only son were till this time remaining at *Dunbury*, and his fearing their safety there (unless the war were more vigorously engaged in) resolved to move to *Rhode-Island*, though it

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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 *Peirce* with a commanded party, who offered Mr. *Church* to send a relation of his with some others to guard him to *Rhode-Island*; but Mr. *Church* thanked him for his respectful offer, but for some good reasons refused to accept it. In short, they got safe to Captain *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 to war again. Accordingly his second son being born on the 12th of *May*, and his wife and son like to do well, Mr. *Church* embraces the opportunity of

a passage in a sloop bound to *Barnstable*; who landed him at *Sogkoneffet*, from whence he rid to *Plymouth*; and arrived 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 smoakes 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, in some measure agreeable to his former proposal; expecting *Boston* and *Conneticut* 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 *Swanzey*, *Dartmouth*, &c. So returning the same way he came; when he came to *Sogkoneffet*, he had a sham put upon him about a boat he had bought to go home in, and was forced to hire two of the friend Indians to paddle him in a canoe from *Elisabeth'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 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, beck'ned and call'd 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 that one of them 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 them. He did so, and Mr. *Church* went ashore, haled up his canoe, ordered one of his Indians to stay by it, and the other to walk above on the beach, as a centinel, 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, the last *Sogkonate* Indian 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

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asked him, what it was he wanted that he halloood and called him ashore? He answered, that he took him for *Cburch* 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 with Mr. *Cburch* 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. *Cburch* 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. *Cburch* had formerly a particular respect for) to meet him two days after, at a rock at the lower end of Captain *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. *Cburch* telling *George* that he would have him come with the persons mentioned, and no more. They giving each other their hand upon it parted, and Mr. *Cburch* 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 that 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 that he escaped, now to throw away his life, for the
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rogues would as certainly kill him, as ever he went over; and utterly refused to grant his permit, or to be willing that he should run the risk.

Mr. Church told them, *That it ever had been in his thoughts since the war broke out, that if he could discourse the Sogkonate Indians, he could draw them off from Philip, and employ them against him; but could not, till now, never 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, nor if he went did they ever expect 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, might 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 fetch'd Mr. Church ashore, while the other canoe played off to see the event, and to carry tidings if the Indians should prove false.

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Mr. Church asked George whether *Awasbonks* 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 they 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 *Awasbonks* 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. Where at once rose up a great body of Indians, who had lain hid in the grass, (that was high as a man's waist) and gathered round them, till they had closed 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 *Awasbonks*, 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 to appear in such hostile form as your people do;* desired of her, that if they might talk about peace, which he desired they might, *her men might lay aside their arms, and appear more treatable.* Upon which there began a considerable noise and murmur among them in their own language, till *Awasbonks* asked him, what arms they should lay down, and where? He (perceiving the Indians looked very surly, and much displeas'd) 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 *Awasbonks,*

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*shonks, whether she had lived so long at Wetufet, as to forget to drink Occapeches; and drinking to her, he perceived that she watched him very diligently, to see (as he tho't) 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 drank a good swig, which indeed was no more than he needed. Then they all standing up, he said to *Awasshonks, you won't drink for fear there should be poison in it; and 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? And then handed it to Awasshonks, she 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.

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

He told her he was prevented by the war's 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, tho' he did not come prepared to fight, had but nineteen men with him, whose chief design was to gain an opportunity to discourse some *Sogkonate* Indians. Upon this there at once arose a mighty murmur, confused noise, and talk among the fierce looking creatures, and all rising up in a hubbub; and a great surly looking fellow took up his Tomhog, or wooden cutlash, to kill Mr. *Church*, but some others prevented him.

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The interpreter asked Mr. *Church*, if he understood what it was that the great fellow (they had hold of) said? He answered him, no. Why, said the interpreter, he says, you killed his brother at *Punkateese*, and therefore he thirsts for your blood. Mr. *Church* bid the interpreter tell him that his brother began first; that if he had kept at *Sogkonate*, according to his desire and order, he should not have hurt him.

Then the chief Captain commanded *silence*, and told them, that they should talk no more about old things, &c. and quelled the tumult, so that they sat down again, and began upon 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?* Desiring them to make some proposals 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, 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 submit 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

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thoughts of their return, and of the former friendship that had been between them, &c.

The chief Captain rose up, and expressed the great value and respect he had for Mr. *Church*; and bowing to him said, *Sir, If you'll please to accept of me and my men, and will head us, we'll fight for you, and will help you to 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's and their children's fast friend. And (by the way) the friendship is maintained between them to this day.

Then he proposed unto 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, 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, that his travelling through the woods would not be safe for him; the enemy might meet with them, and kill him, and then they should loose 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 *Sogkonnate-point*, and sail from thence to *Sandwich*, which, in fine, was concluded upon.

So Mr. *Church* promising to come as soon as he could possibly obtain a vessel, and then they parted. He returned to the island, and was at great pains and charge to get a vessel, but with unaccountable disappointments, sometimes by the falleness, and sometimes by the faint-heartedness

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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 loaden 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; would therefore yield his voyage.*

Then he writ the account of his transactions with the Indians, and drew up the proposals, and articles of peace, and despatched *Peter* with them to *Plymouth*, that his Honour 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) rid out with his wife, and some of his friends to *Portsmouth*, un-

der a pretence of cherying; but came home without any news from the army: But by midnight, or sooner, he was roused with an expers 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 *Sogkonato* Indians. With the Major's consent and advice, he returned again next morning to the island, in order to go over that way to *Awasbunks*, to inform her that the army was arrived, &c. Accordingly from *Sackuefet-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 of all his proceedings with her; that if she would be advised and observe order she nor her people need not to fear being hurt by them; told her, she should call all her people down into the neck, 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 *Punkateese*; and Mr. *Church* with a few men went down to *Sogkonate* to call *Awasbunks*, and her people to come up to the *English* camp; as he was going down, they met with a *Pocasset* Indian; who had killed a cow and got a quarter of her on his back, and her tongue in his pocket; who gave them an account, that he came from *Pocasset* two days since in company with his mother, and several other Indians, now hid in the swamp above *Nomquid*; † disarming of him, he sent him by two men to Major *Bradford*, and proceeded to *Sogkonate*. They saw several Indians by the way skulking about, but let them pass; arriving at *Awasbunks*.

* The south-east corner of *Rhode-Island*. † In *Tiverton*.

Awashonks camp, 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, and soon sent out orders for such of her subjects as were not with her, immediately to come in; and by twelve o' clock of the next day, she with most of her number appeared before the *English* camp at *Punkateese*. Mr. *Cchurch* 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. *Cchurch*, (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. *Cchurch*, 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 3 or 4 days at the same place; being asked *what Indians they were?* He answered some *Weetemores* Indians, some *Mount-Hope* Indians, some *Nar-*

* Adjoining *Fogland-Ferry*.

razanset

raganset 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 enemies 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 imbraced; 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 *Reboboth*, where the army now was, and by two hours by sun next morning arrived safe at *Plymouth*; and by that time they had refreshed themselves, the Governor and Treasurer came to town. Mr. *Church* giving them a short account of the affairs of the army, &c. His Honour 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 Indian back again that brought his letter.* He asked his Honour *Whether he had any thing later from Awashonks?* He told him he had not. Whereupon he gave his Honour 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 Honour a commission to lead them forth to fight *Philip*. His Honour smilingly told him, *That he should not want commission*

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commission if he would accept it, nor yet good English men
 enough to make up a good army. But in short, he told his
 Honour the time was expired that he had appointed to
 meet the *Sogkonates* at *Sandwich*. The Governor asked
 him, when he would go? He told him that afternoon, by
 his Honour's leave. The Governor asked him how ma-
 ny men he would have with him? He answered not above
 half a dozen, with an order to take more at *Sandwich*, if
 he saw cause, and horses provided. He no sooner moved
 it, but had his number of men tendering to go with him,
 among which was Mr. *Jabez Howland*, 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 16 or 18 men, he proceeded as
 far as *Agawom*, where they had great expectation of meet-
 ing the Indians, but met them not; his men being dis-
 couraged about half of them returned; only half a dozen
 stuck by him, and promised so to do until they should
 meet with the Indians. When they came to *Sippican Ri-*
ver,* 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 creep'd among the bushes, un-
 til 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 in
 the water, some clamming, &c. but which way with
 safety to find out what Indians they were, they were at a
 loss. But at length, retiring into a thicket, Mr. *Church*
 hallooed to them; they soon answered him, and a couple
 of smart young fellows, well mounted, came upon a full
 career

* *Rocheſter.*

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 *Awasbonks* and 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 *Awasbonks* that he was come to meet her; *Jack Havens* soon came, and by that time Mr. *Church* had asked him a few questions, and had been satisfied by him, that it was *Awasbonks* and her company that were below, and that *Jack* had been kindly treated by them, a company of Indians all mounted on horseback, and well armed, came riding up to Mr. *Church*, but treated him with all due respects. He then ordered *Jack* to go tell *Awasbonks*, 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 and 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, until he perceiving their laughing, mistrusted the truth. As soon as Mr.

Church

Church had given him the news, they hastened away to *Awasbonks*. Upon their arrival, they were immediately conducted to a shelter, open on one side, whither *Awasbonks* and her chiefs soon came and paid their respects; and the multitudes gave shouts as made the heavens to ring.

It being now about sun-setting, or near the dusk of the evening, the *Netops* came running from all quarters loaden with the tops of dry pines, and the like com' useful matter, making a huge pile thereof, near *Mr. Church's* shelter, on the open side thereof; but 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; but by that time 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 round it. *Awasbonks* 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 out-side. 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 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 Captain of the guard stepped up to *Mr. Church* and

and told him, *They were making soldiers for him, and what they had been doing was all one swearing of 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 :

CAPTAIN 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 60, of which company, or so many of them as you can obtain, or shall see cause at present to improve, you are to take the command and conduct, and to lead them forth now and hereafter, at such time, and unto such places within this colony, or 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, & the persons often changed, you are also hereby empowered, with the advice of your company, to choose and commissionate a Lieutenant, and to establish

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stablish Serjeants, and Corporals as you see cause: And
 you herein improving your best judgment and discre-
 tion 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 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 swam-
 py thickets, towards a place where they had some reason
 to expect to meet with a parcel of *Narraganset* Indians,
 with some others that belonged to *Mount-Hope*. Coming
 near to where they expected them, Captain *Church's* In-
 dian 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, and had the desired effect; surprizing them from eve-
 ry side 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*. Captain *Church* hastening
 with his prisoners through the woods to *Plymouth*, disposed
 of them all, excepting only one *Jeffery*, who proving ve-
 ry ingenuous and faithful to him, in informing where other
 parcels of Indians harboured; Captain *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 Captain *Church* was forthwith sent out again, and
 the terms for his encouragement being concluded on, viz.
 That the country should find them ammunition and provi-
 sion

tion, and have 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 with some travellers or rambles, 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 his method of secret and sudden surprises took great numbers of them prisoners.

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 Captain *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, discovered a company of the enemy; but his time was too short to wait for gain-

* Near *Raynham*.

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ing advantage, and therefore ran right in upon them, surprised and captivated about 16 of them, who, upon examination, informed, that *Tispaquin*, a very famous Captain among the enemy was at *Affawompsset*,* 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.

Coming towards *Taunton*, Capt. *Cchurch* taking two men with him, made all speed to the town; and coming to the river side, he halloo'd, and inquiring of them that came to the river, for Major *Bradford*, or his Captains; he was inform'd they were in the town, at the tavern.— He told them of the carts that were coming, that he had the cumber of guarding them, which had already prevented his improving opportunities of doing service.— Pray'd therefore that a guard might be sent over to receive the carts, that he might be at liberty; refusing all invitations and 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 convey'd with the carts, to *Plymouth*, directing them not to return by the way they came, but by *Bridgewater*.

Hast'ning back, he propos'd to camp that night at *Affawompsset* 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. *Cchurch'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 look'd sharp out for the enemy, within hearing on every side, and

some

* In *Middleborough*.

some very near ; but in the dead of the night, the enemy being out of hearing, or still, Capt. *Cchurch* moved out of the neck, (not the same way he came in, lest he should be ambuscado'd) towards *Cushnet*,* where 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 centinels more. But the whole company being very drowsy, soon forgot their danger, and were fast asleep; centinels 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 of their tracks, where they came into the neck ; Capt. *Cchurch*, and those with him, soon dispersed into the brush on each side of the way, while the file 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 snafacks, 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 of it, they were brought to a small company of Indians, who proved to be *Little Eyes*, and family, and near relations, who were of *Sogkonate*, but had forsaken their countrymen, upon their making peace with the *English*. Some of Capt. *Cchurch*'s Indians asked him, *If he did not know this fellow ?* Told him, *This is the rogue that would have killed*

* In *Dartmouth*.

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killed you at Awashonk's 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 they 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 Light-foot (whom the English knew to be their friend) to be killed.* *Little Eyes* expressed himself very thankful to the Captain. He leaving his company with *Light-foot*, returns to the river side, towards *Pomerset*, to *Russell's* orchard; coming near the orchard, they clapp'd into a thicket, and there lodg'd the rest of the night without any fire; and upon the morning light appearing, moves towards the orchard, discovers some of the enemy, who had been there the day before, and had beat down all the apples, and carried them away; discovered also where they had lodg'd that night, and saw the ground where they set their baskets bloody, being, as they supposed, and as it was afterwards discovered to be, with the flesh of swine, &c. which they had killed that day: They had lain under 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 mov'd apace in pursuit of them. Travelling three miles, or more, they came into the country road, where the track parted, one parcel steered towards the west end of the great cedar swamp, and the other to the east end. 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 being divided, they should follow one, and the English the other, being equal in number.*
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The Indians declined the motion, and were not willing to move any where without him ; said, *they should not think themselves safe without him.* But the Captain 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 at, each company set out briskly to try their fortunes. Captain *Church*, with his *English* soldiers, followed their track until they came near entering a miery 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 made towards him, who hast'ned to meet him as fast as he could ; *Fobes* told him they had discovered abundance of Indians, and if he pleased to go a few steps back he might see them himself : He did so, and saw them across the swamp, observing them, he perceived they were gathering *whorle-berries*, and that they had no apprehensions 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 thro' the swamp as fast as he could, and orders the rest to hasten after them. Capt. *Church*, with *Dillano* and *Barns*, having good horses, spurr'd on, and were soon amongst 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 drove off from *Rhode-Island*, notwithstanding they had an house upon *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

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dence 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 Captain *Church* being on horse-back
 soon came up with them, and laid hold of a gun that was
 in the hand of one of the foremost of the company, pul-
 led 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 ga-
 thering up prisoners. The Captain drove his that he had
 stopped to the rest, inquiring of *Dillano* for their compa-
 ny, 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 con-
 cluded 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 66 of the enemy. Captain
Church then asked the old squaw, *What company they be-*
longed unto? She said, they belonged part to *Philip*, and
 part to *Quinnappin* and the *Nurraganset* Sachem, discovered
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also, upon her declaration, that both *Philip* and *Quappin* 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 came from the swamp with them, and left them upon that plain to gather whortle-berries, and promised to call them as they came back out of *Sconticut-Neck*; whither they went to kill cattle and horses for provisions for the company. She perceiving Captain *Church* move towards the neck, told him, *If they went that way they would all be killed.* He asked her, *Where about they crossed the river?* She pointed to the upper passing place. Upon which Captain *Church* passed over so low down as 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, Captain *Church*, and Mr. *Dillano* went down to see what was become of Captain *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 100 men of the enemy go down into Sconticut Neck, and that they were now returning again:* Upon which they three ran down immediately to a meadow where *Lightfoot* said the Indians had passed, where they not only saw their tracks, but also them: 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, and then took up their loads and marched again the same way that they came down into the neck, which was the nearest way unto their camp; had they gone the other way along the river, they could not have missed Captain *Church's* track, which would doubtless have exposed them to the loss of their prisoners, if not of their lives. But as soon as the coast

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, sent part of them to conduct *Lightfoot* and his company to the aforesaid meadow, where Captain *Church* and his company met them. Crossing the enemies track they made all haste until they got over *Mattapoiset-river*,* near 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 63 prisoners, as the *English* had done before them. Both *English* and Indians were surpris'd 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 Tyalks company, (Tyalks was the next man to Philip:) They fired upon the enemy before they were discovered, and ran upon them with a shout; the men ran and left their wives and children, and many of them their guns. They took Tyalks 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 Captain *Church* at the entering on

* In *Rochester*.

of *Affawompsit* 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 signifies nothing, these my best soldiers were a little while ago as wild and surly as you are now; by that time you have been but one day along with me, you'll 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.

Captain *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 never so many) they fled, expecting the great army. And his manner of marching through the woods was

was such, as if he were discovered, they appeared to be more than they were; for he always marched at a wide distance one from another, partly for their safety: And this was an Indian custom to march thin and scattered. Captain *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 an house. The other was, that if at any time they discovered a company of *English* soldiers in the woods, they knew that there was all, for the *English* never scattered; but the Indians always divided and scattered.

Captain *Church* now at *Plymouth*, something or other happened that kept him at home a few days, until a post came to *Marshfield* on the 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, came to *Plymouth* in the beginning of the forenoon exercise; sent for Captain *Church* out of the meeting-house, gave him the news, and desired him immediately to rally what of his company he could; and what men he had raised should 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; but 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 *Bridgewater* town. It seems the occasion of the firing was, that *Philip* finding that Captain *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 *Taunton* 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 *Bridgewater* 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 *Bridgewater*, that insisted 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 ; and the Captain spy'd an Indian sitting on the stump of it on the other side of the river, and he clapp'd his gun up, and had doubtless despatched him, but that 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 look'd about, and Capt. *Church's* Indian seeing his face perceived his mistake, for he knew him to be *Philip*, clapp'd up his gun and fired, but it was too late, for *Philip* immediately threw himself off the stump, leap'd down a bank on the side of the river, and made his escape.— Capt. *Church*, as soon as possible, got over the river, and scattered in quest of *Philip* and his company ; but the enemy scattered and fled every way ; but he pick'd up a considerable many of their women and children, among which was *Philip's* wife, and son of about nine years old. Discovering a considerable new track along the river, and examining the prisoners, found it was *Quinnappin* and the
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Narragansets, that were drawing off from those parts towards the *Narraganset* 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 they got, and to pick up what more they could find; and with the rest of his company hastened in the track of the enemy, to overtake them, if it might be, before they got over the river, and 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 the arm-pits; being almost as wet before with sweat as the river could make them: Following about a mile further, and not overtaking them, and the Captain being under necessity to return that night to the army, came to an halt, told his company, *he must return to his other men.* His Indian soldiers moved for leave to pursue the enemy (though he return'd;) said, *The Narragansets were great rogues, and they wanted to be revenged on them for killing some of their relations; named Tockamona, (Awasshonk's brother) and some others.* Capt. Church bad them go and prosper, and made *Lightfoot* their chief, and gave him the title of Captain: *Bid them go and quit 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 kill'd several of them, and brought him thirteen of them prisoners; were mighty proud of their exploit, and rejoiced much at the opportunity of avenging themselves.* Capt. Church sent the prisoners to *Bridgewater*, and sent out his scouts to see what enemies or tracks they could, discovering some small tracks, he follows them, found where the enemy had kindled some fires, and roasted some flesh; &c. but had put out their fires and were gone. The Captain followed

them by the track, putting his Indians in the front; some of which were such as he had newly taken from the 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 order: Or, upon discovery of any of the enemy, to stop, for his design was, if he could discover where the enemy were, not to fall upon them (unless necessitated to it) until next morning. The Indians in the front came up with many women and children, and others that were faint and tired, and so not able to keep up with the company; these gave them an account that *Philip*, with a great number of the enemy, were a little before. — Capt. *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, *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 surpris'd 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*; 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

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so surpris'd 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 was become of them. And by this time Capt. *Church* was got into the swamp ready to meet him; and as it happened made the first discovery, clapp'd behind a tree until *Philip's* company came pretty near, and then fired upon them, killed many of them, & 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 *Phymouth*, 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

sented 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 grape-vine, and he fell flat on his face; Captain *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, spying *Totoson* and others that were following him, in the very seasonable juncture made a shot upon them, and rescued their Captain; tho' 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 *Bridgewater*, sending an express before to provide for them, their company being now very numerous. The Gentlemen of *Bridgewater* 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 *Bridgewater* pound, and set his Indian soldiers to guard them. They being well treated with victuals and drink, they 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 Captain *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; for you have now killed or taken all his relations. That they believed

believed he would now soon have his head, and that this bout had almost broke his heart.

The next day Captain 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 Captain Church being arrived at Plymouth, received thanks from the government for his good service, &c. many of his soldiers were disbanded; and he tho't to rest himself a while, being much fatigued, and his health impaired, by excessive heats and colds, and wading thro' 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, tho' he himself with his son of about eight years old made their escape, and one old squaw with them, to Agawom, his own country; but 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, *He was ready;* upon which one of Capt. Church's

Church's Indians sunk his hatchet into his brains. The famous *Totoson* arriving at *Agawom*,* his son, which was 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 died. The old squaw flung a few leaves and brush over him, and came into *Sandwich*, and gave this account of his death, and offered to shew them where she left his body; but never had the opportunity, for she immediately fell sick and died also.

Captain *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 thro' the woods, until he came to *Pocasset*; and not seeing or hearing of any of the enemy, they went over the ferry to *Rhode-Island*, to refresh themselves. The Capt. with about half a dozen in his company, took horse and rid about eight miles down the island, to Mr. *Sandford's*, where he had left his wife; who no sooner saw him but fainted with surprise; and by that time she was a little revived, they spied two horsemen coming a great pace. Captain *Church* told his company that those men (by their riding) came with tidings. When they came up they proved to be Major *Sandford*, and Captain *Golding*; who immediately asked Captain *Church*, what he would give to hear some news of *Philip*? He reply'd, That was what he wanted. They told him, They had rid hard with some hopes of overtaking him, and were now come on purpose to inform him, that there was just now tidings from
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* Several places were called *Agawom*; as at *Ipswich*, & *Springfield*:
This *Agawom* lies in *Wareham*.

Mount-Hope; an Indian came down from thence (where Philip's camp now was) on to Sand-point, over against Trip's, and halloo'd, and made signs to be fetched over; and being fetched over, 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 displeas'd him. And said, he was fled for fear of meeting with the same his brother had met with: Told them alio, That Philip was now in Mount-Hope neck. Captain 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 unfaddled) 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 Trip's ferry (with Capt. Church's company) where the deserter was; who was a fellow of good sense, and told his story handsomely. He offered Captain Church to pilot him to Philip, and to help to 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 that time they were got over the ferry, and came near the ground half the night was spent. The Captain commands a halt, and bringing the company together, he asked Major Sandford's and Captain Golding's advice, what method was best to take 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 that he

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he should have the honour (if he would please to accept of it) to beat up *Philip's* head quarters. He accepted the offer, and had his allotted number drawn out to him, and the pilot. Captain *Cchurch's* instructions to him were to be very careful in his approach to the enemy, and be sure not to shew himself until by day light they 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 they could; for he would give orders to his ambuscade to fire on any that should come silently.

Captain *Cchurch* knowing that it was *Philip's* custom to be foremost in the flight, went down to the swamp, and gave Capt. *William's* of *Scituate* the command of the right wing of the ambush, and placed an *Englistman* and an *Indian* together behind such shelters of trees, &c. that he could find, and took care to place them at such distance that none might pass undiscovered between them, charged them to be careful of themselves, and of hurting their friends, and to fire at any that should come silently thro' the swamp; but being somewhat further thro' 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; said, *Sir, I have so placed them that it is scarce possible Philip should escape them.* The same moment a shot whistled over their heads, and then the noise of a gun towards *Philip's* camp. Captain *Cchurch* 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 to ease himself, when he had done, looked round him,

him, and Captain *Golding* tho't the Indian looked right at him, (though probably it was but his conceit) so fired at him, and upon his firing, the whole company that were with him fired upon the enemies shelter, before the Indians had time to rise from their sleep, and so overshot them. But their shelter was open on that side next the swamp, 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, catch'd up his gun, and ran as fast as he could scamper, without any more clothes than his small breeches and stockings, and ran directly on two of Capt. *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 above two inches from it; he fell upon his face in the mud and water, with his gun under him. By this time the enemy perceived they were waylaid on the east side of the swamp, tack'd short about. One of the enemy, who seem'd to be a great furly old fellow, halloo'd with a loud voice, and often called out, *Iootash, Iootash*; Capt. *Church* called to his Indian *Peter*, and ask'd him, *Who that was that call'd so?* He answered, It was old *Annawon*, *Philip's* great Captain, calling on his soldiers to stand to it, & fight stoutly. Now the enemy finding that place of the swamp which was not ambush'd, many of them made their escape in the *English* tracks. The man that had shot down *Philip*, ran with all speed to Capt. *Church*, and inform'd him of his exploit, who commanded him to be silent about it, and let no man more know it, until they had drove the swamp clean; but when they had drove the swamp thro', 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 enemies night shelter was; and then

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then Captain *Cburch* gave them the news of *Philip's* death; upon which the whole army gave three loud huzzas. Captain *Cburch* ordered his body to be pulled out of the mire on to the upland, so some of Captain *Cburch's* Indians took hold of him by his stockings, and some by his small breeches, (being otherwise naked) and drew him thro' the mud to the upland, and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beast he looked like. Captain *Cburch* then said, *That 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 arse 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 *Cburch* gave the head and that hand to *Alderman*, the Indian who shot him, to shew 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 Capt. with his company returned to the island, tarried there until Tuesday; and then went off and ranged thro' 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 is scanty reward and poor encouragement; tho' it was better than what had been some time before. For this march they received *Four Shillings and Six Pence* a man, which was all the reward they had, except the honor of killing *Philip*. This was in the latter end of *August, 1676.*

G

Captain

Captain *Church* had been but a little while at *Plymouth*, before a post from *Rehoboth* came to inform the government, that old *Anawon*, *Philip's* chief Captain was with his company ranging 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 ore 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 *Anawon'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 left in the woods*. He moved and ranged thro' 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*.* Captain *Church* thought if he could possibly surprize them, he might probably gain some intelligence of more game; therefore he made all possible speed after them. The ferry-boat being out of the way, he made use of canoes; but by that time they had made two freights, and had got over the Captain, and about 15 or 16 of his Indians, the wind sprung up with such violence that canoes could no more 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, 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 thro' the

* On the west-side of *Bristol*.

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the thickets that they might not be discovered, until they came unto 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 tho' he had but a few men, was minded to send some of them out on a scout. He moved it to Captain *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 *Amawon*. The Capt. with the rest of his company moved but a little way further toward *Poppasquash*, before they heard another gun, which seemed to be the same way with the other, but further off; but they made no halt until they came unto the narrow of *Poppasquash* neck; where Capt. *Church* left three men more, to watch if any should come out of the neck, and to inform the scout when they returned which way he was gone.

He parted the remainder of his company, half on one 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 was not returned, had heard nor seen any thing of them: This filled them with thoughts of what should become of them; by that time they had sat and waited an hour longer, it was very dark, and they despaired of their returning to them. Some of the In-

dians told their Captain, *They feared his new man Nathaniel had met with his old Mount-Hope friends, and was 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, had not so much as a morsel of bread with them.

They took up their lodging scattering, that if possibly their scout should come in the night, and whistle (which was their sign) some or other of them might hear them. They had a very solitary, hungry night; and as soon as the day broke they drew off thro' 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 shew himself. Upon this the Indian ran right to him, and who should it be but Capt. *Lightfoot*, to their great joy. Capt. *Church* asked him, *What news?* He answered, *Good news, they were all well, and had catched 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 fleeing of an horse. The scout clapping into the brush, Nathaniel bid them sit down, and he would presently call all the Indians ibereabout unto him. They bid, 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, but Nathaniel howling lower and lower drew him in between those that lay in wait for him, who seized him; Nathaniel continuing the same note, the other left the horse also, fol-*

* In Swankey. There is another Mattapoiset in Rochester.

new man Nathaniel's friends, and was fired that night, (they) for they had a morsel of bread

that if possibly they could hear them. and as soon as they espied one towards them; the and shew himself and who should it be. Capt. Church, Good news, they said, and that they were of the old English of Annawon's command in a swamp above marching towards Church a particular sently after they left towards the In- day, they discovered the scout clapping into and he would present to him. They bid, them, and set up his the two immediately who was there; but saw him in between ed him; Nathaniel the horse also, following

following his mate, and met with the same. When they caught these two they examined them apart, and found them to agree in their story, that there were eight more of them come down into the neck to get provisions, and had agreed to meet at the burying place that evening. These two being some of Nathaniel's old acquaintance, he had great influence upon them, and with his enticing story, (telling what a brave Captain he had, how bravely he lived since he had been with him, and how much they might better their condition by turning to him, &c.) 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 bowled 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; tho' salt they had, which they always carried in their pockets, 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 surpris'd 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 Captain 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 inclin'd to go with him, thinking it might be in his way to gain some intelligence of Annawon; and so taking one Englishman and a few Indians with him, leaving the rest there, he went with his new soldier to look his father. When he came to the swamp he bid the Indian go to see if he could find his father; he was no

sooner gone but Captain *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 some body answered him, but while they were listening, they thought they heard somebody coming towards them, presently saw an old man coming up with a gun on his shoulder, and a young woman following, in the track which they lay by: They let them come up between them, and then started up and laid hold of them both. Captain *Church* immediately examined them apart, telling them, *What they must trust too 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 50 or 60. 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. Captain *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 Capt. was now in great straight of mind what to do next, he had a mind to give *Annawon* a visit, now he knew where to find him; but his company was very small; but half a dozen men beside himself, and was under a necessity to send somebody back to acquaint his Lieutenant and company with his proceedings. However, he asked his
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* Southeastly part of *Rehoboth*.

small company that were with him, *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 Asihmequin, Philip's father, and that he had been Philip's chiefest 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 & 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.* Captain Church then turned to one Cook of Plymouth, (the only Englishman then with him) and asked him, *What he thought of it?* Who replied, *Sir, I am never afraid of going any where when you are with me.* Then Capt. Church asked the old Indian, if he could carry his horse with him? (For he conveyed a horse thus far with him :) He replied, that it was impossible for an 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 unto *Annawon*? He answered, that he having given him his life, he was obliged to serve him. He bid him move on then, and they followed. The old man would out-travel them so far sometimes that they were almost out of sight; looking over his shoulder, and seeing them behind, he would halt. Just as the sun was setting, the old man made a full stop and sat down, the company coming up also sat down, being all weary. Capt. *Church* asked, *What news?* He answered, that about that time in the evening Capt. *Annawon* sent out his scouts to see if the coast 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, Capt. *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 Capt. *Annawon* his old friend. But says he, I will go along with you, and be helpful to you, and will lay hands on any man that shall offer to hurt you. It being now pretty dark they moved close together; anon they heard a noise; the Captain 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 he himself, his son, and some of his chiefs had taken up

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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 an end against a stick lodged in two crotches, and a mat placed over them, to keep them from the wet or dew. The old *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, but as they lowered themselves by the bows, and the bushes that grew in the cracks of the rocks. Capt. *Church* creeping back again to the old man, asked him, if there was no possibility of getting at them some other way ? He answered, no : That he and all that belonged to *Annawon* were ordered to come that way, and none could come any other way without difficulty or danger of being shot.

Capt. *Church* then ordered the old man and his daughter to go down foremost, with their baskets at their backs, that when *Annawon* saw them with their baskets he should not mistrust the intrigue. Capt. *Church* and his handful of soldiers crept down also under the shadow of these two and their baskets, and the Capt. himself crept close behind the old man, with his hatchet in his hand, and step'd over the young man's head to the arms ; the young *Annawon* discovering of him, whip'd his blanket over his head and shrunk up in a heap : The old Capt. *Annawon* started up on his breech, and cry'd out *Howob*, and despairing of escape, threw himself back again, and lay silent until Capt. *Church* had secured all the arms, &c. And having secured that company, he sent his Indian soldiers to the 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 quarter

quarter for them: Otherwise, if they should pretend to resist or make their escape, it would be in vain, and they could expect no other but that Capt. *Church* with his great army, who had now entrap'd them, would cut them to pieces; told them also if they would submit themselves, and deliver up all their arms unto them, and keep every man his place until it was day; they would assure them that their Captain *Church*, who had been so kind to themselves when they surrendered to him, should be as kind unto them. Now they being old acquaintance, and many of them relations did much the readier give heed to what they said, complied and surrendered up their arms unto them, both their guns and hatchets, &c. and were forthwith carried to Captain *Church*.

Things being so far settled, Capt. *Church* asked *Annawon*, What he had for supper? For (said he) I am come to sup with you. *Taubut* (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 Capt. 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 bro't with him; this season'd 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 enemies 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 men to inform the other companies, that he had killed *Philip*, and had taken their

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 quarter, and that he would carry them to *Taunton*, where they might see their friends again, &c.

The messengers return'd, that the Indians yielded to his proposals. Captain *Church* tho't it was now time for him to take a nap, having had no sleep in two days and one night before; told his men that if they would let him sleep two hours, they 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 lain a little while he looked up to see how his watch managed, but found them all fast asleep. Now Captain *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 excepted, whom he perceived was as broad awake as himself; and so they lay looking one upon the other perhaps an hour. Captain *Church* said nothing to him, for he could not speak Indian, and tho't *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; Captain *Church* tho't no other but that he had occasion to ease himself, and so walked to some distance rather than offend him with the stink: But by and by he was gone out of sight and hearing, and then Captain *Church* began to suspect some ill design in him, and got all the guns close to him, and crowded himself close under young *Annawon*,
that

that if he should any where get a gun he should not make a shot at him without endangering his son; lying very still a while, waiting for the event; at length, he heard some body coming the same way that *Annawon* went. The moon now shining bright, he saw him at a distance coming with something in his hands, and coming up to Captain *Church*, he fell upon his knees before him, and offered him what he had brought, & 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 *wompom*, in various figures and flowers, and pictures of many birds and beasts. This, when hung upon Capt. *Church's* shoulders, reached his ancles; and another belt of *wompom* he presented him with, wrought after the former manner, which *Philip* was wont to put upon his head; it had two flags on the back part, which hung down on his back, and another small belt with a star upon the end of it, which he used to hang on his breast; and they were all edged with red hair, which *Annawon* said they got in the *Nobog's* country. Then he pulled out two horns of glazed powder, and a red cloth blanket. He told Captain *Church* these were *Philip's* royalties, which he was wont to adorn himself with when he sat in state. That he tho't himself happy that he had an opportunity to present them to Capt. *Church*, who had won them; &c. spent the remainder of the night in discourse; and gave an account of what mighty success he had formerly in wars against many nations of Indians, when he served *Asubmequin*, *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 *Taun'on*, met his Lieutenant and company about four miles

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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 Capt. was soon in pursuit of them; Went out from *Plymouth* the next Monday in the afternoon; next morning early they discover'd a track; the Capt. sent two Indians on the track to see what they could discover, whilst 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, & then to run on upon them & take them alive, if possible, (for their prisoners were their pay :) They did so, took every one that was at the fires, not one escaping. Upon examination they agreed in their story, that they belonged to *Tispaquin*, who was gone with *John Bump*, & one more, to *Agawom** & *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 *Pawwau*, that no bullet could enter him, &c. *Capt. Church* said, He would not have him killed, for there was a war broke out

* *Wareham*. † *Rochester*.

in the eastern part of the country, and he would have him saved to go 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 basket for *Tispaquin* when he returned: Telling his soldiers that he doubted not but he had laid a trap that would take him. Capt. *Church*; two days after, went to *Boston*, (the Commissioners then sitting) and waited upon the honorable Governor *Leverett*; who then lay sick; who 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 so express himself; taking him by the hand, and telling him, if it pleased God he lived, he would make it a brace of a hundred pounds advantage to him out of the *Massachusetts* colony, and would endeavour 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* return'd from *Boston*, he found, to his grief, the heads of *Anawon*, *Tispaquin*, &c. cut off, which were the last of *Philip's* friends. The General Court of *Plymouth*, then sitting, sent for Captain *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 Governor *Winslow*, to scour the woods of some of the lurking enemy, which

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 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 injunces : 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 be had. 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, may lead him ; to discover, pursue, fight, surprise, destroy, and subdue our said Indian enemy, or any party or parties of them, that, by the providence of God, they may meet with : Or them, or any of them, to receive to mercy, if he see cause ; (provided they be not murderous rogues, or such as have been principal actors in those 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 soasmuch 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 to be distributed amongst themselves, according to such agreement as they may be at one with another :

And

And it shall be lawful, and is hereby warrantable, for him and them to make sale of such prisoners as their perpetual slaves; or otherwise to retain and keep them as they think meet, (they being such as the law allows to be kept.) Finally, the said Capt. Church herein improving his best judgment and discretion, and utmost ability, faithfully to serve the interest of God, his Majesty's interest, and the interest of the colony; and carefully governing his said company at home and abroad: These shall be unto him full and ample commission, warrant and Discharge. Given under the Public Seal, January 15th, 1676.

Per JOSIAH WINSLOW, Gov.

Accordingly Capt. Church, accompanied with several gentlemen and others, went out, and took divers parties of Indians; and in one of which parties there was a certain old man whom Capt. Church seemed to take partioular notice of, and asking him where he belonged, he told him to *Swanzey*; the Captain asked his name, who replied, his name was *Conscience*; *Conscience*, said the Capt. 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 so returned home.



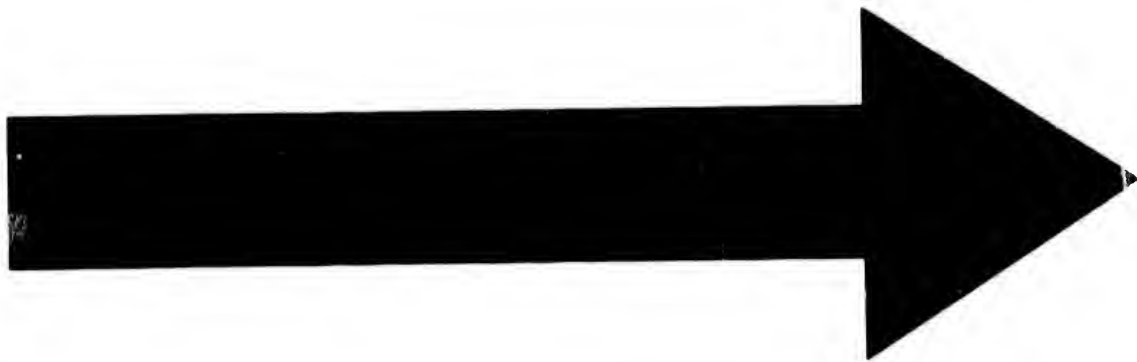
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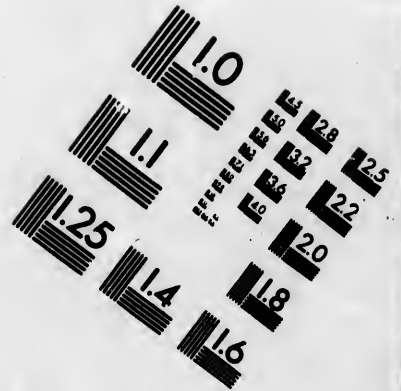
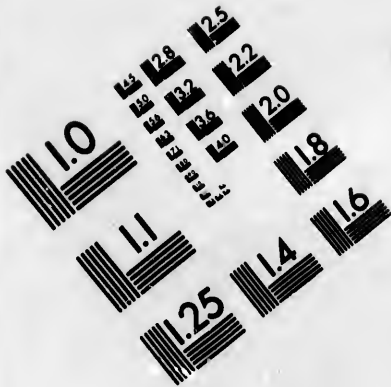
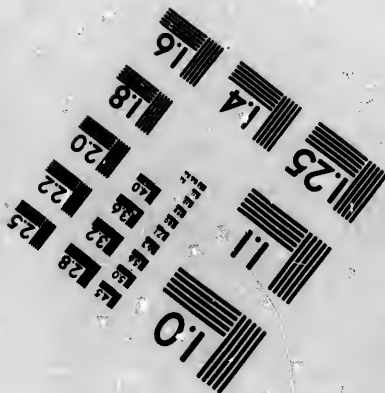
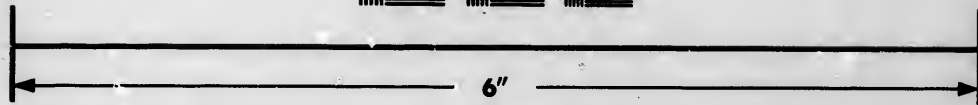
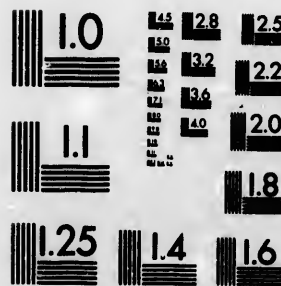


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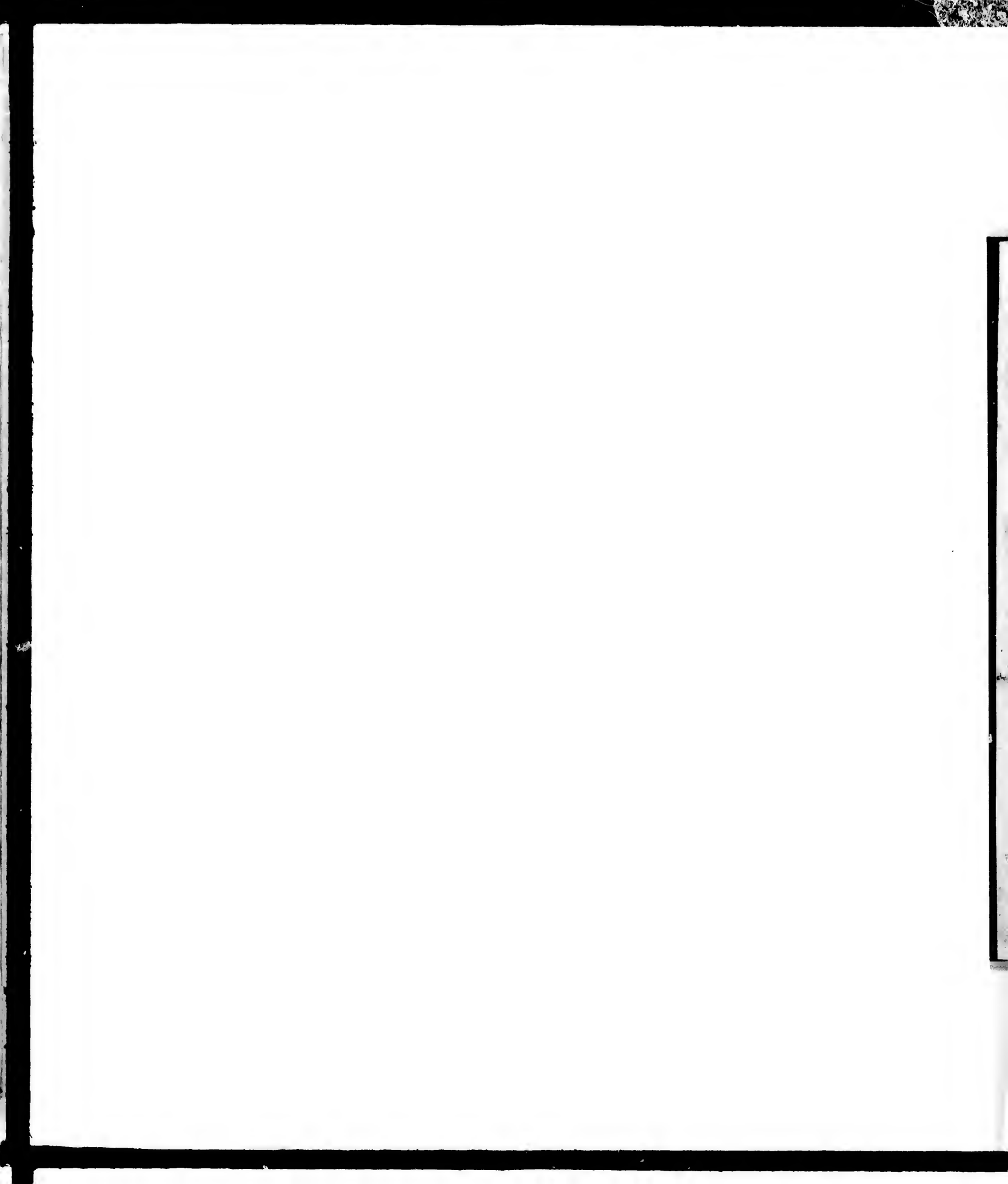
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A further account of the actions in the more late wars against the common enemy and Indian rebels, in the eastern parts, under the command of the afore-said Captain BENJAMIN CHURCH.

IN the time of Sir *Edmund Andros's* government began that bloody war in the eastern parts of *New-England*; so that immediately Sir *Edmund* sent an express for Capt. *Cchurch*; 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 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; who informed him of an unhappy war broke out in the eastern parts; and said, he was going himself in person, and that he wanted his company with him: But Captain *Cchurch* 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. Captain *Cchurch* having many acquaintance in *Boston*, who made it their business 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 having knowledge of his former actions and successes; and that he must go

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with him, and be his second, with other encouragements. But in short, the said Captain *Church* did not accept, so was dismissed and went home.

Soon after this was the revolution, and the other government re-assumed; and then Governor *Bradstreet* sent for Captain *Church* to come to *Boston* as soon as his business would permit; whereupon he went to *Boston*, & waited upon his Honor; 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 sufferings of the people there. Capt. *Church's* spirits being affected, said, if he could do any service for his Honor, 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 Honor 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 their's that was already out in the eastern parts. The summer being far spent, Capt. *Church* made what despatch he could, and raised about 250 men volunteers, and received his commission from Governor *Hinkley*, which is as followeth, viz.

The Council of war of their Majesties colony of New-Plymouth, in New-England : To Major 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 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 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 leading and exercising of 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 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 Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts*'s colony. In testimony whereof the public seal of the said colony of *New-Plymouth* is hereunto affixed. Dated in *Plymouth*, the sixth

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day.

day of September, Anno Dom. 1689. Annoque regni Regis et Reginae Willielmi et Mariae Angliae, &c. Primo.

THOMAS HINKLEY, *President.*

And now marching them all down to *Boston*, then received his further orders and instructions, which are as followeth:

Boston, September 16th, 1689.

To all Sheriffs, Marshals, 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 et Mariae Primo.

By Thomas Danforth, *President 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-Phymouth*,

Plymouth, Commander in Chief of the forces raised
 within the said colony, against the common Indian en-
 my, now ordered into the eastern parts, to join with some
 of the forces of this colony; for the prosecution, repel-
 ling and subduing of the said enemy: It is therefore
 ordered that Captain *Simon Willard*, and Captain *No-*
thaniel 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 ex-
 pedition. And in pursuance of the commissions sever-
 ally given to either of them, they are ordered to ob-
 serve and obey your orders and directions as their Com-
 mander in Chief until further order from the Govern-
 or and Council, or the Commissioners of the colonies.
 Dated in *Boston* the 17th day of *September, Anno Dom-*
1689. Annoque Regni Regis et Reginae Guilielmi et
Mariae, Angliae, &c. Primo.

S. BRADSTREET, Gov.

Past in Council,

Attest. Isaac Addington, *Secr.*

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*, Com-
 mander 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 fide-
 lity in the trust committed to you, for the honor of
 God, good of his people, and the security of the interest

of Christ in his churches, expecting and praying that in
 your dependance upon him, you may be helped and as-
 sisted with all that grace and wisdom which is requisite
 for carrying you on with success in this difficult service ;
 and tho' 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 instruc-
 tions are commended unto your observation, & to be at-
 tended 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 com-
 panies of Captain *Nathaniel Hall*, and Capt. *Simon Wil-*
lard, 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 im-
 prove in such way as you shall see meet, for the dis-
 covering, pursuing, 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 fol-
 lowing the said enemy abroad, and if possible to find
 out and attack their head quarters and principal ren-
 dezvous, 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, pro-
 visions and other necessaries, that so they may be in a
 readiness to repel and attack the enemy. In your pur-
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• suit you are to take special care to avoid danger by am-
 • bushments, or being drawn under any disadvantage by
 • the enemy in your marches, keeping out scouts & a for-
 • lorn hope before your main body, & by all possible means
 • endeavouring to surprisè some of the enemy, that so you
 • may gain intelligence. You are to suppress all muti-
 • nies and disorders among your soldiers, as much as in
 • you lies, and to punish such as disobey your officers, ac-
 • cording to the rules of war herewith given you.

• You are, according to your opportunity, or any occa-
 • sion more than ordinary occurring, to hold correspon-
 • dence with Major *Swaine*, and to yield mutual assistance
 • when and 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, vi-
 • gorous, and venturous in their service, to search out 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 thereof. If
 • your Commission Officers, or any of them should be
 • slain, or otherwise incapable of service, and for such
 • reason 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 wor-
 • ship of God be kept up in the army, morning and even-
 • ing prayer attended as far as may be, and as the emer-
 • gencies 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 *Silvanus Davis* is a prudent man, and well acquainted with the affairs of those parts, and is writ 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.

Tho. Hinkley,
John Walley,

Thomas Danforth, President,
Elisha Cooke,
Samuel Mason,
William Pitkin.

The First EXPEDITION East.

BEING ready, Major *Church* embarked with his forces on board the vessels provided to transport them for *Casco*, having a brave gale at S. W. and on Friday about 3 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 that every man that was able should make ready, and all lie close, giving orders how they should act in case they were

were enemies. He going in the *Mary* sloop, together with the *Resolution*, went in first, being both well fitted with guns and men; coming to the first hailed them, who said they were friends, presently mann'd their boat, brought to, and so came along the side of them; who gave the said *Church* an account, that yesterday there was 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 inform'd him that they had got a captive woman aboard (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 an account of the news he had received, and then went ashore, where were several of the chief men of the town who met him, being glad that he came so happily to their relief; told him the news *Mrs. Lee* had given them, being the woman aforesaid. He going to Captain *Davis's* to get some refreshment, having not eat a morsel since he came by *Boston* castle; and 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, who were *Dutchmen*; but as he went call'd aboard 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; and coming on board said privateer was kindly treated, discoursed *Mrs. Lee*, who informed him

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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 *Casleen* was with them? She answered, that there were several *French* men with them, but did not know whether *Casleen* was there or not. He then having got what intelligence she could give him, went ashore and viewed the fort and town, discoursing 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, went to every company and ordering them to get every thing ready; they that had no powder-horns or shot-bags, should immediately make them; ordering 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 ordering the companies to make ready, and about half an hour before day they moved. Several of the town 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 *Secones* Indians, but the *Cape* Indians were very bare, lying so long at *Boston* before

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before they embarked, that they had fold 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 more were with with him of his soldiers, moved immediately, and meeting with Captain *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 inform'd him, that they had knock'd 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 run back and ordered every vessel to send ashore all their casks of bullets; being brought knock'd out their heads, and turn'd 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 snapsacks of powder, went immediately to the army, who were very hotly engaged; but coming to the river the tide was up; he call'd to his men that were engaged, encouraging them, and told them he had brought more ammunition for them. An Indian call'd Captain *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 of, went to see who they were, and found them to be two of Major *Church's* companies, one of *English* and the other
of

of Indians, being in all about fourscore men, that had not got over the river, but lay firing over our men's heads at the enemy; he presently order'd them to rally, and come all together; and gave the word for a *Casco* man: So one *Swarson*, a *Jersey* man, appearing, who he could hardly understand; he ask'd 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 shew they could, 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, who 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 tumbled 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 his men called unto him, their commander, and said, that

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 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, run very thin to preserve themselves, and be the better able to make a discovery of the enemy; and soon coming to Lieutenant *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 fire at the town, concluded that they were either assaulted, or that they had discovered the enemy: He 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

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 knock'd them on the head; and that some of their bullets were so unfizable that some of them were forced to make flugs 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 by some canoes they had got. Captain *Hall* and his men being first engaged did great service, and suffered the greatest loss in his men; but Captain *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 & his whole company from being cut off, &c.

By this time the day was far spent, and marching into town about sunset, carrying in all their wounded and dead men, being all sensible of God's goodness to them, in giving them the victory, & 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. *Cburch*, 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 ever the *eastward* Indians had been put to flight, and the said *Cburch* with his volunteers were wonderfully preserved, having never a man killed outright, and but one Indian mortally wounded, who died, several more being badly wounded, but recovered.

After

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, that in the spring of the year the enemy would come and destroy them and their families, &c. 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 at home, and taken a little care of his own business, 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 honors 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*, which he readily comply'd with, 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 employ'd himself to the utmost to fulfil his instructions

After

structions 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 Major *Church*, who was obliged to bear their expences. When he came to *Boston* gentlemen, he informed them of the miseries those poor people were in by having their provisions taken from them by order of the President, &c. Then went home; 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; and 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 those gentlemen of the Court his business; who said they were very busy in sending home Sir *Edmund*, the ship being ready to sail. The said Major *Church* still waiting upon them, and at every opportunity entreating those gentlemen in behalf of the poor people of *Casco*, informing the necessity of taking care of them, either by sending them relief early in the spring, or suffer them to draw off, otherwise they would certainly be destroyed, &c. Their answer was, They could do nothing till Sir *Edmund* was gone. Waiting there three weeks upon great expences, 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 & Council; having got it done, obtained liberty to go up where the Governor and Council were sitting, he inform'd their honors, that he had waited till his patience was wore out, so had drawn up the matter to leave upon the Board before them: Which is as follows:

To the honored 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

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 never since 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 contrary to my expectation, impeding 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 may 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 account, 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

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 and in his travel
 the said Major
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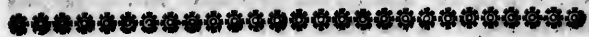
to the enemy, derision to our neighbours, besides dishonor to God and our nation, and grounds of frowns from our Prince, the frustration of those whose eyes are upon you for help, who might have otherwise applied themselves to their King. Gentlemen, this I thought humbly to propose unto you, that I might 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 Honors prosperity, subscribe,

Your servant,
Benj. 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 quit 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 some time 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 altho' they made their terms with Monsieur Caskeen, who was commander of those enemies, yet he suffered those merciless savages to massaere and destroy the most of them. To conclude this first expedition East; I shall just give you a hint how Major Church was treated (altho' he was Commander in Chief of all the forces out of Plymouth and Boston government) after he came home, for 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

all travel and expences 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* for Captain *Edmunds* (who raised a company in those parts) and went *East* with them.



The 2d 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 answered the said *Walley*, That he should hinder none but his old soldiers, that used to go along with him, &c. 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 answered 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 *Gray-bound*, in *Roxbury*, and that in the morning would come to *Pollard's* at the south end of *Boston*; which accordingly he did: Soon after he

came thither 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 by reason 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 he would go 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, to 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, that if the Government of *Plymouth* saw cause to send him (he would go) thinking the expedition would be short; 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

ceived a letter from the government of *Boston* to raise some forces to go *East*: whereupon the said Major *Cchurch* went the next day to *Barnstable*, as ordered; finding the Governor and some of the Council of War there, discoursed him, concluding 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 *Cchurch* was at great charge and expence in raising of 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 *Cchurch* 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 *Cchurch*, gave him an account of his disappointments; and sent *John Lathrop* of *Barnstable* in a vessel with some ammunition and provision on board, to him at *Plymouth*; also sent him word that there was more on board of *Samuel Alling* of *Barnstable*, who was to go for 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, said to Major *Cchurch* that he must take some of the open sloop, and make spar decks to them, and lay platforms for the soldiers to lie upon; which delays were very expensive to the said *Cchurch*; 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 Kenebeck 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 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 whereas you, Benjamin Church, are appointed to be Major and Commander in Chief of all the forces, English and Indians, detached within this colony, together with such other of their Majesties subjects as elsewhere shall list themselves, or shall be orderly put under your command for the service of their Majesties, as 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 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 favour 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 instruc-

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, *President.*

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, prudence and faithfulness in the trust under God committed to you for the honor 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 order-
 ed 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 Commission Officers of the *Massachu-
 setts* colony, and *Phymouth*, under your conduct, shall
 seem meet, for the finding out, pursuing, taking or de-
 stroying of said common enemy, on all opportunities,
 according to commission, and such further orders and
 instructions as you have or may receive from the Gover-
 nor and Council of the *Massachusetts*, the Commissioners
 for the united colonies, or the Governor and Council of
Phymouth; so far as you may be capable; intending what
 you can the preserving of the near towns from the in-
 cursions and destructions of the enemy; but chiefly to
 intend the finding out, pursuing, taking and destroy-
 ing 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 dis-
 miss them, or any one of them, which is desired to be
 done the first opportunity that the service will admit.
 You are to see that your soldiers arms be always fixed,
 and they provided with ammunition, and other neces-
 saries, that they may be always ready to repel and at-
 tack 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 ene-
 my on your main body in their marches. And by all
 possible means to surprize some of the enemy, that so
 you may gain better intelligence.

: You

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 thereby 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 commission 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 second day of September, Anno Dom. 1690.

THO. HINKLEY, Gov. & President."

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*, out of the several towns & garrisons; Maj. Pike ask'd him, How many men he should want? He said enough to make up his forces that he brought with him, 300 at least, and not more than 350. And so in about nine days time he was supply'd 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,

: You

Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire, Sept. 9, 1690.
 To Major Benjamin 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, on 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, Pejepscot, or any other place, according as
 you may have hope or intelligence of the residence of the ene-
 my; using always your utmost endeavour for the preservation
 of your own men, and the killing, destroying, and utterly root-
 ing out of the enemy, wheresoever they may be found; and
 also as much as may possibly be done for the redeeming or re-
 covering 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
 commission 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 conduct. 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 Pejepscot fort, where they found
 nothing

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 60 of their meanest men, to be a guard to the Doctor and snafacks, 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 two poor captives were released out of their bondage.— The said 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, being as deep as their armpits, however Maj. *Church*, as soon as he was got over, stripp'd 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, who all ran directly down to the great river and falls. The said *Church*, and his forces, being come pretty near, he ordered the said *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 got over, and he only crept up the bank, and there lay in open sight; and 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

watch there, return'd up to the fort, where he found but one man taken, and several women and children, amongst whom was Capt. *Hakins's* wife and *Worumbos's* wife, the Sachem of that fort, with their children; the said *Hakins* was Sachem of *Pennacook*, who destroyed Maj. *Walden* and his family, some time before, &c. The said two women, viz. *Hakins's* and *Worumbos's* 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, &c. And in the said fort there were several *English* captives, who were in a miserable condition; amongst them was Capt. *Huckings's* 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 life, while in examination, intending when he had done that he should be executed: But Capt. *Huckings's* wife, and another woman, down on their knees and beg'd for him, saying, He had been a means to save their lives, and a great many more; and had helped several to opportunities to run away and make their escape; and that never, since he came amongst them, had fought against the *English*; but being related to *Hakins's* 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; &c. 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 design'd to leave at the fort, to give an account who he was, & from whence he came; the rest being knock'd on the head, except the aforementioned, for an example, ordering

ordering them all to be buried. Having inquired where all their best beaver was? They said, it was carried away to make a present to the *Bay of Fundy* Indians, 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 bisket, bidding them to tell the Indians when they came home, that he was known by the name of Capt. *Cchurch*, 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 drew 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, &c. and that they should tell *Hakins* and *Warumbos*, 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 *Cchurch* 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 transport; the wind being fair, made the best of their way for *Winter Harbour*, and the next morning before day, and 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 the river: But three of the enemy were

were come over the river, to the same side of the river which the scout was of; ran hastily down to their canoe, one of which lay at each end of the canoe, and the third stood up to paddle over: The scout fired at them, and he that paddled fell down upon the canoe, and broke it to pieces, so that all three perished. The firing put the enemy to the run, who left their canoes and provisions to ours; and old *Doney*, and one *Thomas Baker*, an *Englishman*, who was a prisoner amongst them, were up at the Falls, and heard the guns fire, expected the other Indians were come to their assistance, so 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 ours; and gave an account of the beaver hid at *Pejepscot* plain, and 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 enemies tracks, or could discover any coming up the river; who returned and said they saw nothing but our old tracks at the said fort, &c.

Now having got some plunder, one of the Captains said it was time to go home, and several others were of the same mind; and the Major being much disturbed at the motion of theirs, 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, and 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

the Major expected, and would have waited for; and the
 aforesaid Captain being much disturbed at what the Ma-
 jor 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 afore-
 said vessel lay aground, and got aboard, who has proved a
 good pilot & Capt. for his country. The next day being
 very calm and misty, so that they were all day getting
 down from *Maquait* to *Perpodack*; and the masters of the
 vessels thinking it not safe putting out in the night, so late
 in the year, anchor'd there at *Perpodack*; 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-
 ing just houses convenient for them, viz. two barns and
 one house; so seeing them all settled and their watches
 out, the Major and Capt. *Converse* return'd 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, and he call'd out
 and ask'd them who they were? And they said, Indians:
 He ask'd them whose men they were? They said, Captain
Southworth's: He ask'd 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 laugh'd, 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 Indians began to make fires, and to
 sing and dance; so the Major called to Capt. *Southworth*
 to go ashore and look after his men, for the enemy would
 be

be upon them by and by. He ordered the boat to be haled up to carry him ashore, and call'd 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; who gave the rest an account, that he saw Indians; which they would not believe; but said to him, You are afraid: His answer was, that they might see them come creeping: They laugh'd, 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 kill'd.

This sudden firing upon our Indian soldiers surpris'd 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 slipp'd 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; and following them so close, that they took 13 canoes, and one lusty man, who had *Joseph Ramsdell'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 amongst 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*, and the Major went to *Wells*; and removed the Captain there, and put in Captain *Andros*, who had been with him and knew the discourse left with the two old squaws at *Ameras-cogen*, for *Hakins* and *Worumbos* to come there in 14 days, if they had a mind to hear of their wives and children: Who did then or 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's* 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, &c. They saying as they did, the said *Andros* let them go. Major *Church* being 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, pretending 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 an 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

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to

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, &c. The Major going 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 Captain *Plaisted* to the Governor and Council at *Boston*, &c. 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 Captain *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 Major *Church*, notwithstanding he had been at considerable expences 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 Captain *Converse* with him, on a Saturday ; and waiting upon the Governor, and some of the Gentlemen in *Boston*, they looked very strange upon them, which not only troubled them,

but

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 Major *Church* had but *eight pence* left, and Captain *Converse* none, as he said afterwards. Major *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; and the next Tuesday morning Captain *Converse* came to him (not knowing each others 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; that it was very hard that they should part with dry lips: Major *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*, &c. The said Captain *Converse* returned back into town, and the said *Church* went over to *Roxbury*; and at the tavern he met with *Stephen Braton*, of *Rhode-Island*, a drover; who was glad to see him, the said *Church*, and he as glad to see his neighbour: Whereupon Major *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 he wanted 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 Major *Church* got home. And for all his travel and expences in raising soldiers, and service done, never had but *£. 14* of *Plymouth* Gentlemen, and not a penny of *Boston*, notwithstanding he had wore 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 £. 60, which is now worth £. 300 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 Major *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*, upon the Saturday, Capt. *Converse* being with me. The Governor informed us that the Council was 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 the General Court was to convene the Wednesday following, at which time they would debate and consider of the matter; myself being bound home, Captain *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 of the great favour God was pleased to shew me, and my company, and the benefit I hoped would accrue to your

of a share of land
worth £. 300

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yourself; and desired him to return public 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
thro' 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 ad-
vantage to be at the bank, which he every day was
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 pro-
mise 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 accept-
ance with them; so far that I was credited. I pre-
sented your thanks to them for their seasonably sending
those forces to relieve you, with that expence and charge
they had been at; which thanks they gratefully receiv-
ed; 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 gar-
risons, and the great mischief that would attend the
public concerns of this country by the loss of their Ma-
jesties interest, and so much good estate of yours and
your neighbours, as doubtless would be on the desert-
ing of your town. I then moved for a free contribu-
tion for your relief, which they with great forwardness
promoted; and then ordered a day of thanksgiving
thro'

thro' the government upon the 26th 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*, Captain *Nathaniel Thomas* of *Marshfield*: For the county of *Barnstable*, Captain *Joseph Latbrop* 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 Lieutenant *Joseph Story*. I defer'd 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 hearing 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 were 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*, there met with Captain *Elisba Andros*, who informed me that the place of treaty was *Sacaty-bock*, and that Captain *Alden* was gone from *Boston* four days before I came there.

day of this instant, considered for your re- in every respective the good manage- nveyed unto your county for the re- persons nominated buntty of *Plymouth*, ld: For the coun- rop of *Barnstable* s. f. Which, when account from each may be disposed of y of the Court's or- e to be sent to are *John Wheelwright*, enant *Joseph Story*. r to hear from you eat about their pri- ourse I made with d have that effect ould have thought in, knowing that ood. But no in- Gentlemen in your cident, and that in our coming from s were come into t there was to be a new not. I took out for *Boston*, ex- own, as rationally oming to *Boston*, who informed me ck, and that Cap- days before I came there,

there, and had carried all the Indian prisoners with him, and that all the forces were drawn away out of your parts, except 12 men in your town, and 12 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; and 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 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 covetous person, and came there to enrich myself, and that I killed their cattle and barreled 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 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 yourselves, 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 Captain *John Littlefield*, Lieutenant *Joseph Story*; and to any other Gentlemen, as in your judgment you see fit: With the tenders of my respects to you, &c. and to Major *Vaughan*, and his good Lady and family. To Captain *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. *Honeywell*, and my very good friend little Lieut. *Plaiisted*: With due respects to all Gentlemen my friends in the eastward parts, as if particularly named. *Farewell.* B. C.

To Major Pike.

Honored Sir, Bristol, Nov. 27, 1690.

TH E S E 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, that *Capt. Andros*, that yourself and most all the officers, are drawn off from

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 got themselves some honor, which they very much gaped after, or else they would not have spread so many false reports to defame me: Which had I known, before I left the bank, I would have had satisfaction of them. Your honor 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, was got to such a bigness that it overshadowed me from the influence of all comfort, or good acceptance amongst my friends in my journey homeward. But thro' God's goodness 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.

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

Portsmouth, June 29, 1691.

Major 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

these eastern parts, leaves us under a deep and grateful sense of your favour therein: And forasmuch as you was pleased, 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 approved 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 writ 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 enemies, 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 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,

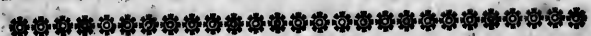
Sir, Your obliged friends and servants,

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

Major *Church* sent them his answer: The contents whereof was, 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 amongst them thought they could do without him, &c. And to make short of it, did go out, and meeting with the enemy at *Maquiss*, were most shamefully beaten, as I have been informed.



The Third EXPEDITION East.

THIS was in the year 1692. In the time of Sir *William Phips's* government: Major *Walley* being at *Boston*, was requested by his Excellency to treat with Major *Church* about going East with him. Major *Walley* coming home, did as desired; and to encourage the said Major *Church*, told him, That now was the time to have recompence for his former great expences; saying also, That the country could not give him less than two or three hundred pounds. So upon his Excellency's request Major *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 old 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

grateful sense
 you was pleased,
 to further ser-
 vice according
 to you, to les-
 sure of peace,
 fidious as ever,
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 Major

these presents constitute and appoint you to be Major of the severall 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 severall 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, Secr.

Returning home to the county aforesaid, he soon raised a sufficient number of volunteers, both *English* and *Indians*, and Officers suitable to command them, 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 Lieutenant *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 Major *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

deducted out of their wages at their return home. Coming to *Boston*, his Excellency having got things in a readiness, they embarked on board their transports, his Excellency going in person with them, being bound to *Pemquid*; but in their way stopped at *Casco*, and buried the bones of the dead people there, and took off the great guns that were there; then went to *Pemquid*: Coming there his Excellency asked Major *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, &c. Then they went ashore and spent some time in the projection thereof. Then his Excellency told Major *Church* that he might take all the forces with him, except one company to stay with him, and work about the fort; the Major answered, 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 Major *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 Major 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 enemy; 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 amongst you; and to suffer no swearing, cursing, or other profanation

• profanation of the holy name of God ; and, as much as
 • in you lies, to deter and hinder all other vices amongst
 • your soldiers.

• 2dly, You are to proceed, with the soldiers under your
 • command, to *Penobscot*, and, with what privacy and un-
 • discoverable methods you can, there to land your men;
 • and take the best measures to surprize the enemy.

• 3dly, You are, by killing, destroying, and all other
 • means possible, to endeavour the destruction of the ene-
 • my, in pursuance whereof, being satisfied of your cou-
 • rage and conduct, I leave the same to your discretion.

• 4thly, You are to endeavour the taking what cap-
 • tives 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 indu-
 • strious by all possible means to find out and destroy all
 • the enemies 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 dis-
 • obedient to you as their Commander in Chief, or other
 • their superior Officer, or make, or cause any mutiny;
 • commit other offence or disorders, you shall call a coun-
 • cil of war amongst your Officers, and having tried him
 • or them so offending, inflict such punishment as the me-
 • rit 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*; and coming to an island in those parts in the evening, landed his forces at one end of the said island; Then the Major 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 in their houses; and that one or both of them had Indian women to their wives, and had children by them. The Major presently examining the *Frenchmen*, where the Indians were? They told him, that there was 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 to them, 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 withal; 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 haled up their canoe, and came right into the hands of our ambuscade, who so suddenly surpris'd 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

and our forces not having boats suitable to pursue them, they got all away in their canoes, &c. (which caused Major *Church* to say, he would never go out again without sufficient number of whale-boats) which for want of was the ruin of that action. Then 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 *Pemeguid*; where being come, staid not long, they being short of bread, his Excellency intended home for *Boston*, for more provisions; but before, going 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* enemy wheresoever you shall find any of them; and at your return to *Pemeguid* (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 to work on the fort, and make what dispatch 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, pursued them so hard that they left their canoes, and ran up into the woods, till pursued them up to their fort at *Taconock*, which the ene-

my perceiving 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 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 *Pemeguid*, and coming there employed his forces according to his instructions. Being out of bread, his Excellency not coming, Major *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, his Excellency not coming as expected; but at length his Excellency came and brought very little bread more than would pay what was borrowed of the man of war: So that in a short time after Major *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 Major *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 *30s.* to himself, which was deducted out of his Wages. Whereupon Maj. *Walley* and said *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, &c. So that instead of Major *Church's* having the allowances afore-mentioned by Major *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.

The 4th EXPEDITION East.

IN 1696 Major Church being at Boston, and belonging to the House of Representatives, several Gentlemen requesting him to go East again, and 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 said General Court, he proceeded to raise volunteers, and made it his whole business, riding both east and west in our province and Connecticut, at great charge and expences; and in about a month's time 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, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor, and Commander in Chief, in and over his Majesty's province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England.

To Major 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 day 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 present constitute and appoint you to be Major of the said several companies, both Englishmen and Indians, raised for

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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 prosecuting, 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. Gov. &c.

Isaac Addington, Secr.

Province of the Massachusetts-Bay.

By the Right Honorable the Lieutenant Governor and Com-
mander in Chief.INSTRUCTIONS for Major 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 east-
ern 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 un-
der your command, in search for, prosecution and pursuit of
the said enemy, at such places where you may be informed of
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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 list 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 or 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 Captain John Gorham, who accompanies you in this expedition, and is to take your command in case of your death. A copy of these instructions

instructions you are to leave with him, and to give me an account from time to time of your proceedings.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

Boston, August 12th, 1696.

In the time Major Church lay at Boston, the news came of Pemequid fort 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 Colonel 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 was 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 Captain *Gorbam*. 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 *Monbegin*, 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; and having a fair wind made the best of their way, and early next morning they got into *Monbegin*, and there lay all day fitting 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 *Monbegin*, 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 amongst *Penobscot* Islands, looking very sharp as they went for fires on the shore, and for canoes, but

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, to their oars again, working very hard, turn'd the night into day; made several of their new foldiers grumble: But telling them they hoped to come up quickly with the enemy, put new life into them; and by daylight 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. And 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 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 was (which would have been a great advantage to them;) but a foolish soldier seeing them passing by him, shot at them, contrary to orders given, 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 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 stopt the holes, and then Capt. *Bracket*, with an Indian soldier, went over the river, who track'd them by the blood about half a mile, found his gun, took it up, and seeing the blood no further, concluded that he stop'd 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 *Cassien*, 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 *Maquis* Indians westward, only demolishing one fort, and cutting down some corn, &c. He desiring to hear of the proceedings of *Deborabuel*, and the *French* man of war; and informed him that there were several canoes coming with work-men from *Quebec*, to *St. John's*, 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, concluded 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

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.) Major *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 refresh'd themselves; meeting then with another disappointment, for their pilot *Tork* being acquainted any further, they began to lament the loss of one *Robert Cawley*, who they chiefly depended on 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 was on board Mr. *Thorp's* sloop) and put on board the man of war, unknown to Major *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 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, tho' 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 *Castien* himself, should be thereabout, they might find them, but

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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, concluding 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. John's*; but the masters of the vessels said, he had as good carry them to *Old France*, &c. which put off that design, they concluding that the *French* ships were there. Then the Major moved for going over the bay, towards *Labane*, and toward 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 are 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, &c. Then they concluded and resolved to go to *Senabacca*, wherein there was a ready assistance (but the want of their pilot, *Robert Cawley*, was a great damage to them, who knew all those parts.) However, *Mr. John Alden*, master of the brigantine *Endeavour*,

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deavour, piloted them up the bay to *Senabaca*; and coming to *Grinstone-point*, being not far from *Senabaca*; 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 Lieutenant *John Paine*, and several of Captain *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 *Farman 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 Major *Church* thinking it was that they might have some advantage, 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, laying down his gun, 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 fourscore years of age, and could not go. The Major asked the said *Bridgway* whether there were any Indians amongst them, and where they lived? He shook his head, and said, he durst 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.

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The *French* firing 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 abovesaid *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 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 writ 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 damaged; which they refused. Then the Major & his forces pursued their design, & went further ranging their country, found several more houses, but the people fled, & 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 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 it to be theirs, said they were the savages, but sure it might be a supply for our enemies: Also they took from *Jarman Bridgway* several barrels of powder, with

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*, &c. in a sloop our forces took from him; and that there he met with the *French* ships, and went along with them to *S. Job* and helped them to unload the said ships, and carried the river provisions, ammunition, and other goods to *Wilboon's* fort.

The Major having ranged all places that were thought proper, return'd back to the place where they first landed, and finding several prisoners come in, who were troubled to see their cattle, sheep, hogs and dogs lying dead about their houses, chopp'd and hack'd with hatchets; (which was done without order from the Major) however he told them, it was nothing to what our *English*, in our frontier towns, were forced to look upon; for men, women and children were chopp'd and hack'd so, and left half dead, with all their scalps taken off, and that they, and their Indians, served ours so; and our savages would be glad to serve them so too, if he 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 *Friars* and *Governors*, encouraged their savages, and gave them

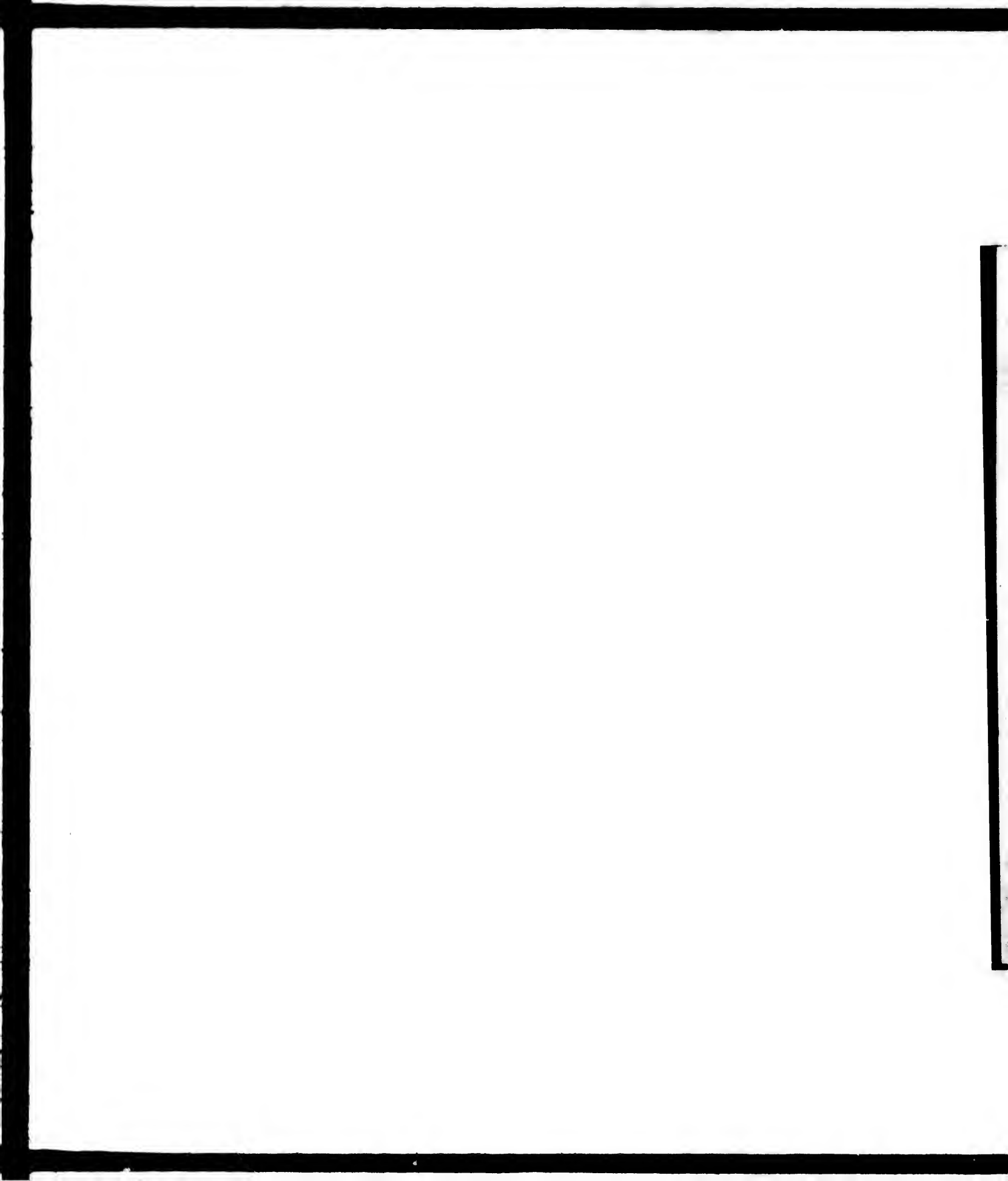
them money to scalp our *English*, notwithstanding they were with them; which several of our *English*, there present, did testify to their faces, that their fathers & mothers were served so in their sight. But the Major bid them tell their fathers the Friars, and the Governors, That if they still persisted, 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, & 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, kiss'd his hand, & 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 *Laybone*, 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. John's* river, to do further service for their King and country, embarked all on board their transports; and having a fair wind, soon got to *Monogenest*, which lies a little distance from the mouth of *St. John's* river. Next morning early the Major, with his forces, landed to see what discovery they could make, travelled across the woods to the old fort or falls at the mouth of *St. John's* river, keeping themselves undiscovered from the enemy; finding that 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) returned back, but night coming on, and dark wet weather, with bad travelling, was obliged to stop in the woods till towards 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

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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 a 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 towards the new fort they were building, not knowing but they had some ordnance mounted. The enemy running directly to 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 dress'd, he was examined: Who gave the Major an account of the twelve great guns which were hid in the beach, below high water mark; (the carriages, shot and wheelbarrows, some flour & pork, all hid in the woods:) And the next morning the Officers being all ordered to meet together to consult about going to *Vilboon's* fort, and none amongst them being acquainted but the *Aldens*, who said the water in the river was very low, so that they could not yet 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. 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 one prisoner, and brought in; who in their ranging found there a shallop haled in 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.

them, who conveyed them to the place where he left them, but they were gone. Then asked the prisoner, whether there were any Indians in those parts? 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 aboard, intended on our 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, would fire at them, and might kill one or more of them, which to prevent fired at the *French*, killed one, and took the other two prisoners; and it happened that he who was killed was *Sbanelere*, the chief man there, &c. 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 their prosecuting their intended design against the enemy, in their returning homeward. Then the Commander ordering all the Officers to come together, informed them of his intentions, and ordered that no vessels 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 should happen that any did part, when they come to *Passamequady*, should stop there a while, 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 a trading with the Indians in that river. Encouraging them, said, He did not doubt

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but to have a good booty there; and if they should pass those two places, be sure not to go past *Naskege-point*, but to stop there till he came, and not to depart thence in a fortnight without his orders, having great service to do in and about *Penobscot*, &c. Then the Major discoursed with Captain *Brackit*, Captain *Hunewell*, and Captain *Larking*, (with their Lieutenants) Commanders of the forces belonging to the eastward parts, who were to discourse their soldiers about their proceeding, when they came to *Penobscot*; and the Major himself was to discourse 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 afore-mentioned (*to wit*) the eastward men, and all the Indians; and to take what provisions and ammunition was needful, and to march with himself up into the *Penobscot* country, in search for the enemy, and if possible to take that fort in *Penobscot* river. Captain *Brackit* informing 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 thro' 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 thro' the country to *Nerigiwack*, 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, provid-

ed their commander went with them; who, to try their fidelity, said, He was grown ancient, and 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 coukd at and about the mouth of *St. John's* 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 *Musquash-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; and 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 spied three sail of vessels; expecting them to be *French*, fitted to defend themselves, so coming near, hailed them: Who found them to be a man of war, the *Province-Galley*, and old Mr. *Alden* in a sloop, with more forces, Col. *Hatborne* Commander. Major *Church* went aboard the *Commodore*, where Colonel *Hatborne* 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 Captain *Souback* for him, which is as followeth:

Boston, September 9th, 1696.

S I R,

HIS Majesty's ship *Orford* having lately surprised a *French* shallop, with twenty three of the soldiers belonging to the fort upon *John's* river, in *New-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 arming

ing 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 an hundred men to join the forces now with you for that expedition, and have commissioned Lieutenant Colonel 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.

Colonel Hathorne will communicate unto you the contents of his commission and instructions received 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. John's. Then discoursing with Colonel Hathorne, gave him an account of what they had done at St. John's, 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; and that they had an account of him and his forces coming to those parts by a prisoner out of *Boston* gaol: Also told his honour, That if they went back it would wholly disappoint them, of their doing any further service, which was that 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 Colonel *Hatborne's* journal of the said action. Only I must observe one thing by the way, which was, That when they drew off to come down the river again, Colonel *Hatborne* came off and left the Major behind to see that all the forces were drawn off; and coming down the river, in or near the rear, in the night heard a person hallow, 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 amongst them for some time. The Major asked him, whether he 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 *Cburch* and his forces were coming out against them in four brigantines, and four sloops, with 24 pettiaugers, meaning whale-boats, which

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 surpris'd at the motion of the whale-boats; 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. John's* fort and river. But to return, Then going all down the river, embarked and went homeward; only 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. *Hatborne* to take them from the service and business they went to do: Who, with submission, doubtless thought they did for the best, tho' 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 hard 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 it was some powder, and that they gave what they pleas'd for) and besides the assembly pass'd a vote that they should have but half pay; but his Honor the Lieutenant Governor being much disturb'd at their so doing, went into the town-house, where the Representatives were sitting, and told them, except they did re-assume that vote, which was to cut Major *Church* and his forces off their half-pay, they should sit there till the next spring. Whereupon it was re-assumed: 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 expences in raising the said forces volunteers.

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 business 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, &c. So that these, with the late inhumanities done upon the inhabitants of *Deerfield*, made such an impression on his heart as can not 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 Major *Church*, from doing any further service. 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 70 miles, to wait upon his Excellency, and offered his service to the Queen, his Excellency and the country; which his Excellency readily accepted of, and desired Major *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, 1703-4.

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 getting away, in way-laying every passage; and make them know we are in good earnest, and in being in a diligent use of means, we 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,

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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 every boat: And upon the wale of each boat five pieces of strong leather be fastened on each side, to slip five small ash bars thro', that so, whenever they land, the men may step overboard, and slip in said bars a-cross, 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 dress the men's vittuals in, so 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 got, and made by workmen, that may cut very 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 head-quarters.

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

be 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 beforehand, and may not be cheated out of their lives, by having bad powder; or not knowing how to use it: And 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 then will be very serviceable in this expedition, which having a promise made to them, that they shall be released in good season, to go home 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 sense, 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

proved in this action, be good decked vessels, not too big, be-
cause of going up several rivers; having four or six small
guns a piece 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 pleas-
ed to make yourself great, and us a happy people, as to the de-
stroying of our enemies, and easing of our taxes, &c. be pleased
to draw forth all these forces now in pay in all the eastward
parts; both at Saco and Casco-Bay; for these two trading-
houses never did any good, nor ever will, and are not wor-
thy the name of Queen's forts; and the first building of them
had no other effect, but to lay us under tribute to that
wretched pagan crew; and I hope will never be wanted,
for that they were first built for: But sure it is, they are
very serviceable to them, for they get many a good advan-
tage 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
rouzed up, and to be awake, and will not be satisfied with
what they have pleased to leave us, but are resolved to re-
take from them, that they took formerly 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 honorable to your Excellency, and of great
service to her Majesty, and to the enlargement of her Ma-
jesty's government: (The place meant being at Penikesee.)

12thly, That the objection made against drawing off the
forces in the eastward parts will be no damage to the inhabi-
tants; for former experience teacheth us, that so soon as
drawn into their country, they will presently forsake ours to
take care of their own: And 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
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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 business 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 affection, 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 return'd 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, and 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 diligently to perform the duty of a Colonel and Captain, by leading, ordering and exercising the said regiment and company in arms, both

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. 1703-4.

By his Excellency's command,
Isaac Addington, Secr.

J. DUDLEY,

Colonel *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 *Phymouth* government ; 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 Colonel *Church* 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 those parts where they dwell, which was a great fatigue and expence ; 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 ; was not less than 5 *l.* per day expences, for many days, in victuals and drink ; who doubtless thought (especially the *English*) that the country would have reimbursed it, otherwise they would hardly accepted it of him. Col. *Church's*

Church's soldiers both *English* and Indians in those parts being raised, 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. *Gorbam*, 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; Captain *Lamb*, and Captain *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, Colonel *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, with 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 Colonel *Church*) replied, He could not admit of that, by reason he had by the advice of her Majesty's Council, writ to her Majesty about the taking of *Port-Royal* fort, and how it should be disposed of when taken, &c. However Colonel *Church* proceeding to get every thing ready for the forces down at *Nantasket*, which was the place of parade: He happening one day to be at Captain *Belcher's*, where his Excellency happened to come; who was pleased to order Col. *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 ingineer trying with them, to throw a shell from them to any spot of ground where he said it should fall: Which, when Col. *Church*

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Church's

Church had seen done, gave him great encouragement and hopes that it would promote their going to *Port-Royal*, which he had solicited for; and returning from thence, after they had seen them tried, by the said engineer, and performing what was proposed: Coming near to Capt. *William Clark's* house, over against the horse-shoe, his Excellency was invited by Captain *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 enterprise. His Excellency was pleased to reply; Col. *Church* you must say no more of that matter, for the letter I told you of, I writ 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 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 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

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JAMIN CHURCH,
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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 so 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 readines 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 ac-
cording 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 circum-
stances will admit of, and be sent either to *Casco-Fort*,
or to Mr. *Peperel's* at *Kittery*, which may be easiest, 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, Captain
Somback Commander, and let Lieutenant Colonel *Gor-*
ham go on board Captain *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

store floops and transports know that they sail, anchor and serve at your direction.

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 *Montinicus*, and there embark the forces in the whale-boats for the main, to range that part of the country, in search of the enemy, to *Mount Defart*, sending the vessels to meet you there, and after having refreshed and recruited your soldiers, proceed to *Machias*, and from thence to *Passamequado*; and having effected what spoils you possibly may upon the enemy in those parts, embark on your vessels for *Menis* and *Signetko*, to *Port-Royal Gut*; and use all possible methods for the burning and destroying of the enemies 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 imploy 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 *Norrig-wack*, 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 Commission Officers, not under the degree of Captains, and the sea Commission 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 way of *Casco*, *Piscataqua*,

' *taqua*, 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 Captain *Smith* and
 ' Captain *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 com-
 pany under the command of Captain *Harridon*: taking
 care also to provide a pilot for them in the *Bay of Fundy*;
 Colonel *Church* being directed to one *_____ Fellows*,
 whom he met with at *Ipswich*. And going from thence
 to *Piscataqua* with his Excellency, was there met by that
 worthy Gentleman Major *Winstrop Hilton*, who was very
 helpful to him in the whole expedition, whose name and
 memory ought not to be forgot. Being ready to embark
 from *Piscataqua*, Colonel *Church* requested the Com-
 manders of her Majesty's ships, Captain *Smith* and Cap-
 tain *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, Captain *John Cooke* in one, and Captain *Con-
 stant 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 the other part, that
 so they might not miss of what could be discovered;
 where they met with old *Lafaure* with his two sons *Tbo-
 mas*

mas and *Timothy*, and a *Canada* Indian. The enemy seeing that they were discovered, threw down their ducks and eggs, who had got a considerable quantity of each, and ran to their canoes, getting into them, 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 bro't to Colonel *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 *Senebo*; 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 bro't, and to be bound to the stakes; also ordering his Indians to paint themselves with colours, which they had bro't 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

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. *Sbarkee*. Being asked where they were? Answered at *Passamequado*; building a fort there. Being also 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 6 or 8 days; so in the dusk of the evening left their transports, with orders how they should act; and 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, who 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. Castee's* daughter, who said that her husband was gone to *France*, to her father *Monfieur Castee*. 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 *Lafauré's* sons; that there were no more *Indians* thereabouts, but enough of them at *Passamequado*; upon which they soon returned to their 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 there to 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 day-time 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

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 was likely to lurk: Particularly at *Macbias*; but found neither fires nor tracks. Coming afterwards to the west harbour at *Passamequado*, where they entered upon action; an account whereof Colonel *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 possibly I 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 *Lotriel* and his family.

This intelligence caused me to leave Col. *Gorkam*, 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

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. *Gorbam*, 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 *Lotriek* 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

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, 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 opportuni-
 ty 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 lit-
 tle hut or wigwam, which we immediately surrounded
 with a few men, the rest marching directly up into the
 woods, to see what wigwams or huts they could disco-
 ver; myself made a little stop, ordering the pilot to tell
 them in the hut, that they were surrounded with an ar-
 my, and that if they would come forth, and surrender
 themselves, they should have good quarter, but if not,
 they should all be knock'd on the head and die: One of
 them showed himself; I asked who he was? He said,
Gourdan; and begg'd 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 up-
 on

on her knees, begg'd 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 direc-
 tions: Ask'd them what they were doing? They re-
 ply'd, There were some of the enemy in a house, and
 would not come out: I ask'd, 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 enemies 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, expo-
 sing themselves, and the whole army, to utter ruin; by
 their so disorderly crowding thick together; had an e-
 nemy come upon them in that interim, and fired a vol-
 ley amongst them, they could not have mis'd a shot; and
 wholly neglecting their duty, in not attending my or-
 ders, 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 ene-
 mies; for I took no notice of half a dozen of the ene-
 my, when at the same time, I expected to be engaged
 with some hundreds of them, of whom we had a conti-
 nued account, who were expected from *Port-Royal* side.
 In this heat of action, every word that I then spoke,
 I cannot give an account of, and I presume it is im-
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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
had discovered nothing; we fetching a small compass
round, came down again. It being pretty dark, I took
notice, I saw two men lay dead, as I thought, at the
end of the house, where the door was, and immediate-
ly 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 he,
and one of our men wounded in the leg; and I turning
about, a *Frenchman* spoke to me, and I gave him quar-
ter. Day-light coming on, and no discovery made of
the enemy, I went to the place where I had left Mon-
sieur *Gourdan*, to examine him, and his sons, who a-
greed in their examinations; told me two of their men
were abroad. It proved a damage; and further told
me, That Monsieur *Sbarkee* lived several leagues up
at the head of the river, at the falls, and all the In-
dians were fishing, and tending their corn there; and
that Monsieur *Sbarkee* 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 *Sbarkee*, and the Indians would certainly be
down that day, or the next at the furthest, to come to
conclude of that matter. This was a short night's ac-
tion, and all sensible men do well know, that actions
done in the dark (being in the night as aforefaid) un-
der so many difficulties, as we then laboured under, as
before

before related, was a very hard task for one man, mat-
 ters 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 trans-
 ported above fear, or any sort of dread; yet being sen-
 sible of the danger in my armies crowding so thick to-
 gether, and of the great duty incumbent on me, to pre-
 serve them from all the danger I possibly could; for
 further improvement, in the destruction of our impla-
 cable enemies; am ready to conclude, that I was very
 quick and absolute in giving such commands and or-
 ders, as I then apprehended most proper and advanta-
 geous. And had it not been for the intelligence I had
 received from the *French* we took at *Penobscot*, as be-
 fore hinted, and the false report the *French* woman (first
 took) gave me, I had not been in such haste. I ques-
 tion not but those *Frenchmen* that were slain, had the
 same good quarter of other prisoners. But I ever look'd
 on it a good providence of Almighty God, that some
 few of our cruel and bloody enemies were made sen-
 sible 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, al-
 though 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 ac-
 ceptance with your Excellency, the honorable Coun-
 cil 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

This night's service being over, immediately Colonel *Church* leaves a sufficient guard with *Gourdan*, and the other prisoners, moved in some whale-boats with the rest, and as they were going spied 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 canoes and fled. Colonel *Church* fearing they would run directly to *Sbarkee*, made all the expedition imaginable; but it being ebb and the water low, was obliged to land, and make the best of their way through the woods, hoping to intercept the Indians, and get to *Sbarkee's* house before them; which was two miles from where our forces landed. The Colonel being ancient and unwildy, desired Serjeant *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 to *Sbarkee's* house, discovered some *French* and Indians making a war 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 just by; who immediately left their work and ran, endeavouring to get to *Sbarkee'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 *Sbarkee's* house found a woman and child, to whom they gave good quarter: And finding that Madam *Sbarkee* had left her silk clothes and fine linen behind her, our forces were desirous to have pursued and taken her; but Colonel *Church* forbade them, saying he would have her run and suffer, that she might be made sensible, what hardships our poor people had

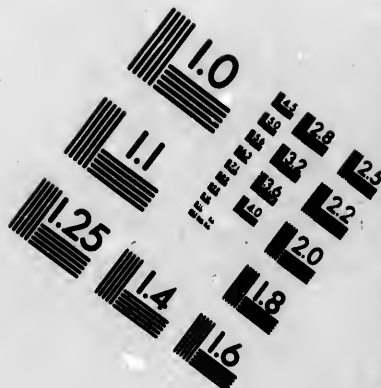
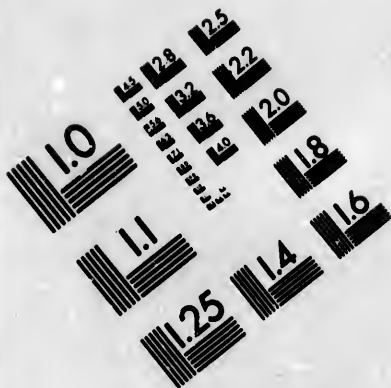
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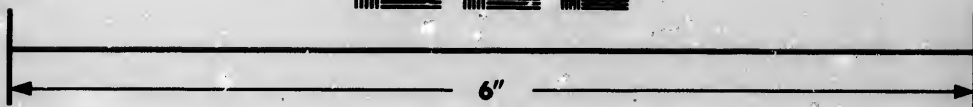
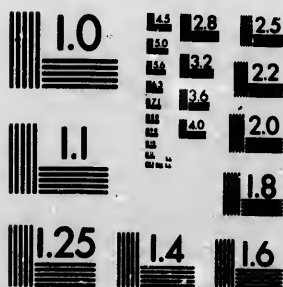
had suffered by them, &c. Then proceeded to examine the prisoners newly taken, who gave him the same account he had before, of the Indians being up at the falls, &c. It being just night prevented our attacking of them that night. But next morning early they moved up to the falls (which was about a mile 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 Colonel *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 *Sbarkee's*, and took their prisoners, beaver, and other plunder which they had got, and put it into their boats, and went down to *Gourdan's* house, where they had left Lieutenant Colonel *Gorbans*, 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 arriving: The Commanders of her Majesty's ships told Colonel *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*; and Colonel *Church* advising with them, proposed that it was very expedient and serviceable to the Crown,

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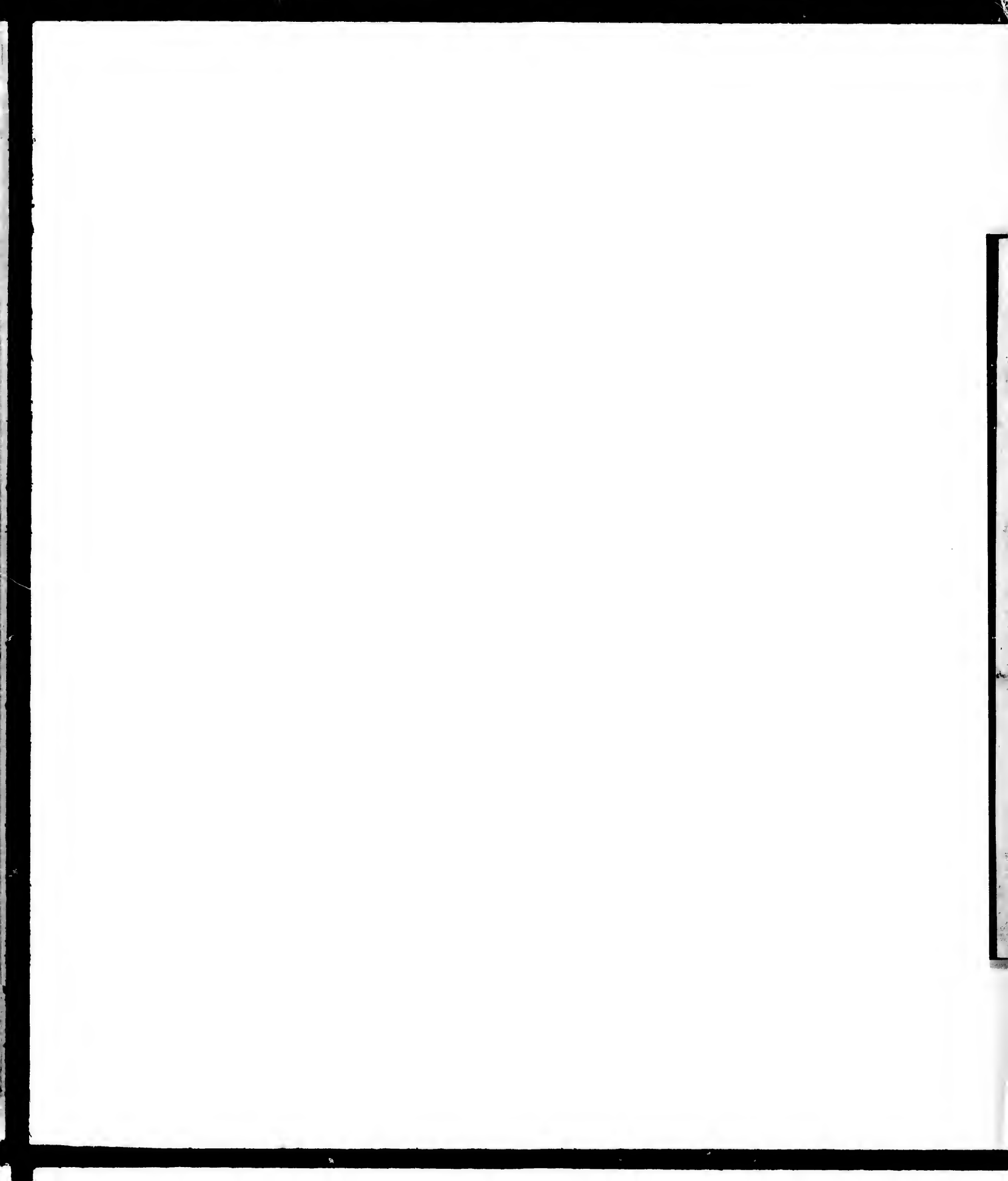
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A further account of the actions in the more late wars against the common enemy and Indian rebels, in the eastern parts, under the command of the aforesaid Captain BENJAMIN CHURCH.

IN the time of Sir *Edmund Andros's* government began that bloody war in the eastern parts of *New-England*; so that immediately Sir *Edmund* sent an express for Capt. *Cchurch*; 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 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; who informed him of an unhappy war broke out in the eastern parts; and said, he was going himself in person, and that he wanted his company with him: But Captain *Cchurch* 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. Captain *Cchurch* having many acquaintance in *Boston*, who made it their business 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 having knowledge of his former actions and successes; and that he must go

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with him, and be his second, with other encouragements. But in short, the said Captain *Church* did not accept, so was dismissed and went home.

Soon after this was the revolution, and the other government re-assumed; and then Governor *Bradstreet* sent for Captain *Church* to come to *Boston* as soon as his business would permit; whereupon he went to *Boston*, & waited upon his Honor; 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 sufferings of the people there. Capt. *Church's* spirits being affected, said, if he could do any service for his Honor, 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 Honor 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 the *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 their's that was already out in the eastern parts. The summer being far spent, Capt. *Church* made what despatch he could, and raised about 250 men volunteers, and received his commission from Governor *Hinkley*, which is as followeth, viz.

day of September, Anno Dom. 1689. Annoque regni Regis et Reginae Willielmi et Mariae Angliae, &c. Primo.
 THOMAS HINKLEY, President.

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

Boston, September 16th, 1689.

To all Sheriffs, Marshals, 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 & Mariae Primo.

By Thomas Danforth, President 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,

Plymouth, Commander in Chief of the forces raised
 within the said colony, against the common Indian en-
 my, now ordered into the eastern parts, to join with some
 of the forces of this colony; for the prosecution, repel-
 ling and subduing of the said enemy: It is therefore
 ordered that Captain *Simon Willard*, and Captain *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 ex-
 pedition. And in pursuance of the commissions sever-
 ally given to either of them, they are ordered to ob-
 serve and obey your orders and directions as their Com-
 mander in Chief until further order from the Governor
 and Council, or the Commissioners of the colonies.
 Dated in *Boston* the 17th day of *September*, Anno Domini
 1689. *Annoque Regni Regis et Reginae Guilielmi et
 Mariae, Angliae, &c. Primo.*

S. BRADSTREET, Gov.

Past in Council,

Attest. Isaac Addington, Secr.

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*, Com-
 mander 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 fide-
 lity in the trust committed to you, for the honor of
 God, good of his people, and the security of the interest

of Christ in his churches, expecting and praying that in
 your dependance upon him, you may be helped and as-
 sisted with all that grace and wisdom which is requisite
 for carrying you on with success in this difficult service ;
 and tho' 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 instruc-
 tions are commended unto your observation, & to be at-
 tended 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 com-
 panies of Captain *Nathaniel Hall*, and Capt. *Simon Wil-*
lard, 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 im-
 prove in such way as you shall see meet, for the dis-
 covering, pursuing, 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 fol-
 lowing the said enemy abroad, and if possible to find
 out and attack their head quarters and principal ren-
 dezvous, 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, pro-
 visions and other necessaries, that so they may be in a
 readiness to repel and attack the enemy. In your pur-
 suit

• suit you are to take special care to avoid danger by am-
 • bushments, or being drawn under any disadvantage by
 • the enemy in your marches, keeping out scouts & a for-
 • lorn hope before your main body, & by all possible means
 • endeavouring to surprisè some of the enemy, that so you
 • may gain intelligence. You are to suppress all muti-
 • nies and disorders among your soldiers, as much as in
 • you lies, and to punish such as disobey your officers, ac-
 • cording to the rules of war herewith given you.

• You are, according to your opportunity, or any occa-
 • sion more than ordinary occurring, to hold correspon-
 • dence with Major *Swaine*, and to yield mutual assistance
 • when and 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, vi-
 • gorous, and venturous in their service, to search out 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
 • reason 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 wor-
 • ship of God be kept up in the army, morning and even-
 • ing prayer attended as far as may be, and as the emer-
 • gencies 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 *Silvanus Davis* is a prudent man, and well acquainted with the affairs of those parts, and is writ 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.

Tho. Hinkley, *Thomas Danforth,* President,

John Walley, *Elisha Cooke,*

Samuel Mason,

William Pitkin.

The First EXPEDITION East.

BEING ready, Major *Cburch* embarked with his forces on board the vessels provided to transport them for *Casco*, having a brave gale at S. W. and on Friday about 3 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 *Cburch*, gave orders that every man that was able should make ready, and all lie close, giving orders how they should act in case they were

were enemies. He going in the *Mary* sloop, together with the *Resolution*, went in first, being both well fitted with guns and men; coming to the first hailed them, who said they were friends, presently mann'd their boat, brought to, and so came along the side of them; who gave the said *Church* an account, that yesterday there was 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 inform'd him that they had got a captive woman aboard (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 an account of the news he had received, and then went ashore, where were several of the chief men of the town who met him, being glad that he came so happily to their relief; told him the news *Mrs. Lee* had given them, being the woman aforesaid. He going to Captain *Davis's* to get some refreshment, having not eat a morsel since he came by *Boston* castle; and 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, who were *Dutchmen*; but as he went call'd aboard 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; and coming on board said privateer was kindly treated, discours'd *Mrs. Lee*, who inform'd him

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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 not. He then having got what intelligence she could give him, went ashore and viewed the fort and town, discoursing 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, went to every company and ordering them to get every thing ready; they that had no powder-horns or shot-bags, should immediately make them; ordering 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 ordering the companies to make ready, and about half an hour before day they moved. Several of the town 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

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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 more were
 with with him of his soldiers, moved immediately, and
 meeting with Captain *Bracket's* sons, who told him their
 father was taken, and that they saw a great army of In-
 dians in their father's orchard, &c. By this time our
 Indians that wanted bags and horns were fitted, but want-
 ed more ammunition. Presently came a messenger to him
 from the town and inform'd him, that they had knock'd
 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 run back and ordered every vessel to send ashore all
 their casks of bullets; being brought knock'd out their
 heads, and turn'd 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 snapsacks of powder, went imme-
 diately to the army, who were very hotly engaged; but
 coming to the river the tide was up; he call'd to his men
 that were engaged, encouraging them, and told them he
 had brought more ammunition for them. An Indian
 call'd Captain *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
 of, went to see who they were, and found them to be two
 of Major *Church's* companies, one of *English* and the other
 of

of Indians, being in all about fourscore men, that had not got over the river, but lay firing over our men's heads at the enemy; he presently order'd them to rally, and come all together; and gave the word for a *Casco* man: So one *Swarton*, a *Jersey* man, appearing, who he could hardly understand; he ask'd 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 shew they could, 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, who 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 tumbled 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 his men called unto him, their commander, and said, that

men, that had our men's heads to rally, and for a *Casco* man; who he could see far it was to the any place to get three quarters of. So he calling to at he would soon be upon the backs into them; so they began, marching very slow they could, the enemy running made stands with a bridge over the river; the other side that brush along to together, bidding go first, and that matter, that so they expecting the enemy up to the stands, the ground being hid stands. He ordered *English* to march they should keep himself with his through the brush, which had been fallen down lay very down up made it bad of the enemy, one commander, and said, that

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 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, run very thin to preserve themselves, and be the better able to make a discovery of the enemy; and soon coming to Lieutenant *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 fire at the town, concluded that they were either assaulted, or that they had discovered the enemy: He 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

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 knock'd them on the head; and that some of their bullets were so unfizable that some of them were forced to make flugs 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 by some canoes they had got. Captain *Hall* and his men being first engaged did great service, and suffered the greatest loss in his men; but Captain *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 & his whole company from being cut off, &c. By this time the day was far spent, and marching into town about sunset, carrying in all their wounded and dead men, being all sensible of God's goodness to them, in giving them the victory, & 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 ever 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, who died, several more being badly wounded, but recovered.

After

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*, *Sparwink*, 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, that in the spring of the year the enemy would come and destroy them and their families, &c. 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 at home, and taken a little care of his own business, 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 honors 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*, which he readily comply'd with, 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 employ'd himself to the utmost to fulfil his instructions

After

structions 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 Major *Church*, who was obliged to bear their expences. When he came to *Boston* gentlemen, he informed them of the miseries those poor people were in by having their provisions taken from them by order of the President, &c. Then went home; 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; and 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 those gentlemen of the Court his business; who said they were very busy in sending home Sir *Edmund*, the ship being ready to sail. The said Major *Church* still waiting upon them, and at every opportunity entreating those gentlemen in behalf of the poor people of *Casco*, informing the necessity of taking care of them, either by sending them relief early in the spring, or suffer them to draw off, otherwise they would certainly be destroyed, &c. Their answer was, They could do nothing till Sir *Edmund* was gone. Waiting there three weeks upon great expences, 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 & Council; having got it done, obtained liberty to go up where the Governor and Council were sitting, he inform'd their honors, that he had waited till his patience was wore out, so had drawn up the matter to leave upon the Board before them: Which is as follows:

To the honored 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

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 never since 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 contrary to my expectation, impeding 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 may 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 account, 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

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to the enemy, derision to our neighbours, besides dishonor 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 Honors prosperity, subscribe,

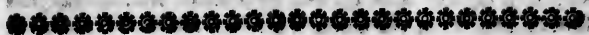
Your servant,

Benj. 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 quit 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 some time 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 altho' they made their terms with Monsieur Casheen, 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 (altho' he was Commander in Chief of all the forces out of Plymouth and Boston government) after he came home, for 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

all travel and expences 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* for Captain *Edmunds* (who raised a company in those parts) and went *East* with them.



The 2d 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 answered the said *Walley*, That he should hinder none but his old soldiers, that used to go along with him, &c. 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 answered 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 *Gray-bound*, in *Roxbury*, and that in the morning would come to *Pollard's* at the south end of *Boston*; which accordingly he did: Soon after he

came thither 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 by reason 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 he would go 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, to 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, that if the Government of *Plymouth* saw cause to send him (he would go) thinking the expedition would be short; 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

ceived a letter from the government of *Boston* to raise some forces to go *East*: whereupon the said Major *Cchurch* went the next day to *Barnstable*, as ordered; finding the Governor and some of the Council of War there, discourfied him, concluding 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 *Cchurch* was at great charge and expence in raising of 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 *Cchurch* 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 *Cchurch*, gave him an account of his disappointments; and sent *John Latbrop* of *Barnstable* in a vessel with some ammunition and provision on board, to him at *Plymouth*; also sent him word that there was more on board of *Samuel Alling* of *Barnstable*, who was to go for 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, said to Major *Cchurch* that he must take some of the open sloop, and make spar decks to them, and lay platforms for the soldiers to lie upon; which delays were very expensive to the said *Cchurch*; 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 Kenebeck 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 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 whereas you, Benjamin Church, are appointed to be Major and Commander in Chief of all the forces, English and Indians, detached within this colony, together with such other of their Majesties subjects as elsewhere shall list themselves, or shall be orderly put under your command for the service of their Majesties, as 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 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 favour 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 instruc-

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, *President.*

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, piety and faithfulness in the trust under God committed to you for the honor 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 order-
 ed 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 Commission Officers of the *Massachu-
 setts* colony, and *Plymouth*, under your conduct, shall
 seem meet for the finding out, pursuing, taking or de-
 stroying of said common enemy, on all opportunities,
 according to commission, and such further orders and
 instructions as you have or may receive from the Gover-
 nor 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 in-
 cursions and destructions of the enemy; but chiefly to
 intend the finding out, pursuing, taking and destroy-
 ing 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 dis-
 miss them, or any one of them, which is desired to be
 done the first opportunity that the service will admit.
 You are to see that your soldiers' arms be always fixed,
 and they provided with ammunition, and other neces-
 saries, that they may be always ready to repel and at-
 tack 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 ene-
 my on your main body in their marches. And by all
 possible means to surprize some of the enemy, that so
 you may gain better intelligence.

: You

• 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 thereby 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 commission officers, you are to appoint others in their stead.—

• And when, with the advice of your Council as aforesaid, you shall, after some trial, see your service not 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 second day of September, Anno Dom. 1690.

THO. HINKLEY, Gov. & President.”

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*, out of the several towns & garrisons; Maj. *Pike* ask'd him, How many men he should want? He said enough to make up his forces that he brought with him, 300 at least, and not more than 350. And so in about nine days time he was supply'd 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,

: You

Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire, Sept. 9, 1690.
 To Major Benjamin 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 or-
 der, 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 also 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 fight the French and Indians at their head-quarters
 at Amers-cogen, Pejepscot, or any other place, according as
 you may have hope or intelligence of the residence of the ene-
 my; using always your utmost endeavour for the preservation
 of your own men, and the killing, destroying, and utterly root-
 ing out of the enemy, wheresoever they may be found; and
 also as much as may possibly be done for the redeeming or re-
 covering 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
 commission officers of your severall companies, whin 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 conduct. 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 Pejepscot fort, where they found
 nothing

nothing. From thence they marched to *Amoras-cogon*, and when they came near the fort, Maj. *Church* made a halt, ordering the Captains to draw out of their several companies 60 of their meanest men, to be a guard to the Doctor and snapsacks, 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 two poor captives were released out of their bondage.— The said 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, being as deep as their armpits, however Maj. *Church*, as soon as he was got over, stripp'd 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, who all ran directly down to the great river and falls. The said *Church*, and his forces, being come pretty near, he ordered the said *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; and those that run under the falls they made no discovery of, notwithstanding several of his men were in under the said falls, and were gone some considerable time, could not find them; so leaving a watch

watch there, return'd up to the fort, where he found but one man taken, and several women and children, amongst whom was Capt. *Hakins's* wife and *Worumbos's* wife, the Sachem of that fort, with their children; the said *Hakins* was Sachem of *Pennacook*, who destroyed Maj. *Walden* and his family, some time before, &c. The said two women, viz. *Hakins's* and *Worumbos's* 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, &c. And in the said fort there were several *English* captives, who were in a miserable condition; amongst them was Capt. *Huckings's* 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 life, while in examination, intending when he had done that he should be executed: But Capt. *Huckings's* wife, and another woman, down on their knees and beg'd for him, saying, He had been a means to save their lives, and a great many more; and had helped several to opportunities to run away and make their escape; and that never, since he came amongst them, had fought against the *English*; but being related to *Hakins's* 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; &c. 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 design'd to leave at the fort, to give an account who he was, & from whence he came; the rest being knock'd on the head, except the aforementioned, for an example, ordering

ordering them all to be buried. Having inquired where all their best beaver was? They said, it was carried away to make a present to the *Bay of Fundy* Indians, 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. *Cburch*, and lived in the westerly part of *Plymouth* government; and that those Indians that came with him were formerly King *Pbilip's* men, and that he had met with them in *Pbilip's* war, and drew them off from him, to fight for the *English*, against the said *Pbilip* 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 *Pbilip'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 *Pbilip's* men, women and children, and *Pbilip* himself, with several other Sachems, &c. and that they should tell *Hakins* and *Warumbos*, 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 *Cburch* 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 transport; the wind being fair, made the best of their way for *Winter Harbour*, and the next morning before day, and 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 the river: But three of the enemy were

were come over the river, to the same side of the river which the scout was of; ran hastily down to their canoe, one of which lay at each end of the canoe, and the third stood up to paddle over: The scout fired at them, and he that paddled fell down upon the canoe, and broke it to pieces, so that all three perished. The firing put the enemy to the run, who left their canoes and provisions to ours; and old *Doney*, and one *Thomas Baker*, an *Englishman*, who was a prisoner amongst them, were up at the Falls, and heard the guns fire, expected the other Indians were come to their assistance, so 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 ours; and gave an account of the beaver hid at *Pejepscot* plain, and 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 enemies tracks, or could discover any coming up the river; who returned and said they saw nothing but our old tracks at the said fort, &c.

Now having got some plunder, one of the Captains said it was time to go home, and several others were of the same mind; and the Major being much disturbed at the motion of theirs, 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, and 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
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, and broke it
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and provisions
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the Major expected, and would have waited for; and the
afore said Captain being much disturbed at what the Ma-
jor 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 afore-
said vessel lay aground, and got aboard, who has proved a
good pilot & Capt. for his country. The next day being
very calm and misty, so that they were all day getting
down from *Maquait* to *Perpodack*; and the masters of the
vessels thinking it not safe putting out in the night, so late
in the year, anchor'd there at *Perpodack*; 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-
ing just houses convenient for them, viz. two barns and
one house; so seeing them all settled and their watches
out, the Major and Capt. *Converse* return'd 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, and he call'd out
and ask'd them who they were? And they said, Indians:
He ask'd them whose men they were? They said, Captain
Southworth's: He ask'd 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 laugh'd, 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 Indians began to make fires, and to
sing and dance; so the Major called to Capt. *Southworth*
to go ashore and look after his men, for the enemy would
be

be upon them by and by. He ordered the boat to be haled up to carry him ashore, and call'd 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; who gave the rest an account, that he saw Indians; which they would not believe; but said to him, You are afraid: His answer was, that they might see them come creeping: They laugh'd, 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 kill'd.

This sudden firing upon our Indian soldiers surpris'd 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 slipp'd 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; and following 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 amongst 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*, and the Major went to *Wells*, and removed the Captain there, and put in Captain *Andros*, who had been with him and knew the discourse left with the two old squaws at *Ameras-cogen*, for *Hakins* and *Worumbos* to come there in 14 days, if they had a mind to hear of their wives and children: Who did then or 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's* 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, &c. They saying as they did, the said *Andros* let them go. Major *Church* being 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, pretending 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 an 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, &c. The Major going 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 Captain *Plaisled* to the Governor and Council at *Boston*, &c. 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 Captain *Plaisled* 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 Major *Church*, notwithstanding he had been at considerable expences 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 Captain *Converse* with him, on a Saturday; and waiting upon the Governor, and some of the Gentlemen in *Boston*, they looked very strange upon them, which not only troubled them,

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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 Major *Church* had but *eight pence* left, and Captain *Converse* none, as he said afterwards. Major *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; and the next Tuesday morning Captain *Converse* came to him (not knowing each others 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; that it was very hard that they should part with dry lips: Major *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*, &c. The said Captain *Converse* returned back into town, and the said *Church* went over to *Roxbury*; and at the tavern he met with *Stephen Braton*, of *Rhode-Island*, a drover; who was glad to see him, the said *Church*, and he as glad to see his neighbour: Whereupon Major *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 he wanted 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 *Galeb 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 Major *Church* got home. And for all his travel and expences in raising soldiers, and service done, never had but *14* of *Phymouth* Gentlemen, and not a penny of *Boston*, notwithstanding he had wore 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 £. 60, which is now worth £. 300 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 Major *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*, upon the Saturday, Capt. *Converse* being with me. The Governor informed us that the Council was 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, Captain *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 at 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 of the great favour God was pleased to shew me, and my company, and the benefit I hoped would accrue to your

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yourself; and desired him to return public 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
thro' 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 ad-
vantage to be at the bank, which he every day was
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 pro-
mise 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 accept-
ance with them; so far that I was credited. I pre-
sented your thanks to them for their seasonably sending
those forces to relieve you, with that expence and charge
they had been at; which thanks they gratefully receiv-
ed; 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 gar-
risons, and the great mischief that would attend the
public concerns of this country by the loss of their Ma-
jesties interest, and so much good estate of yours and
your neighbours, as doubtless would be on the desert-
ing of your town. I then moved for a free contribu-
tion for your relief, which they with great forwardness
promoted; and then ordered a day of thanksgiving

thro' the government upon the 26th 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*, Captain *Nathaniel Thomas* of *Marshfield*: For the county of *Barnstable*, Captain *Joseph Latbrop* 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 Lieutenant *Joseph Story*. I defer'd 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 hearing 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 were 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*, there met with Captain *Elisba Andros*, who informed me that the place of treaty was *Sacaty-bock*, and that Captain *Alden* was gone from *Boston* four days before I came there.

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there, and had carried all the Indian prisoners with him,
 and that all the forces were drawn away out of your
 parts, except 12 men in your town, and 12 in *Piscata-
 qua*, 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; and 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 secu-
 rity, 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 discourfes, 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 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 cove-
 tuous person, and came there to enrich myself, and that
 I killed their cattle and barreled them up, and sent them
 to *Boston*, and sold them for plunder, and made mo-
 ney 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 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

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 yourselves, 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 Captain *John Littlefield*, Lieutenant *Joseph Story*; and to any other Gentlemen, as in your judgment you see fit: With the tenders of my respects to you, &c. and to Major *Vaughan*, and his good Lady and family. To Captain *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. *Honeywell*, and my very good friend little Lieut. *Plafsted*: With due respects to all Gentlemen my friends in the eastward parts, as if particularly named.

Farewell. B. C.

To Major Pike.

Honored Sir,

Bristol, Nov. 27, 1690.

TH E S E 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, and will you. Since I came from those parts, I am informed, that you and Mrs. *Andros*, that yourself and wife, all the while, are

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 got themselves some honor, which they very much gaped after, or else they would not have spread so many false reports to defame me: Which had I known, before I left the bank, I would have had satisfaction of them. Your honor 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, was got to such a bigness that it overshadowed me from the influence of all comfort, or good acceptance amongst my friends in my journey homeward. But thro' God's goodness 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.

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

Portsmouth, June 29, 1691.

Major Benj. Church,

Sir,

O U R 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

these eastern parts, leaves us under a deep and grateful sense of your favour therein: And forasmuch as you was pleased, 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 approved 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 writ 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 enemies, 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 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 *Cchurch* sent them his answer: The contents whereof was, 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 amongst 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.

 The Third EXPEDITION East.

THIS was in the year 1693. In the time of Sir *William Phips's* government: Major *Walley* being at *Boston*, was requested by his Excellency to treat with Major *Cchurch* about going East with him. Major *Walley* coming home, did as desired; and to encourage the said Major *Cchurch*, told him, That now was the time to have recompence for his former great expences; saying also, That the country could not give him less than two or three hundred pounds. So upon his Excellency's request Major *Cchurch* went down to *Boston*, and waited upon him, who said he was glad to see him, &c. And after some discourse told the said *Cchurch*, 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 old 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

these presents constitute and appoint you to be Major of the severall 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 severall 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, Secr.

Returning home to the county aforesaid, he soon raised a sufficient number of volunteers, both *English* and *Indians*, and Officers suitable to command them, 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 Lieutenant *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 Major *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

deducted out of their wages at their return home. Coming to *Boston*, his Excellency having got things in a readiness, they embarked on board their transports, his Excellency going in person with them, being bound to *Pemquid*; but in their way stopped at *Casco*, and buried the bones of the dead people there, and took off the great guns that were there; then went to *Pemquid*. Coming there his Excellency asked Major *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, &c. Then they went ashore and spent some time in the projection thereof. Then his Excellency told Major *Church* that he might take all the forces with him, except one company to stay with him, and work about the fort; the Major answered, 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 Major *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 Major 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* enemy; 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 amongst you; and to suffer no swearing, cursing, or other profanation

• profanation of the holy name of God ; and, as much as
 • in you lies, to deter and hinder all other vices amongst
 • your soldiers.

• 2^{dly}, You are to proceed, with the soldiers under your
 • command, to *Penobscot*, and, with what privacy and un-
 • discoverable methods you can, there to land your men,
 • and take the best measures to surprisè the enemy.

• 3^{dly}, You are, by killing, destroying, and all other
 • means possible, to endeavour the destruction of the ene-
 • my, in pursuance whereof, being satisfied of your cou-
 • rage and conduct, I leave the same to your discretion.

• 4^{thly}, You are to endeavour the taking what cap-
 • tives you can, either men, women or children, and the
 • same safely to keep and convey them unto me.

• 5^{thly}, 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.

• 6^{thly}, You are also to take care and be very indu-
 • strious by all possible means to find out and destroy all
 • the enemies corn, and other provisions in all places
 • where you can come at the same.

• 7^{thly}, 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.

• 8^{thly}, If any soldier, Officer, or other shall be dis-
 • obedient to you as their Commander in Chief, or other
 • their superior Officer, or make, or cause any mutiny,
 • commit other offence or disorders, you shall call a coun-
 • cil of war amongst your Officers, and having tried him
 • or them so offending, inflict such punishment as the me-
 • rit 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*; and coming to an island in those parts in the evening, landed his forces at one end of the said island; Then the Major 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 in their houses; and that one or both of them had Indian women to their wives, and had children by them. The Major presently examining the *Frenchmen*, where the Indians were? They told him, that there was 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 to them, 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 withal; 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 haled up their canoe, and came right into the hands of our ambuscade, who so suddenly surpris'd 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

and our forces not having boats suitable to pursue them, they got all away in their canoes, &c. (which caused Major *Church* to say, he would never go out again without sufficient number of whale-boats) which for want of was the ruin of that action. Then 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 *Pemeguid*; where being come, staid not long, they being short of bread, his Excellency intended home for *Boston*, for more provisions; but before, going 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 enemy wheresoever you shall find any of them; and at your return to *Pemeguid* (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 to work on the fort, and make what dispatch 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, pursued them so hard that they left their canoes, and ran up into the woods; still pursued them up to their fort at *Taconock*, which the ene-

my perceiving 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 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 *Pemeguid*, and coming there employed his forces according to his instructions. Being out of bread, his Excellency not coming, Major *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, his Excellency not coming as expected; but at length his Excellency came and brought very little bread more than would pay what was borrowed of the man of war: So that in a short time after Major *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 Major *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 *30s.* to himself, which was deducted out of his Wages. Whereupon Maj. *Walley* and said *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, &c. So that instead of Major *Church*'s having the allowances afore-mentioned by Major *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.

The 4th EXPEDITION East.

IN 1696 Major Church being at Boston, and belonging to the House of Representatives, several Gentlemen requesting him to go East again, and 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 said General Court, he proceeded to raise volunteers, and made it his whole business, riding both east and west in our province and Connecticut, at great charge and expences; and in about a month's time 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, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor, and Commander in Chief, in and over his Majesty's province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England:

To Major 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 day 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, with Englishmen and Indians, raised for

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Lieutenant Go-
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 Greeting.

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 virtue therefore of
 Majesty's royal com-
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 conduct: I do by
 to be Major of the
 and Indians, raised
 for

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 prosecuting, 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. Gov. &c.

Isaac Addington, Secr.

Province of the Massachusetts-Bay.

By the Right Honourable the Lieutenant Governor and Com-
 mander in Chief.

INSTRUCTIONS for Major 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 east-
 ern 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 un-
 der your command, in search for, prosecution and pursuit of
 the said enemy, at such places where you may be informed of
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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 list 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 or 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 Captain John Gorham, who accompanies you in this expedition, and is to take your command in case of your death. A copy of these instructions

instructions you are to leave with him, and to give me an account from time to time of your proceedings.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

Boston, August 12th, 1696.

In the time Major Church lay at Boston, the news came of *Pemquid* fort 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 Colonel *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 was 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 Captain *Gerbam*, 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 *Monbegin*, 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; and having a fair wind made the best of their way, and early next morning they got into *Monbegin*, 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 *Monbegin*, 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 amongst *Penobscot* Islands, looking very sharp as they went for fires on the shore, and for canoes, but

but found neither; getting up to *Matbebestucks* 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, to their oars again, working very hard, turn'd the night into day; made several of their new foldiers grumble: But telling them they hoped to come up quickly with the enemy, put new life into them; and by daylight 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. And 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 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 was (which would have been a great advantage to them;) but a foolish soldier seeing them passing by him, shot at them, contrary to orders given, 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 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 stop't the holes, and then Capt. *Bracket*, with an Indian soldier, went over the river, who track'd them by the blood about half a mile, found his gun, took it up, and seeing the blood no further, concluded that he stop'd 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 *Cassien*, 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 desiring to hear of the proceedings of *Deborabuel*, and the *French* man of war; and informed him that there were several canoes coming with work-men from *Quebec*, to *St. John's*, 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, concluded 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

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.) Major *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 refresh'd themselves; meeting them with another disappointment, for their pilot *York* not being permitted any further, they began to lament the loss of one *Robert Cawley*, who they chiefly depended on 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 was on board Mr. *Tbery's* sloop) and put on board the man of war, unknown to Major *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 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, tho' 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 *Castles* himself, should be thereabout, they might find them, but

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it proved all in vain. Himself and several boats went to *Mout-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, concluding 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. John's*; but the masters of the vessels said, he had as good carry them to *Old France*, &c. which put off that design, they concluding that the *French* ships were there. Then the Major moved for going over the bay, towards *Labans*, and towards the gut of *Cancer*, where was another considerable sort 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 are 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, &c. Then they concluded and resolved to go to *Senabacca*, wherein there was a ready assistance (but the want of their pilot, *Robert Cawley*, did a great damage to them, who knew all those parts.) However, *Mr. John Alden*, master of the brigantine Endeavour,

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deavour, piloted them up the bay to *Senabaca*; and coming to *Grinson-point*, being not far from *Senabaca*; 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 Lieutenant *John Paine*, and several of Captain *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 *Farman 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 Major *Church* thinking it was that they might have some advantage, 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, laying down his gun, 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 fourscore years of age, and could not go. The Major asked the said *Bridgway* whether there were any Indians amongst them, and where they lived? He shook his head, and said, he durst 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 went run into the woods with the rest. Then orders were given to pursue the enemy, and to kill what Indians they could find, and to save the *French* alive, and give them quarter if they were taken. Our forces soon took three *Frenchmen*, who, upon examination, said, That the Indians were all run into the woods.

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The *French* firing 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 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 writ 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 damaged; which they refused. Then the Major & his forces pursued their design, & went further ranging their country, found several more houses, but the people fled, & 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 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 it to be theirs, said they were the savages, but sure it might be a supply for our enemies: Also they took from *Jarman Bridgway* several barrels of powder, with

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*, &c. in a sloop our forces took from him; and that there he met with the *French* ships, and went along with them to *St. John's*, where they unloaded 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, return'd back to the place where they first landed, and finding several prisoners come in, who were troubled to see their cattle, sheep, hogs and dogs lying dead about their houses, chopp'd and hack'd with hatchets; (which was done without order from the Major) however he told them, it was nothing to what our poor *English*, in our frontier towns, were forced to look upon; for men, women and children were chopp'd and hack'd so, and left half dead, with all their scalps taken off, and that they, and their Indians, served ours so; and our savages would be glad to serve them so too, if he 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 *Friars* and *Governors*, encouraged their savages, and gave them

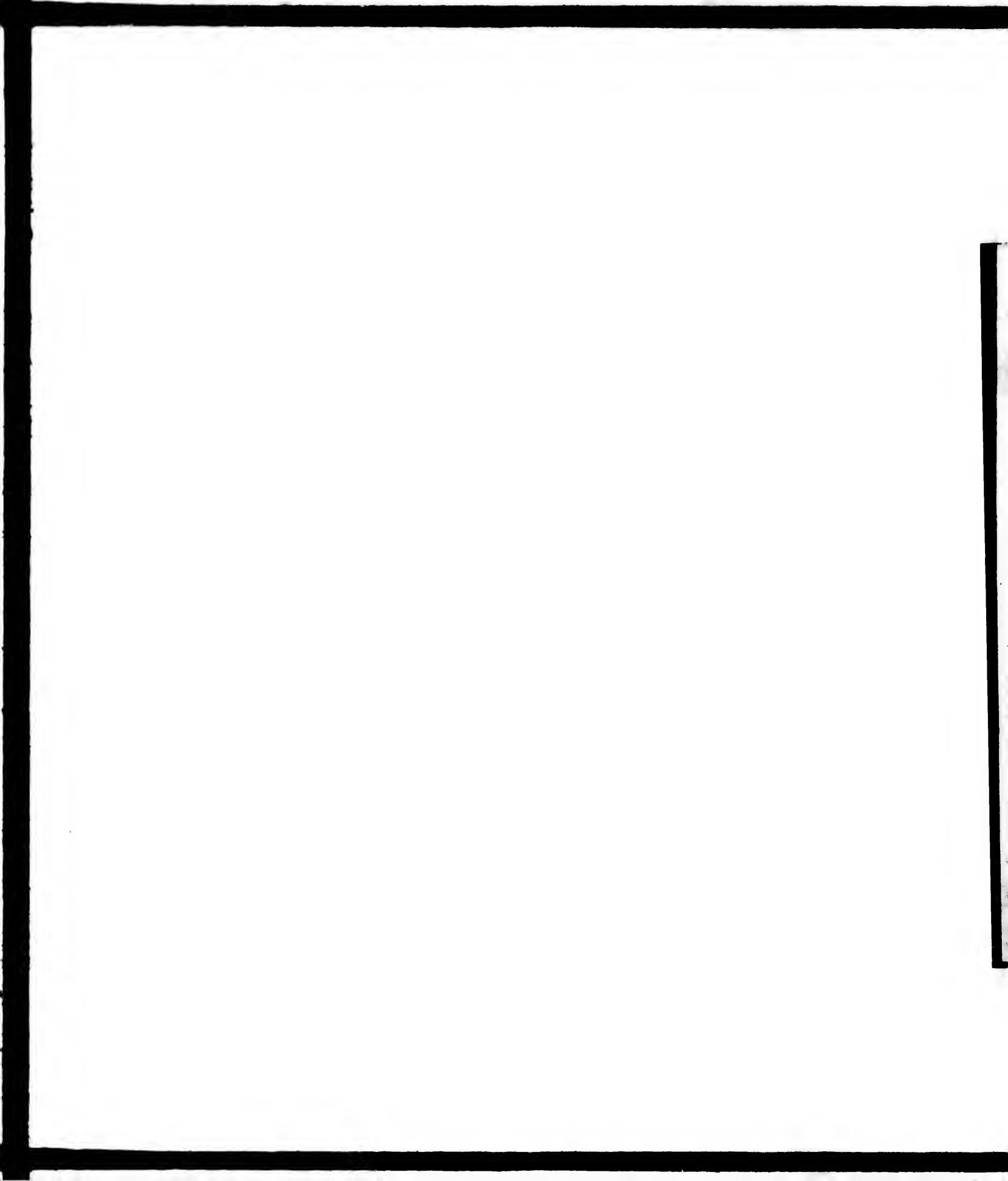
them money to scalp our *English*, notwithstanding they were with them; which several of our *English*, there present, did testify to their faces, that their fathers & mothers were served so in their sight. But the Major bid them tell their fathers the *Friars*, and the *Governors*, That if they still 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, & 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, kiss'd his hand, & 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 *Laybone*, 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. John's* river, to do further service for their King and country, embarked all on board their transports; and having a fair wind, soon got to *Monogeneff*, which lies a little distance from the mouth of *St. John's* river. Next morning early the Major, with his forces, landed to see what discovery they could make, travelled across the woods to the old fort or falls at the mouth of *St. John's* river, keeping themselves undiscovered from the enemy; finding that 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) returned back, but night coming on, and dark wet weather, with bad travelling, was obliged to stop in the woods till towards 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
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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 a 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 towards
 the new fort they were building, not knowing but they
 had some ordnance mounted. The enemy running di-
 rectly to 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 dress'd, he was examined :
 Who gave the Major an account of the twelve great guns
 which were hid in the beach, below high water mark ;
 (the carriages, shot and wheelbarrows, some flour & pork,
 all hid in the woods :) And the next morning the Offi-
 cers being all ordered to meet together to consult about
 going to *Vilboon's* fort, and none amongst them being ac-
 quainted but the *Aldens*, who said the water in the river
 was very low, so that they could not yet 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. 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 one prisoner, and brought
 in ; who in their ranging found there a shallop haled in
 a creek, and a day or two after there came in a young
 soldier to our forces, who upon examination gave an ac-
 count of two more which he left in the woods at some dis-
 tance ; so immediately the Major with some of his forces
 went in pursuit of them, taking the said prisoner with
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them, who conveyed them to the place where he left them, but they were gone. Then asked the prisoner, whether there were any Indians in those parts? 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 aboard, intended on our 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, would fire at them, and might kill one or more of them, which to prevent fired at the *French*, killed one, and took the other two prisoners; and it happened that he who was killed was *Sbanelere*, the chief man there, &c. 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 their prosecuting their intended design against the enemy, in their returning homeward. Then the Commander ordering all the Officers to come together, informed them of his intentions, and ordered that no vessels 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 it should happen that any did part, when they come to *Passamequady*, should stop there a while, 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 *Macbias*; which was the next place he intended to stop at, having an account by the prisoners taken, That Mr. *Lateril* was there a trading with the Indians in that river. Encouraging them, said, He did not doubt

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He did not doubt



but to have a good booty there; and if they should pass those two places, be sure not to go past *Naskege-point*, but to stop there till he came, and not to depart thence in a fortnight without his orders, having great service to do in and about *Penobscot*, &c. Then the Major discoursed with Captain *Brackit*, Captain *Hunewell*, and Captain *Larking*, (with their Lieutenants) Commanders of the forces belonging to the eastward parts, who were to discourage their soldiers about their proceeding, when they came to *Penobscot*; and the Major himself was to discourage 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 afore-mentioned (*to wit*) the eastward men, and all the Indians; and to take what provisions and ammunition was needful, and to march with himself up into the *Penobscot* country, in search for the enemy, and if possible to take that fort in *Penobscot* river. Captain *Brackit* informing 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 thro' 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 thro' the country to *Nerigiwack*, and from thence to *Amaras-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, provid-

ed their commander went with them; who, to try their fidelity, said, He was grown ancient, and 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. John's* river, resolved on their intended design; and the next morning having but little wind, came all to fail, the wind coming against them, they put into *Musquash-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; and in the night the wind came pretty fair, and at 12 o'clock they came to fail, and had not been out long before they spied three sail of vessels; expecting them to be *French*, fitted to defend themselves, so coming near, hailed them: Who found them to be a man of war, the *Province-Galley*, and old Mr. *Alden* in a sloop, with more forces, Col. *Hatborne* Commander. Major *Church* went aboard the *Commodore*, where Colonel *Hatborne* 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 Captain *Souback* for him, which is as followeth:

Boston, September 9th, 1696.

S I R,

HIS Majesty's ship *Orford* having lately surpris'd a *French* shallop, with twenty-three of the soldiers belonging to the fort upon *John's* river, in *New Scotia*, together with *Villeau*, their Captain, *Providence* aims 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 arming

ing 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 an hundred men to join the forces now with you for that expedition, and have commissioned Lieutenant Colonel 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.

Colonel Hathorne will communicate unto you the contents of his commission and instructions received 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. John's. Then discoursing with Colonel Hathorne, gave him an account of what they had done at St. John's, 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; and that they had an account of him and his forces coming to those parts by a prisoner out of *Boston* gaol: Also told his honour, That if they went back it would wholly disappoint them, of their doing any further service, which was that they came for to *Penobscot*, and places adjacent; but all was to no purpose, his Honor 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 Colonel *Hatborn's* journal of the said action. Only I must observe one thing by the way, which was, That when they drew off to come down the river again, Colonel *Hatborn* came off and left the Major behind to see that all the forces were drawn off; and coming down the river, in or near the rear, in the night heard a person hallow, 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 amongst them for some time. The Major asked him, whether he 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 pettiaugers, meaning whale-boats, which

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 surpris'd at the motion of the whale-boats; 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. John's* fort and river. But to return, Then going all down the river, embarked and went homeward; only 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. *Hatborne* to take them from the service and business they went to do: Who, with submission, doubtless thought they did for the best, tho' 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 hard 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 it was some powder, and that they gave what they pleas'd for) and besides the assembly pass'd a vote that they should have but half pay; but his Honor the Lieutenant Governor being much disturb'd at their so doing, went into the town-house, where the Representatives were sitting, and told them, except they did re-assume that vote, which was to cut Major *Church* and his forces off their half-pay, they should sit there till the next spring. Whereupon it was re-assumed: 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 loss and great expences in raising the said forces volunteers.

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 business 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, &c. So that these, with the late inhumanities done upon the inhabitants of *Deerfield*, made such an impression on his heart as can not 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 Major *Church*, from doing any further service. 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 70 miles, to wait upon his Excellency, and offered his service to the Queen, his Excellency and the country; which his Excellency readily accepted of, and desired Major *Church* to draw a scheme for the ensuing action, or actions; so taking leave went home, and drew it; which is as followeth.

Tsvertan, February 5, 1703-4.

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 against 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 diligent use of means, we 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 underrisks: For my advice is,

M 4

ist.

1st, That ten or twelve hundred good able soldiers, well equipped, be in a readines 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 every boat: And upon the wale of each boat five pieces of strong leather be fastened on each side, to slip five small ash bars thro', that so, whenever they land, the men may step overboard, and slip in said bars a-cross, 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 dress the men's victuals in, so 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 beeled with the best steel that can be got, and made by workmen, that may cut very 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 head-quarters.

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

be 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 beforehand, and may not be cheated out of their lives, by having bad powder; or not knowing how to use it: And 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 then will be very serviceable in this expedition, which having a promise made to them, that they shall be released in good season, to go home 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 sense, to know how to manage themselves in so difficult a piece of service, as this Indian hunting is; for bad men are but a clog 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

proved in this action, be good decked vessels, not too big, because of going up several rivers; having four or six small guns a piece 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 these forces now in pay in all the eastward parts, both at Saco and Casco-Bay; for these 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, but to lay us under tribute to that wretched pagan crew, and I hope will never be wanted, for that they were first built for: 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 awake, and will not be satisfied with what they have pleased to leave us, but are resolved to retake from them, that they took formerly 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 honorable to your Excellency, and of great service to her Majesty, and to the enlargement of her Majesty's government: (The place meant being at Penikese.)

12thly, That the objection made against drawing off the forces in the eastward parts will be no damage to the inhabitants; for former experience teacheth us, that so soon as drawn into their country, they will presently forsake ours to take care of their own: And 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

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 business 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 affection, 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 return'd 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, and 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 diligently to perform the duty of a Colonel and Captain, by leading, ordering and exercising the said regiment and company in arms, both

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 *Bolton*, the 18th day of *March*, in the third year of her Majesty's reign. *Anno Dom. 1703-4.*

By his Excellency's command,
Isaac Addington, Secr.

J. DUDLEY,

Colonel *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; 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 Colonel *Church* 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 those parts where they dwell, which was a great fatigue and expence; 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; was not less than 5 *l.* per day expences, for *four* days, in victuals and drink; who doubtless thought (especially the *English*) that the country would have reimbursed it, otherwise they would hardly accepted it of him. Col. *Church's*

Church's soldiers both *English* and *Indians* in those parts being raised, 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; Captain *Lamb*, and Captain *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, Colonel *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, with 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 Colonel *Church*) replied, He could not admit of that, by reason he had by the advice of her Majesty's Council, writ to her Majesty about the taking of *Port-Royal* fort, and how it should be disposed of when taken, &c. However Colonel *Church* proceeding to get every thing ready for the forces down at *Nantasket*, which was the place of parade: He happening one day to be at Captain *Belcher's*, where his Excellency happened to come; who was pleased to order Col. *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.

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DUDLEY,

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Church had seen done, gave him great encouragement and hopes that it would promote their going to *Port-Royal*, which he had solicited for; and returning from thence, after they had seen them tried, by the said engineer, and performing what was proposed: Coming near to Capt. *William Clark's* house, over against the horse-shoe; his Excellency was invited by Captain *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 enterprise. His Excellency was pleased to reply; Col. *Church*, you must say no more of that matter, for the letter I told you of I writ 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 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 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

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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 so 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; drunkeness, profane swearing, cursing,
omission or neglect of duty, disobedience to Officers,
mutiny, desertion, and sedition be duly punished ac-
cording 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 circum-
stances will admit of, and be sent either to *Casco-Port*,
or to Mr. *Peperel's* at *Kittery*, which may be easiest, 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 the *Kittery* side, there to attend your coming; whither
you are to follow them with all expedition.

You are to embark in the Province-Galley, Captain
Soubach Commander, and let Lieutenant Colonel *Gor-
don* go on board Captain *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

store sloop and transports know that they sail, anchor and serve at your direction.

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 *Montinicus*, and there embark the forces in the whale-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 *Passamequado*; and having effected what spoils you possibly may upon the enemy in those parts, embark on your vessels for *Menis* and *Signetto*, to *Port-Royal Gut*; and use all possible methods for the burning and destroying of the enemies 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 *Norrig-wack*, 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 Commission Officers, not under the degree of Captains, and the sea Commission Captains (when you shall, 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 way of *Casco*, *Piscataqua*,

taqua, 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 Captain *Smith* and Captain *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 Captain *Harridon*; taking care also to provide a pilot for them in the *Bay of Fundy*, Colonel *Church* being directed to one *Fellows*, whom he met with at *Ipswich*. And going from thence to *Piscataqua* with his Excellency, was there met by that worthy Gentleman Major *Winterop Hilton*, who was very helpful to him in the whole expedition, whose name and memory ought not to be forgot. Being ready to embark from *Piscataqua*, Colonel *Church* requested the Commanders of her Majesty's ships, Captain *Smith* and Captain *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. Captain *John Cooke* in one, and Captain *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 the other part, that so they might not miss of what could be discovered; where they met with old *Lafaire* with his two sons *Tomas*

mas and *Timothy*, and a *Canada* Indian. The enemy seeing that they were discovered, threw down their ducks and eggs, who had got a considerable quantity of each, and ran to their canoes, getting into them, 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 *Lafaire* 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 bro't to Colonel *Church*, he ordered them to be apart, and first proceeded to examine old *Lafaire*, 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 *Seneco*; 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 bro't, and to be bound to the stakes; also ordering his Indians to paint themselves with colours, which they had bro't 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 misroted down: He being asked whether his brother *Thomas* did not know more than he? His answer was, Yes, for his Brother

Thomas

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. *Sbarkee*. Being asked where they were? Answered at *Passamequado*; building a fort there. Being also 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

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returned to their transports; and ordering provisions to be put into every man's sapsack for 6 or 8 days; so in the dusk of the evening left their transports, with orders how they should act; and 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, who 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. Casten's* daughter, who said that her husband was gone to *France*, to her father *Monsieur Casten*. 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 *Lafaur's* sons; that there were no more Indians thereabouts, but enough of them at *Passamequado*; upon which they soon returned to their 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 there to 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 day-time 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

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 was likely to lurk: Particularly at *Macbias*; but found neither fires nor tracks. Coming afterwards to the west harbour at *Passamequado*, where they entered upon action; an account whereof Colonel *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 possibly I 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 *Lotriel* and his family.

This intelligence caused me to leave Col. *Gorbam*, 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

• have them to secure and guard at our next landing,
 • where I did really expect, and hoped to have an op-
 • portunity, 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. *Gorbam*, would have a good opportunity in the morn-
 • ing to destroy some of those our enemies, (we were inform-
 • ed 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 *Lotriol* 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 na-
 • ture 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 some-
 • what open and clear, I ordered Capt. *Mirick* and Capt.
 • *Cole*, having *English* companies, to tarry with several of
 the

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, 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 opportuni-
 ty 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 lit-
 tle hut or wigwam, which we immediately surrounded
 with a few men, the rest marching directly up into the
 woods, to see what wigwams or huts they could disco-
 ver; myself made a little stop, ordering the pilot to tell
 them in the hut, that they were surrounded with an ar-
 my, and that if they would come forth, and surrender
 themselves, they should have good quarter, but if not,
 they should all be knock'd on the head and die: One of
 them showed himself; I asked who he was? He said,
Gourdan; and begg'd 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 up-
 on

on her knees, begg'd 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 direc-
 tions: Ask'd them what they were doing? They re-
 ply'd, There were some of the enemy in a house, and
 would not come out: I ask'd, 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 enemies 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, expo-
 sing themselves, and the whole army, to utter ruin; by
 their so disorderly crowding thick together; had an e-
 nemy come upon them in that interim, and fired a vol-
 ley amongst them, they could not have miss'd a shot; and
 wholly neglecting their duty, in not attending my or-
 ders, 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 ene-
 mies; for I took no notice of half a dozen of the ene-
 my, when at the same time, I expected to be engaged
 with some hundreds of them, of whom we had a conti-
 nued account, who were expected from *Port Royal* side.
 In this heat of action, every word that I then spoke,
 I cannot give an account of, and I presume it is im-
 possible. I stopped but little here, but went directly
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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
had discovered nothing; we fetching a small compass
round, came down again. It being pretty dark, I took
notice, I saw two men lay dead, as I thought, at the
end of the house, where the door was, and immediate-
ly 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 he,
and one of our men wounded in the leg; and I turning
about, a *Frenchman* spoke to me, and I gave him quar-
ter. Day-light coming on, and no discovery made of
the enemy, I went to the place where I had left Mon-
sieur *Gourdan*, to examine him, and his sons, who a-
greed in their examinations; told me two of their men
were abroad. It proved a damage; and further told
me, That Monsieur *Sbarkee* lived several leagues up
at the head of the river, at the falls, and all the In-
dians were fishing, and tending their corn there; and
that Monsieur *Sbarkee* 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 *Sbarkee*, and the Indians would certainly be
down that day, or the next at the furthest, to come to
conclude of that matter. This was a short night's ac-
tion, and all sensible men do well know, that actions
done in the dark (being in the night as aforesaid) un-
der so many difficulties, as we then laboured under, as
before

before related, was a very hard task for one man, mat-
 ters 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 trans-
 ported above fear, or any sort of dread; yet being sen-
 sible of the danger in my armies crowding so thick to-
 gether, and of the great duty incumbent on me, to pre-
 serve them from all the danger I possibly could, for
 further improvement, in the destruction of our impla-
 cable enemies; am ready to conclude, that I was very
 quick and absolute in giving such commands and or-
 ders, as I then apprehended most proper and advanta-
 geous. And had it not been for the intelligence I had
 received from the *French* we took at *Penobscot*, as be-
 fore hinted, and the false report the *French* woman (first
 took) gave me, I had not been in such haste. I ques-
 tion not but those *Frenchmen* that were slain, had the
 same good quarter of other prisoners. But I ever look'd
 on it a good providence of Almighty God, that some
 few of our cruel and bloody enemies were made sen-
 sible 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, al-
 though 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 ac-
 ceptance with your Excellency, the honorable Coun-
 cil 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

This night's service being over, immediately Colonel *Church* leaves a sufficient guard with *Gourdan*, and the other prisoners, moved in some whale-boats with the rest, and as they were going spied 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 as fast as they could. Colonel *Church* fearing they would run directly to *Sbarkee*, made all the expedition imaginable; but it being ebb and the water low, was obliged to land, and make the best of their way through the woods, hoping to intercept the Indians, and get to *Sbarkee's* house before them; which was two miles from where our forces landed. The Colonel being ancient and unwildy, desired Serjeant *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 to *Sbarkee'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 just by; who immediately left their work and ran, endeavouring to get to *Sbarkee'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 *Sbarkee's* house found a woman and child, to whom they gave good quarter: And finding that Madam *Sbarkee* had left her silk clothes and fine linen behind her, our forces were desirous to have pursued and taken her; but Colonel *Church* forbade them, saying he would have her run and suffer, that the might be made sensible, what hardships our poor people had

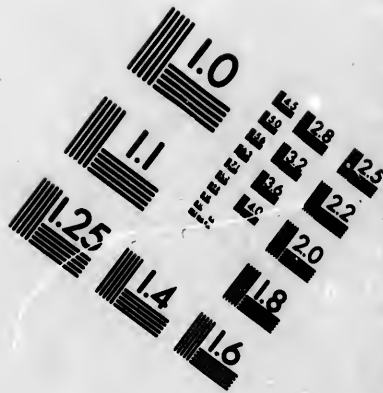
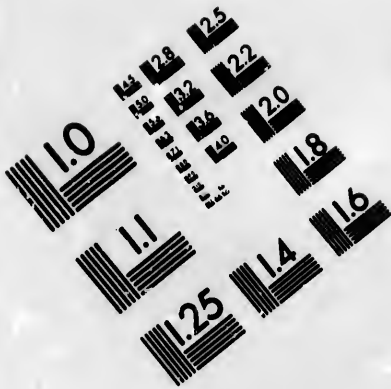
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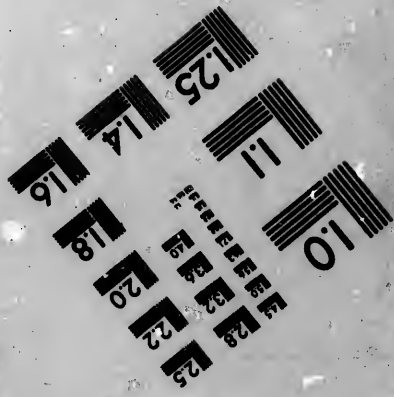
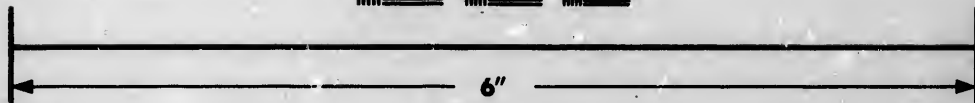
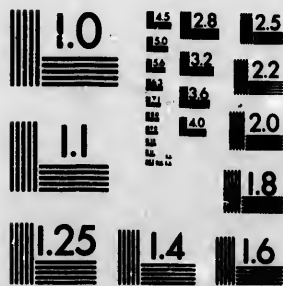
had suffered by them, &c. Then proceeded to examine the prisoners newly taken, who gave him the same account he had before, of the Indians being up at the falls, &c. It being just night prevented our attacking of them that night. But next morning early they moved up to the falls (which was about a mile 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 Colonel *Cburch* 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 *Sbarkee's*, and took their prisoners, beaver, and other plunder which they had got, and put it into their boats, and went down to *Gourdan's* house, where they had left Lieutenant Colonel *Gorbam*, 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 arriving: The Commanders of her Majesty's ships told Colonel *Cburch* 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*; and Colonel *Cburch* advising with them, proposed that it was very expedient and serviceable to the Crown,

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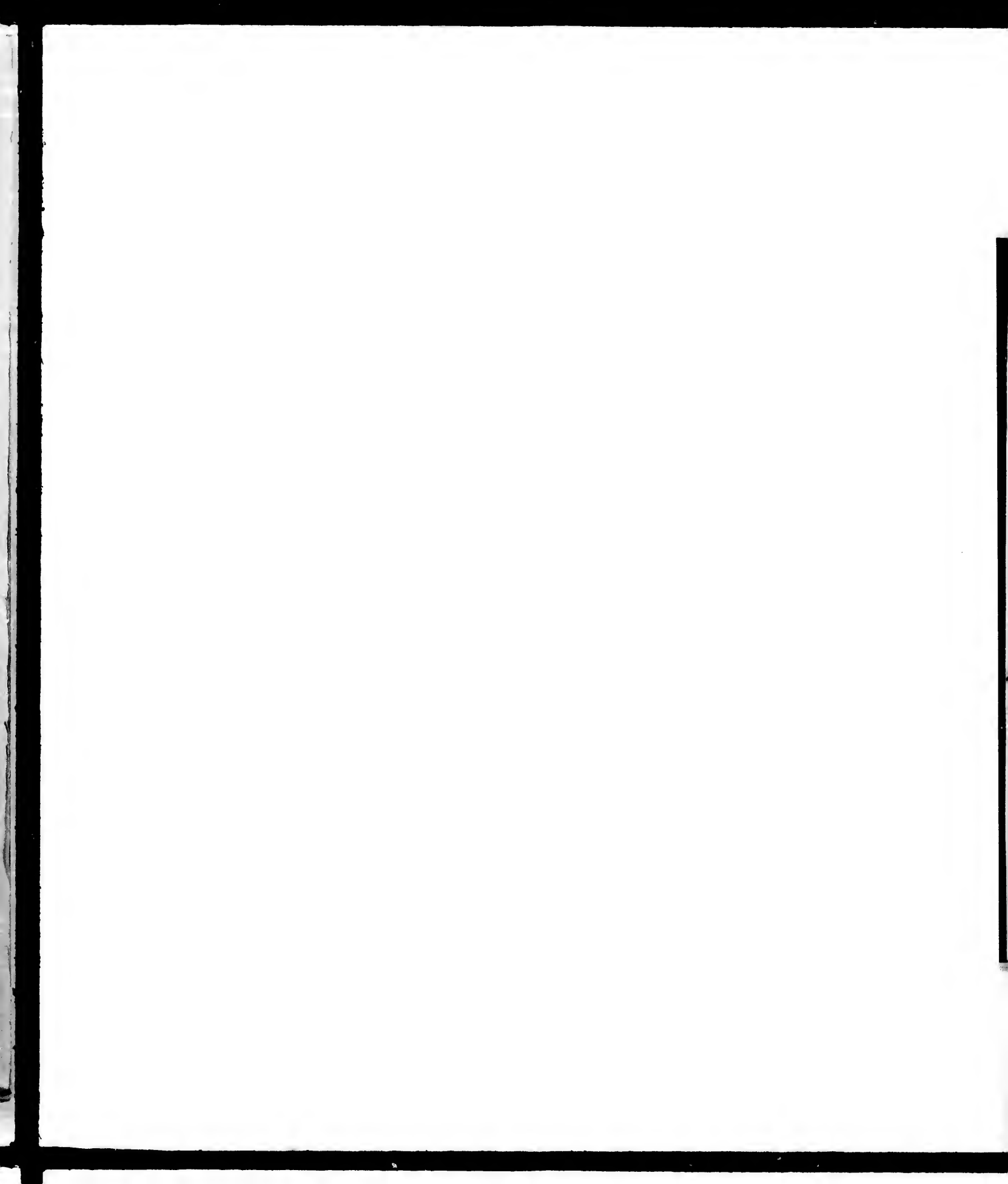
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A further account of the actions in the more late wars against the common enemy and Indian rebels, in the eastern parts, under the command of the afore-said Captain BENJAMIN CHURCH.

IN the time of Sir *Edmund Andros's* 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 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; who informed him of an unhappy war broke 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. Captain *Church* having many acquaintance in *Boston*, who made it their business 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 having knowledge of his former actions and successes; and that he must go

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with him, and be his second, with other encouragements. But in short, the said Captain *Church* did not accept, so was dismissed and went home.

Soon after this was the revolution, and the other government re-assumed; and then Governor *Bradstreet* sent for Captain *Church* to come to *Boston* as soon as his business would permit; whereupon he went to *Boston*, & waited upon his Honor; 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 sufferings of the people there. Capt. *Church's* spirits being affected, said, if he could do any service for his Honor, 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 Honor 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 the *Boston* Gentlemen, who desired him to raise what volunteers he could in the *North* colony, and *Rhode-Island* government, and what was wanting they would make up out of their's that was already out in the eastern parts. The summer being far spent, Capt. *Church* made what despatch he could, and raised about 250 men volunteers, and received his commission from Governor *Hinkley*, which is as followeth, viz.

The Council of war of their Majesties colony of New-Plymouth, in New-England : To Major 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 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 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 leading and exercising of 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 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*'s colony. In testimony whereof the public seal of the said colony of *New-Plymouth* is hereunto affixed. Dated in *Plymouth*, the sixth

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day

day of September, Anno Dom. 1689. Annoque regni Regis et Reginae Willielmi et Mariae Angliae, &c. Primo.

THOMAS HINKLEY, President.

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

Boston, September 16th, 1689.

To all Sheriffs, Marshals, 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 & Mariae Primo.

By Thomas Danforth, President 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,

Plymouth, Commander in Chief of the forces raised
 within the said colony, against the common Indian en-
 my, now ordered into the eastern parts, to join with some
 of the forces of this colony; for the prosecution, repel-
 ling and subduing of the said enemy: It is therefore
 ordered that Captain *Simon Willard*, and Captain *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 ex-
 pedition. And in pursuance of the commissions sever-
 ally given to either of them, they are ordered to ob-
 serve and obey your orders and directions as their Com-
 mander in Chief until further order from the Governor
 and Council, or the Commissioners of the colonies.
 Dated in *Boston* the 17th day of *September*, Anno Dom-
 1689. *Annoque Regni Regis et Reginae Guilielmi et*
Mariae, Angliae, &c. Primo.

S. BRADSTREET, Gov.

Past in Council,

Attest. Isaac Addington, *Secr.*

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*, Com-
 mander 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 fide-
 lity in the trust committed to you, for the honor of
 God, good of his people, and the security of the interest

of Christ in his churches, expecting and praying that in
 your dependance upon him, you may be helped and as-
 sisted with all that grace and wisdom which is requisite
 for carrying you on with success in this difficult service ;
 and tho' 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 instruc-
 tions are commended unto your observation, & to be at-
 tended 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 com-
 panies of Captain *Nathaniel Hall*, and Capt. *Simon Wil-*
lard, 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 im-
 prove in such way as you shall see meet, for the dis-
 covering, pursuing, 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 fol-
 lowing the said enemy abroad, and if possible to find
 out and attack their head quarters and principal ren-
 dezvous, 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 sloopes, 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, pro-
 visions and other necessaries, that so they may be in a
 readines to repel and attack the enemy. In your pur-
 suit

• suit you are to take special care to avoid danger by am-
 • bushments, or being drawn under any disadvantage by
 • the enemy in your marches, keeping out scouts & a for-
 • lorn hope before your main body, & by all possible means
 • endeavouring to surprisè some of the enemy, that so you
 • may gain intelligence. You are to suppress all muti-
 • nies and disorders among your soldiers, as much as in
 • you lies, and to punish such as disobey your officers, ac-
 • cording to the rules of war herewith given you.

• You are, according to your opportunity, or any occa-
 • sion more than ordinary occurring, to hold correspon-
 • dence with Major *Swaine*, and to yield mutual assistance
 • when and 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, vi-
 • gorous, and venturous in their service, to search out 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
 • reason 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 wor-
 • ship of God be kept up in the army, morning and even-
 • ing prayer attended as far as may be, and as the emer-
 • gencies 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,

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 *Silvanus Davis* is a prudent man, and well acquainted with the affairs of those parts, and is writ 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.
Tho. Hinkley, *Thomas Danforth,* President,
John Walley, *Elisba Cooke,*
 Samuel Mason,
 William Pitkin.

The First EXPEDITION East.

BEING ready, Major *Cburch* embarked with his forces on board the vessels provided to transport them for *Casco*, having a brave gale at S. W. and on Friday about 3 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 *Cburch*, gave orders that every man that was able should make ready, and all lie close, giving orders how they should act in case they were

were enemies. He going in the *Mary* sloop, together with the *Resolution*, went in first, being both well fitted with guns and men; coming to the first hailed them, who said they were friends, presently mann'd their boat, brought to, and so came along the side of them; who gave the said *Cburcb* an account, that yesterday there was 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 inform'd him that they had got a captive woman aboard (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 an account of the news he had received, and then went ashore, where were several of the chief men of the town who met him, being glad that he came so happily to their relief; told him the news *Mrs. Lee* had given them, being the woman aforesaid. He going to Captain *Davis's* to get some refreshment, having not eat a morsel since he came by *Boston* castle; and 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, who were *Dutchmen*; but as he went call'd aboard 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; and coming on board said privateer was kindly treated, discourf'd *Mrs. Lee*, who informed him

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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 *Casleen* was with them? She answered, that there were several *French* men with them, but did not know whether *Casleen* was there or not. He then having got what intelligence she could give him, went ashore and viewed the fort and town, discoursing 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, went to every company and ordering them to get every thing ready; they that had no powder-horns or shot-bags, should immediately make them; ordering 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 ordering the companies to make ready, and about half an hour before day they moved. Several of the town 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

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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 more were with with him of his soldiers, moved immediately, and meeting with Captain *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 inform'd him, that they had knock'd 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 run back and ordered every vessel to send ashore all their casks of bullets; being brought knock'd out their heads, and turn'd 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 snapacks of powder, went immediately to the army, who were very hotly engaged; but coming to the river the tide was up; he call'd to his men that were engaged, encouraging them, and told them he had brought more ammunition for them. An Indian call'd Captain *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 of, went to see who they were, and found them to be two of Major *Church's* companies, one of *English* and the other of

of Indians, being in all about fourscore men, that had not got over the river, but lay firing over our men's heads at the enemy; he presently order'd them to rally, and come all together; and gave the word for a *Casco* man: So one *Swarton*, a *Jersey* man, appearing, who he could hardly understand; he ask'd 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 shew they could, 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, who 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 tumbled 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 his men called unto him, their commander, and said, that

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 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, run very thin to preserve themselves, and be the better able to make a discovery of the enemy; and soon coming to Lieutenant *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 fire at the town, concluded that they were either assaulted, or that they had discovered the enemy: He 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

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 knock'd them on the head; and that some of their bullets were so unfizable 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 by some canoes they had got. Captain *Hall* and his men being first engaged did great service, and suffered the greatest loss in his men; but Captain *Southworth* with his company, and Capt. *Numpash* with the *Seconet* Indians, and the most of the men belonging to the town all coming suddenly to his relief, prevented him & his whole company from being cut off, &c.

By this time the day was far spent, and marching into town about sunset, carrying in all their wounded and dead men, being all sensible of God's goodness to them, in giving them the victory, & 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. *Cburch*, 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 ever the *eastward* Indians had been put to flight, and the said *Cburch* with his volunteers were wonderfully preserved, having never a man killed outright, and but one Indian mortally wounded, who died, several more being badly wounded, but recovered.

After

After this engagement Maj. *Cchurch*, 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, that in the spring of the year the enemy would come and destroy them and their families, &c. So by their earnest request the said Maj. *Cchurch* 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 at home, and taken a little care of his own business, 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 honors 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*, which he readily comply'd with, provided the said *Cchurch* 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 employ'd himself to the utmost to fulfil his instructions

After

structions 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 Major *Church*, who was obliged to bear their expences. When he came to *Boston* gentlemen, he informed them of the miseries those poor people were in by having their provisions taken from them by order of the President, &c. Then went home; staid not long there before he returned to *Boston*, where Capt. *Scottsaway* waited for his coming, that he might have the determination of the government of *Boston* to carry home with him; and 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 those gentlemen of the Court his business; who said they were very busy in sending home Sir *Edmund*, the ship being ready to sail. The said Major *Church* still waiting upon them, and at every opportunity entreating those gentlemen in behalf of the poor people of *Casco*, informing the necessity of taking care of them, either by sending them relief early in the spring, or suffer them to draw off, otherwise they would certainly be destroyed, &c. Their answer was, They could do nothing till Sir *Edmund* was gone. Waiting there three weeks upon great expences, 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 & Council; having got it done, obtained liberty to go up where the Governor and Council were sitting, he inform'd their honors, that he had waited till his patience was wore out, so had drawn up the matter to leave upon the Board before them: Which is as follows:

To the honored 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

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 never since 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 contrary to my expectation, impeding 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 may 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 account, 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

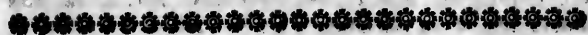
to the enemy, derision to our neighbours, besides dishonor to God and our nation, and grounds of frowns from our Prince, the frustration of those whose eyes are upon you for help, who might have otherwise applied themselves to their King. Gentlemen, this I thought humbly to propose unto you, that I might 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 Honors prosperity, subscribe,

Your servant,
Benj. 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 quit 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 some time 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 altho' they made their terms with Monsieur Cascen, 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 (altho' he was Commander in Chief of all the forces out of Plymouth and Boston government) after he came home, for 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

all travel and expences 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* for Captain *Edmunds* (who raised a company in those parts) and went *East* with them.



The 2d 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 answered the said *Walley*, That he should hinder none but his old soldiers, that used to go along with him, &c. 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 answered 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 *Gray-bound*, in *Roxbury*, and that in the morning would come to *Pollard's* at the south end of *Boston*; which accordingly he did: Soon after he

came thither 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 by reason 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 he would go 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 to 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, that if the Government of *Plymouth* saw cause to send him (he would go) thinking the expedition would be short, 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

ceived a letter from the government of *Boston* to raise some forces to go *East*: whereupon the said Major *Cchurch* went the next day to *Barnstable*, as ordered; finding the Governor and some of the Council of War there, discoursed him, concluding 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 *Cchurch* was at great charge and expence in raising of 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 *Cchurch* 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 *Cchurch*, gave him an account of his disappointments; and sent *John Latbrop* of *Barnstable* in a vessel with some ammunition and provision on board, to him at *Plymouth*; also sent him word that there was more on board of *Samuel Alling* of *Barnstable*, who was to go for 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, said to Major *Cchurch* that he must take some of the open sloops, and make spar decks to them, and lay platforms for the soldiers to lie upon; which delays were very expensive to the said *Cchurch*; his soldiers being all volunteers, daily expected to be treated by him, and the Indians always

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 Kenebeck 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 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 whereas you, Benjamin Church, are appointed to be Major and Commander in Chief of all the forces, English and Indians, detached within this colony, together with such other of their Majesties subjects as elsewhere shall list themselves, or shall be orderly put under your command for the service of their Majesties, as 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 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 favour 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 instruc-

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, *President.*

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, piety and faithfulness in the trust under God committed to you for the honor 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 order-
 ed 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 Commission Officers of the *Massachu-
 setts* colony, and *Plymouth*, under your conduct, shall
 seem meet, for the finding out, pursuing, taking or de-
 stroying of said common enemy, on all opportunities,
 according to commission, and such further orders and
 instructions as you have or may receive from the Gover-
 nor 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 in-
 cursions and destructions of the enemy; but chiefly to
 intend the finding out, pursuing, taking and destroy-
 ing 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 dis-
 miss them, or any one of them, which is desired to be
 done the first opportunity that the service will admit.
 You are to see that your soldiers arms be always fixed,
 and they provided with ammunition, and other neces-
 saries, that they may be always ready to repel and at-
 tack 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 ene-
 my on your main body in their marches. And by all
 possible means to surprize some of the enemy, that so
 you may gain better intelligence.

: You

• 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 sanctifi-
 • ed, as the emergency of your affairs will admit.

• You are to take strict care to prevent or punish
 • drunkennels, cursing, swearing, and all other vices, lest
 • the anger of God be thereby 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 at-
 • tend you. And in case of a failure of any commis-
 • sion 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 to
 • be advantageous to the accomplishment of the public
 • end aforesaid; that then you return home with the for-
 • ces; especially if you shall receive any orders or direc-
 • tions so to do from the *Massachusetts*, or from us. Given
 • under my hand, at Plymouth, the second day of Septem-
 • ber, Anno Dom. 1690.

THO. HINKLEY, Gov. & President."

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*, out of the several towns & garrisons; Maj. *Pike* ask'd him, How many men he should want? He said enough to make up his forces that he brought with him, 300 at least, and not more than 350. And so in about nine days time he was supply'd 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,

Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire, Sept. 9, 1690.
 To Major Benjamin 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, Pejepscot, or any other place, according as
 you may have hope or intelligence of the residence of the ene-
 my; using always your utmost endeavour for the preservation
 of your own men, and the killing, destroying, and utterly root-
 ing out of the enemy, wheresoever they may be found; and
 also as much as may possibly be done for the redeeming or re-
 covering 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
 wheresoever you can with safety and convenience.

Lastly, In all to consult your council, the commanders or
 commission officers of your several companies, when it may be
 obtained, the greater part of whom to determin: And so the
 Lord of Hosts, the God of armies, go along with you, and be
 your conduct. 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 Pejepscot fort, where they found
 nothing.

shire, Sept. 9, 1690.
 under in Chief of their
 the present expedition
 smouth.

Massachusetts Colony
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 former actions, and of
 In pursuance of an or-
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 be day and year above.
 ROBERT PIKE.
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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 60 of their meanest men, to be a guard to the Doctor and snapsacks, 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 two poor captives were released out of their bondage.

The said 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, being as deep as their armpits; however Maj. *Church*, as soon as he was got over, stripp'd 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, who all ran directly down to the great river and falls. The said *Church*, and his forces, being come pretty near, he ordered the said *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 got over, and he only crept up the bank, and there lay in open sight; and 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

watch there, return'd up to the fort, where he found but one man taken, and several women and children, amongst whom was Capt. *Hakins's* wife and *Worumbos's* wife, the Sachem of that fort, with their children; the said *Hakins* was Sachem of *Pennacook*, who destroyed Maj. *Walden* and his family, some time before, &c. The said two women, viz. *Hakins's* and *Worumbos's* 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, &c. And in the said fort there were several *English* captives, who were in a miserable condition; amongst them was Capt. *Huckings's* 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 life, while in examination, intending when he had done that he should be executed: But Capt. *Huckings's* wife, and another woman, down on their knees and beg'd for him, saying, He had been a means to save their lives, and a great many more; and had helped several to opportunities to run away and make their escape; and that never, since he came amongst them, had fought against the *English*; but being related to *Hakins's* 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, &c. 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 design'd to leave at the fort, to give an account who he was, & from whence he came; the rest being knock'd on the head, except the aforementioned, for an example, ordering

ordering them all to be buried. Having inquired where all their best beaver was? They said, it was carried away to make a present to the *Bay of Fundy* Indians, 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 bisket, bidding them to tell the Indians when they came home, that he was known by the name of Capt. *Cburch*, and lived in the westerly part of *Plymouth* government; and that those Indians that came with him were formerly King *Pbilip's* men, and that he had met with them in *Pbilip's* war, and drew them off from him, to fight for the *English*, against the said *Pbilip* 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 *Pbilip'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 *Pbilip's* men, women and children, and *Pbilip* himself, with several other Sachems, &c. and that they should tell *Hakins* and *Warumbos*, 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 *Cburch* 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 transport; the wind being fair, made the best of their way for *Winter Harbour*, and the next morning before day, and 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 the river: But three of the enemy were

were come over the river, to the same side of the river which the scout was of; ran hastily down to their canoe, one of which lay at each end of the canoe, and the third stood up to paddle over: The scout fired at them, and he that paddled fell down upon the canoe, and broke it to pieces, so that all three perished. The firing put the enemy to the run, who left their canoes and provisions to ours; and old *Doney*, and one *Thomas Baker*, an *Englishman*, who was a prisoner amongst them, were up at the Falls, and heard the guns fire, expected the other Indians were come to their assistance, so 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 ours; and gave an account of the beaver hid at *Pejepscot* plain, and 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 enemies tracks, or could discover any coming up the river; who returned and said they saw nothing but our old tracks at the said fort, &c.

Now having got some plunder, one of the Captains said it was time to go home, and several others were of the same mind; and the Major being much disturbed at the motion of theirs, 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, and 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

the Major expected, and would have waited for; and the
 aforesaid Captain being much disturbed at what the Ma-
 jor 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 afore-
 said vessel lay aground, and got aboard, who has proved a
 good pilot & Capt. for his country. The next day being
 very calm and misty, so that they were all day getting
 down from *Maquait* to *Perpodack*; and the masters of the
 vessels thinking it not safe putting out in the night, so late
 in the year, anchor'd there at *Perpodack*; 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-
 ing just houses convenient for them, viz. two barns and
 one house; so seeing them all settled and their watches
 out, the Major and Capt. *Converse* return'd 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, and he call'd out
 and ask'd them who they were? And they said, Indians;
 He ask'd them whose men they were? They said, Captain
Southworth's: He ask'd 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 laugh'd, 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 smallpox on board, &c.—
 But before day our Indians began to make fires, and to
 sing and dance; so the Major called to Capt. *Southworth*
 to go ashore and look after his men, for the enemy would
 be

be upon them by and by. He ordered the boat to be haled up to carry him ashore, and call'd 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; who gave the rest an account, that he saw Indians; which they would not believe; but said to him, You are afraid: His answer was, that they might see them come creeping: They laugh'd, 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 kill'd.

This sudden firing upon our Indian soldiers surpris'd 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 slipp'd 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; and following them so close, that they took 13 canoes, and one lusty man, who had *Joseph Ramsdell's* scalp by his side, who was taken by two of our Indians, and having his deserts was himself scalped. His being a short and smart fight, some of our men were killed and several wounded. Some time after an *Englishman*, who was prisoner amongst 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*, and the Major went to *Wells*, and removed the Captain there, and put in Captain *Andros*, who had been with him and knew the discourse left with the two old Squaws at *Ameras-cogen*, for *Hakins* and *Worumbos* to come there in 14 days, if they had a mind to hear of their wives and children: Who did then or 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's* 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, &c. They saying as they did, the said *Andros* let them go. Major *Church* being 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 an 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

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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, &c. The Major going 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 *Phymouth* 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 Captain *Plaisled* to the Governor and Council at *Boston*, &c. 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 Captain *Plaisled* 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 Major *Church*, notwithstanding he had been at considerable expences 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 Captain *Converse* with him, on a Saturday; and waiting upon the Governor, and some of the Gentlemen in *Boston*, they looked very strange upon them, which not only troubled them,

but

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 Major *Cchurch* had but *eight pence* left, and Captain *Converse* none, as he said afterwards. Major *Cchurch* 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; and the next Tuesday morning Captain *Converse* came to him (not knowing each others 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; that it was very hard that they should part with dry lips: Major *Cchurch* 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*, &c. The said Captain *Converse* returned back into town, and the said *Cchurch* went over to *Roxbury*; and at the tavern he met with *Stephen Braton*, of *Rhode-Island*, a drover; who was glad to see him, the said *Cchurch*, and he as glad to see his neighbour: Whereupon Major *Cchurch* 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 he wanted it. So he thanked him, and said, he would have but *forty shillings*; which he freely lent him: And presently after Mr. *Cchurch* was told that his brother *Caleb Cchurch*, 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 Major *Cchurch* got home. And for all his travel and expences in raising soldiers, and service done, never had but *£. 14* of *Plymouth* Gentlemen, and not a penny of *Boston*, notwithstanding he had wore 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 £. 60, which is now worth £. 300 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 Major *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*, upon the Saturday, Capt. *Converse* being with me. The Governor informed us that the Council was 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, Captain *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 of the great favour God was pleased to shew me, and my company, and the benefit I hoped would accrue to your

a share of land
worth £. 300

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two letters Major
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yourself; and desired him to return public 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
thro' 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 ad-
vantage to be at the bank, which he every day was
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 pro-
mise 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 accept-
ance with them, so far that I was credited. I pre-
sented your thanks to them for their seasonably sending
those forces to relieve you, with that expence and charge
they had been at; which thanks they gratefully receiv-
ed; 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 gar-
risons, and the great mischief that would attend the
public concerns of this country by the loss of their Ma-
jesties interest, and so much good estate of yours and
your neighbours, as doubtless would be on the desert-
ing of your town. I then moved for a free contribu-
tion for your relief, which they with great forwardness
promoted; and then ordered a day of thanksgiving
thro'

thro' the government upon the 26th 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*, Captain *Nathaniel Thomas* of *Marshfield*: For the county of *Barnstable*, Captain *Joseph Latbrop* 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 Lieutenant *Joseph Story*. I defer'd 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 hearing 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 were 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*, there met with Captain *Elisba Andros*, who informed me that the place of treaty was *Sacaty-bock*, and that Captain *Alden* was gone from *Boston* four days before I came there.

day of this instant, considered for your return every respective the good management conveyed unto your county for the respective persons nominated county of *Plymouth*, *Mass.*: For the countenances of *Barnstable* & *Mass.* Which, when account from each may be disposed of by the Court's order to be sent to *John Wheelwright*, Tenant *Joseph Story*, to hear from you great about their purchase I made with and have that effect could have thought in, knowing that good. But no in-Gentlemen in your accident, and that in our coming from were come into there was to be a new not. I took out for *Boston*, ex-own, as rationally coming to *Boston*, who informed me *Mass.*, and that Cap- tains before I came there,

there, and had carried all the Indian prisoners with him, and that all the forces were drawn away out of your parts, except 12 men in your town, and 12 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; and 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 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 covetous person, and came there to enrich myself, and that I killed their cattle and barreled 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 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 yourselves, 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 *Wheekwright*, Sir, I entreat you, after your perusal of these lines, to communicate the same to Captain *John Littlefield*, Lieutenant *Joseph Storry*, and to any other Gentlemen, as in your judgment you see fit: With the tenders of my respects to you, &c. and to Major *Vaughan*, and his good Lady and family. To Captain *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. *Honeywell*, and my very good friend little Lieut. *Plaised*: With due respects to all Gentlemen my friends in the eastward parts, as if particularly named. Farewell. B. C.

To Major Pike.

Honored Sir,

Bristol, Nov. 27, 1690.

TH E S E 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

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 Benjamin Church.
 ght, Sir, I entreat you,
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 Farewell. B. C.

Pike.
 Bristol, Nov. 27, 1690.
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from the eastward parts; I admire at it, considering that
 they had so low esteem of what was done, that they can ap-
 prehend 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 got
 themselves some honor, which they very much gaped af-
 ter, or else they would not have spread so many false reports
 to defame me: Which had I known, before I left the bank,
 I would have had satisfaction of them. Your honor 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, was got to such a bigness that it over-
 shadowed me from the influence of all comfort, or good accept-
 ance amongst my friends in my journey homeward. But thro'
 God's goodness 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.

Major Church did receive, after this, answers to his let-
 ters, but hath lost them, except it be a letter from several
 of the gentlemen in those parts, in June following; which
 is as followeth:

Portsmouth, June 29, 1691.

Major Benj. Church,

SIR,

O U R former readines to expose yourself in the service
 of the country, against the common enemy; and parti-
 cularly the late obligations you have laid upon us, in
 these

these eastern parts, leaves us under a deep and grateful sense of your favour therein: And forasmuch as you was pleased, 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 approved 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 writ 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 enemies, 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 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 was, 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 amongst 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.



The Third EXPEDITION East.

THIS was in the year 1692. In the time of Sir William Phips's government: Major Walley being at Boston, was requested by his Excellency to treat with Major Church about going East with him. Major Walley coming home, did as desired; and to encourage the said Major Church, told him, That now was the time to have recompence for his former great expences; saying also, That the country could not give him less than two or three hundred pounds. So upon his Excellency's request Major 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 old 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

and grateful sense
as you was pleased,
tion to further ser-
it: We therefore
pliance according-
pose to you, to let
overture of peace,
perfidious as ever,
upon all our fron-
Massachusetts have
men, to be forthwith
understand have writ-
th for further assist-
pping if you can ob-
ns, to visit them at
beck river, or else-
) was omitted last
We offer nothing
proper to be taken in
circumstances as well
We leave the con-
ibat the want of
ur motion, you may
ur principal inhabi-
mised to take care to
red pounds, if occa-
beare to give us a
further encourage-
and servants,
Nathaniel Fryer,
Charles Frost, John
which letter was pre-
me express.

Major

these presents constitute and appoint you to be Major
 of the severall companies of militia, detached for their
 Majesties service against their *French* and Indian ene-
 mies. You are therefore authorized and required in
 their Majesties names, to discharge the duty of a Major,
 by leading, ordering and exercising the said severall com-
 panies in arms, both inferior Officers and soldiers, keep-
 ing 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 direc-
 tions 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, Scot-*
land, France and Ireland, defender of the faith; &c.

WILLIAM PHIPS,

By his Excellency's command,

Isaac Addington, Secr.

Returning home to the county aforesaid, he soon raised
 a sufficient number of volunteers, both *English* and *Indi-*
ans, and Officers suitable to command them, 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 mo-
 ney of Lieutenant *Woodman*, in *Little-Compton*; to distri-
 bute by a shilling, and a bit at a time to the *Indian* sol-
 diers; who, without such allurements, would not have
 marched to *Boston*. This Money Major *Church* put into
 the hands of Mr. *William Fobes*, who was going out their
 commissary in that service, who was ordered to keep
 just account of what each *Indian* had, so that it might be
 deducted

deducted out of their wages at their return home. Coming to *Boston*, his Excellency having got things in a readiness, they embarked on board their transports, his Excellency going in person with them, being bound to *Pemquid*; but in their way stopped at *Casco*, and buried the bones of the dead people there, and took off the great guns that were there; then went to *Pemquid*: Coming there his Excellency asked Major *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, &c. Then they went ashore and spent some time in the projection thereof. Then his Excellency told Major *Church* that he might take all the forces with him, except one company to stay with him, and work about the fort; the Major answered, 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 Major *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 Major 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* enemy; 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 amongst you; and to suffer no swearing, cursing, or other profanation

• profanation of the holy name of God ; and, as much as
 • in you lies, to deter and hinder all other vices amongst
 • your soldiers.

• 2dly, You are to proceed, with the soldiers under your
 • command, to *Penobscot*, and, with what privacy and un-
 • discoverable methods you can, there to land your men,
 • and take the best measures to surprize the enemy.

• 3dly, You are, by killing, destroying, and all other
 • means possible, to endeavour the destruction of the ene-
 • my, in pursuance whereof, being satisfied of your cou-
 • rage and conduct, I leave the same to your discretion.

• 4thly, You are to endeavour the taking what cap-
 • tives 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 indu-
 • strious by all possible means to find out and destroy all
 • the enemies 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 dis-
 • obedient to you as their Commander in Chief, or other
 • their superior Officer, or make, or cause any mutiny,
 • commit other offence or disorders, you shall call a coun-
 • cil of war amongst your Officers, and having tried him
 • or them so offending, inflict such punishment as the me-
 • rit 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*; and coming to an island in those parts in the evening, landed his forces at one end of the said island: Then the Major 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 in their houses; and that one or both of them had Indian women to their wives, and had children by them: The Major presently examining the *Frenchmen*, where the Indians were? They told him, that there was 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 to them, 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 withal; 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 haled up their canoe, and came right into the hands of our ambuscade, who so suddenly surpris'd 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

and our forces not having boats suitable to pursue them, they got all away in their canoes, &c. (which caused Major *Church* to say, he would never go out again without sufficient number of whale-boats) which for want of was the ruin of that action. Then 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 home for *Boston*, for more provisions; but before, going 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* enemy 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 to 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, pursued them so hard that they left their canoes, and ran up into the woods, still pursued them up to their fort at *Taconock*, which the ene-

my

my perceiving 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 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 *Pemeguid*, and coming there employed his forces according to his instructions. Being out of bread, his Excellency not coming, Major *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, his Excellency not coming as expected; but at length his Excellency came and brought very little bread more than would pay what was borrowed of the man of war: So that in a short time after Major *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 Major *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 *30s.* to himself, which was deducted out of his Wages. Whereupon Maj. *Walley* and said *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, &c. So that instead of Major *Church's* having the allowances afore-mentioned by Major *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.

The 4th EXPEDITION East.

IN 1696 Major Church being at Boston, and belonging to the House of Representatives, several Gentlemen requesting him to go East again, and 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 said General Court, he proceeded to raise volunteers, and made it his whole business, riding both east and west in our province and Connecticut, at great charge and expences; and in about a month's time 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, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor, and Commander in Chief, in and over his Majesty's province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England.

To Major 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 day 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

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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 prosecuting, 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. Gov. &c.

Isaac Addington, Secr.

Province of the Massachusetts-Bay.

By the Right Honorable the Lieutenant Governor and Com-
 mander in Chief.

INSTRUCTIONS for Major 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 east-
 ern 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 un-
 der your command, in search for, prosecution and pursuit of
 the said enemy, at such places whers you may be informed of

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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 list or accept any seldiers 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 severall vessels, and in the severall 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 or 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 severall 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 Captain John Gorham, who accompanies you in this expedition, and is to take your command in case of your death. A copy of these instructions

instructions you are to leave with him, and to give me an account from time to time of your proceedings.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

Boston, August 12th, 1696.

In the time Major Church lay at Boston, the news came of Pemequid fort 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 Colonel 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 was 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 Captain *Gorbam*, 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 *Monbegin*, 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; and having a fair wind made the best of their way, and early next morning they got into *Monbegin*, and there lay all day fitting 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 *Monbegin*, 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 amongst *Penobscot* Islands, looking very sharp as they went for fires on the shore, and for canoes, but

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, to their oars again, working very hard, turn'd the night into day; 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 daylight 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. And 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 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 was (which would have been a great advantage to them;) but a foolish soldier seeing them passing by him, shot at them, contrary to orders given, 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 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 stop't the holes, and then Capt. *Bracket*, with an Indian soldier, went over the river, who track'd them by the blood about half a mile, found his gun, took it up, and seeing the blood no further, concluded that he stop'd 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 *Cassien*, 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 *Maguas* Indians westward, only demolishing one fort, and cutting down some corn, &c. He desiring to hear of the proceedings of *Deborabuel*, and the *French* man of war; and informed him that there were several canoes coming with work-men from *Quebec*, to *St. John's*, 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, concluded 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

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.) Major *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 refresh'd themselves; meeting then with another disappointment, for their pilot *York* not being acquainted any further, they began to lament the loss of one *Robert Wesley*, who they chiefly depended on 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 was on board Mr. *Thorpe's* sloop) and put on board the man of war, unknown to Major *Church*; notwithstanding he had been at the charge and trouble of procuring him. Then the Major was obliged to one *Dord*, 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 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, tho' 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 *Cassien* himself, should be thereabout, they might find them, but

it proved all in vain. Himself and several boats went to *Mout-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, concluding 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. John's*; but the masters of the vessels said, he had as good carry them to *Old France*, &c. which put off that design, they concluding that the *French* ships were there. Then the Major moved for going over the bay, towards *Labana*, 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 are 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, &c. Then they concluded and resolved to go to *Senabaca*, wherein there was a ready assistance (but the want of their pilot, *Robert Cawley*, did a great damage to them, who knew all those parts: However, Mr. *John Alden*, master of the brigantine *Endeavour*,

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deavour, piloted them up the bay to *Senabaca*; and com-
 ing to *Grinstone-point*, being not far from *Senabaca*; 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 Lieutenant *John*
Paine, and several of Captain *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 *Yerman 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 Major *Church* thinking it was that they
 might have some advantage, 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 be-
 ing near to the said *Bridgway*, said it was the General
 that called to him: He hearing that, stopped and turned
 about, laying down his gun, 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 fourscore
 years of age, and could not go. The Major asked the
 said *Bridgway* whether there were any Indians amongst
 them, and where they lived? He shook his head, and
 said, he durst 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 ene-
 my, and to kill what Indians they could find, and take
 the *French* alive, and give them quarter if they did so.
 Our forces soon took three *Frenchmen*, who, upon exami-
 nation, said, That the Indians were all run into the woods.
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The *French* firing 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 abovesaid *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 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 writ 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 damaged; which they refused. Then the Major & his forces pursued their design, & went further ranging their country, found several more houses, but the people fled, & 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 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 it to be theirs, said they were the savages, but sure it might be a supply for our enemies: Also they took from *Jarman Bridgway* several barrels of powder, with

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*, &c. in a sloop our forces took from him; and that there he met with the *French* ships, and went along with them to *St. John's*, and helped them unload the said ships, and carried up the river provition, ammuni- tion, and other goods to *Vilboon's* fort.

The Major having ranged all places that were thought proper, return'd back to the place where they first land- ed, and finding several prisoners come in, who were trou- bled to see their cattle, sheep, hogs and dogs lying dead about their houses, chopp'd and hack'd with hatchets; (which was done without order from the Major) however he told them, it was nothing to what our poor *English*, in our frontier towns, were forced to look upon; for men, women and children were chopp'd and hack'd so, and left half dead, with all their scalps taken off, and that they, and their Indians, served ours so; and our savages would be glad to serve them so too, if he 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, de- sired 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 lit- tle what the poor *English* felt, saying, It was not their scalps he wanted, but the savages, for he should get no- thing by them; and told them, That their fathers, the *Friars* and *Governors*, encouraged their savages, and gave them

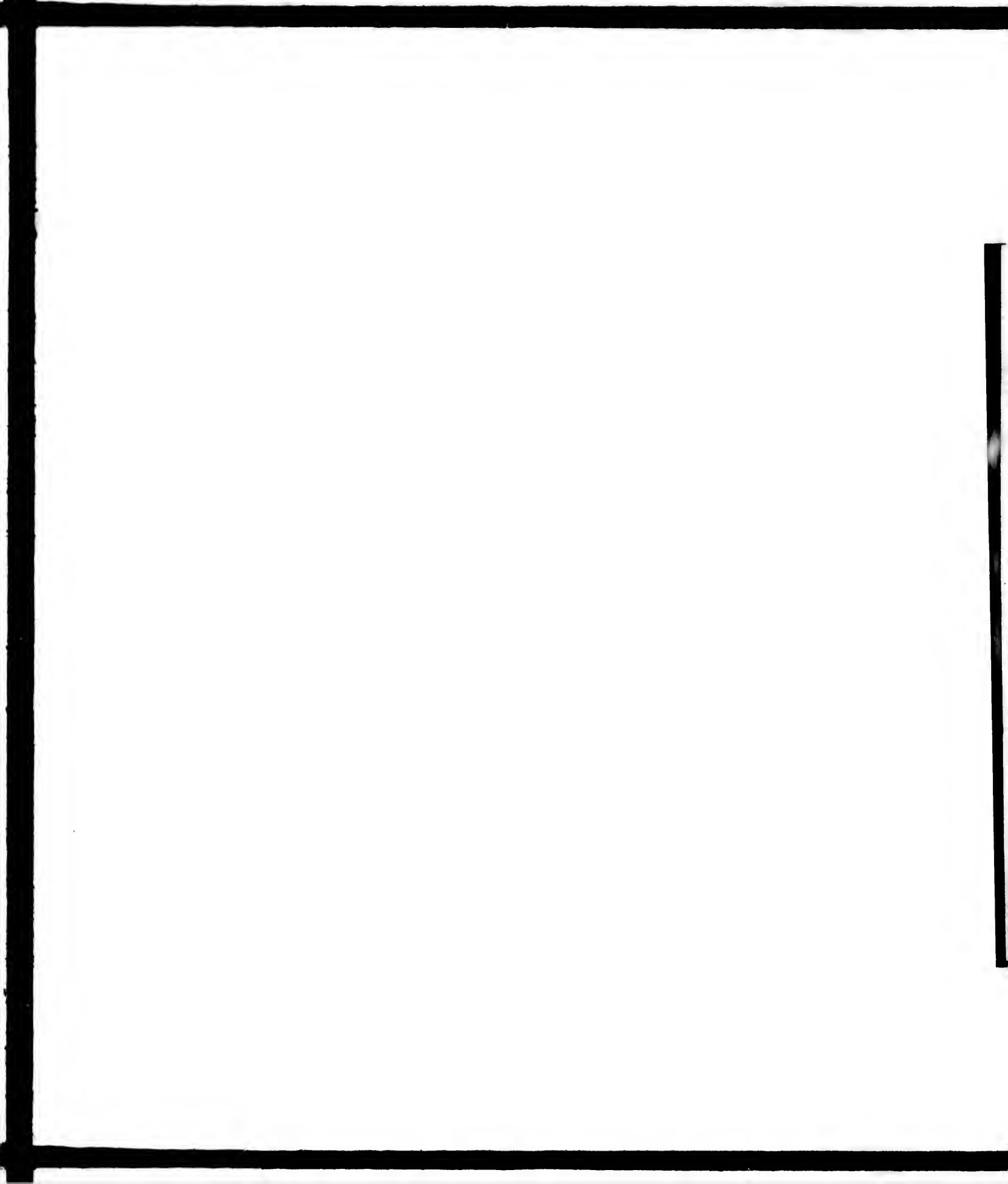
them money to scalp our *English*, notwithstanding they were with them; which several of our *English*, there present, did testify to their faces, that their fathers & mothers were served so in their sight. But the Major bid them tell their fathers the Friars, and the Governors, That if they still persisted, 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, & 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, kiss'd his hand, & were very thankful to him for his favour to them in saving their lives; owned that their Priests were at the taking of *Pemquid* fort, and were now gone to *Laybone*, 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. John's* river, to do further service for their King and country, embarked all on board their transports; and having a fair wind, soon got to *Monogenest*, which lies a little distance from the mouth of *St. John's* river. Next morning early the Major, with his forces, landed to see what discovery they could make, travelled across the woods to the old fort or falls at the mouth of *St. John's* river, keeping themselves undiscovered from the enemy; finding that 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) returned back, but night coming on, and dark wet weather, with bad travelling, was obliged to stop in the woods till towards 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

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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 a 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 towards the new fort they were building, not knowing but they had some ordnance mounted. The enemy running directly to 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 dress'd, he was examined : Who gave the Major an account of the twelve great guns which were hid in the beach, below high water mark ; (the carriages, shot and wheelbarrows, some flour & pork, all hid in the woods :) And the next morning the Officers being all ordered to meet together to consult about going to *Vilboon's* fort, and none amongst them being acquainted but the *Aldens*, who said the water in the river was very low, so that they could not yet 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. 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 one prisoner, and brought in ; who in their ranging found there a shallop haled in 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.

them, who conveyed them to the place where he left them, but they were gone. Then asked the prisoner, whether there were any Indians in those parts? 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 aboard, intended on our 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, would fire at them, and might kill one or more of them, which to prevent fired at the *French*, killed one, and took the other two prisoners; and it happened that he who was killed was *Sbanelere*, the chief man there, &c. 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 their prosecuting their intended design against the enemy, in their returning homeward. Then the Commander ordering all the Officers to come together, informed them of his intentions, and ordered that no vessels 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 should happen that any did part, when they come to *Passamequady*, should stop there a while, 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 *Macbias*; which was the next place he intended to stop at, having an account by the prisoners taken, That Mr. *Lateril* was there a trading with the Indians in that river. Encouraging them, said, He did not doubt

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but to have a good booty there; and if they should pass those two places, be sure not to go past *Naskege-point*, but to stop there till he came, and not to depart thence in a fortnight without his orders, having great service to do in and about *Penobscot*, &c. Then the Major discoursed with Captain *Brackit*, Captain *Hunewell*, and Captain *Larking*, (with their Lieutenants) Commanders of the forces belonging to the eastward parts, who were to discourse their soldiers about their proceeding, when they came to *Penobscot*; and the Major himself was to discourse 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 afore-mentioned (*to wit*) the eastward men, and all the Indians, and to take what provisions and ammunition was needful, and to march with himself up into the *Penobscot* country, in search for the enemy, and if possible to take that fort in *Penobscot* river. Captain *Brackit* informing 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 thro' 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 thro' the country to *Nerigiwack*, 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, provid-

ed their commander went with them; who, to try their fidelity, said, He was grown ancient, and 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. John's* 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 *Musquash-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; and 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 spied three sail of vessels, expecting them to be *French*, fitted to defend themselves, so coming near, hailed them: Who found them to be a man of war, the *Province-Galley*, and old *Mr. Alden* in a sloop, with more forces, *Col. Hasborne* Commander. Major *Church* went aboard the *Commodore*, where *Colonel Hasborne* 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 *Captain Soubach* for him, which is as followeth:

Boston, September 9th, 1696.

S I R,

HIS Majesty's ship *Orford* having lately surprised a *French* shallop, with twenty-three of the soldiers belonging to the fort upon *John's*-river, in *New-Scotia*, together with *Villeau*, their Captain, *Providence* aims 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 arming

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ing 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 an hundred men to join the forces
now with you for that expedition, and have commissioned
Lieutenant Colonel 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, be-
ing well assured that your good affections and zeal for his Ma-
jesty'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 pro-
bable 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 ser-
vice.

Colonel Hathorne will communicate unto you the contents
of his commission and instructions received from myself for
this expedition, which I expect and order that yourself, Offi-
cers 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 pre-
vented in their intended projection, if carried back to St.
John's. Then discoursing with Colonel Hatborne, gave
him an account of what they had done at St. John's, 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; and that they had an account of him and his forces coming to those parts by a prisoner out of *Boston* gaol: Also told his honour, That if they went back it would wholly disappoint them, of their doing any further service, which was that 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 Colonel *Hatborne's* journal of the said action. Only I must observe one thing by the way, which was, That when they drew off to come down the river again, Colonel *Hatborne* came off and left the Major behind to see that all the forces were drawn off; and coming down the river, in or near the rear, in the night heard a person hallow, 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 amongst them for some time. The Major asked him, whether he 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 *Cburch* and his forces were coming out against them in four brigantines, and four sloops, with 24 pettiaugers, meaning whale-boats, which

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 surpris'd at the motion of the whale-boats; 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. John's* fort and river. But to return, Then going all down the river, embarked and went homeward; only 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. *Hatborne* to take them from the service and business they went to do: Who, with submission, doubtless thought they did for the best, tho' 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 hard 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 it was some powder, and that they gave what they pleas'd for) and besides the assembly pass'd a vote that they should have but half pay; but his Honor the Lieutenant Governor being much disturb'd at their so doing, went into the town-house, where the Representatives were sitting, and told them, except they did re-assume that vote, which was to cut Major *Church* and his forces off their half-pay, they should sit there till the next spring. Whereupon it was re-assumed: 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 expences in raising the said forces volunteers.

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 business 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, &c. So that these, with the late inhumanities done upon the inhabitants of *Deerfield*, made such an impression on his heart as can not 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 Major *Church*, from doing any further service. 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 70 miles, to wait upon his Excellency, and offered his service to the Queen, his Excellency and the country; which his Excellency readily accepted of, and desired Major *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, 1703-4.

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 slipping 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, we 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,

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1st.

1st, That ten or twelve hundred good able soldiers, well equipped, be in a readiness fit for action, by the first of April at furthest, 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 every boat: And upon the wale of each boat five pieces of strong leather be fastened on each side, to slip five small ash bars thro', that so, whenever they land, the men may step overboard, and slip in said bars a-cross, 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 dress 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 got, and made by workmen, that may cut very 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 head-quarters.

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

be 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 beforehand, and may not be cheated out of their lives, by having bad powder; or not knowing how to use it: And 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 then will be very serviceable in this expedition, which having a promise made to them, that they shall be released in good season, to go home 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 sense, to know how to manage themselves in so difficult a piece of service, as this Indian hunting is; for bad men are but a clog 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

proved in this action, be good decked vessels, not too big, be-
cause of going up several rivers; having four or six small
guns a piece 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 pleas-
ed to make yourself great, and us a happy people, as to the de-
stroying 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 wor-
thy the name of Queen's forts; and the first building of them
had no other effect, but to lay us under tribute to that
wretched pagan crew; and I hope will never be wanted,
for that they were first built for: But sure it is, they are
very serviceable to them, for they get many a good advan-
tage 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
rouzed up, and to be awake, and will not be satisfied with
what they have pleased to leave us, but are resolved to re-
take from them, that they took formerly 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 honorable to your Excellency, and of great
service to her Majesty, and to the enlargement of her Ma-
jesty's government: (The place meant being at Penikese.)

12thly, That the objection made against drawing off the
forces in the eastward parts will be no damage to the inhabi-
tants; for former experience teacheth us, that so soon as
drawn into their country, they will presently forsake ours to
take care of their own: And 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
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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 business 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 affection, 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 return'd 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 return'd 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, and 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 diligently to perform the duty of a Colonel and Captain, by leading, ordering and exercising the said regiment and company in arms, both

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. 1703-4.

By his Excellency's command,

J. DUDLEY,

Isaac Addington, Secr.

Colonel 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; 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 Colonel Church 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 those parts where they dwell, which was a great fatigue and expence; 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; was not less than 5 l. per day expences, for many days, in victuals and drink; who doubtless thought (especially the English) that the country would have reimbursed it; otherwise they would hardly accepted it of him. Col. Church's

Church's soldiers both *English* and Indians in those parts being raised, 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. *Gorbam*, 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; Captain *Lamb*, and Captain *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, Colonel *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, with 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 Colonel *Church*) replied, He could not admit of that, by reason he had by the advice of her Majesty's Council, writ to her Majesty about the taking of *Port-Royal* fort, and how it should be disposed of when taken, &c. However Colonel *Church* proceeding to get every thing ready for the forces down at *Nantasket*, which was the place of parade: He happening one day to be at Captain *Belcher's*, where his Excellency happened to come; who was pleased to order Col. *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.

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Church had seen done, gave him great encouragement and hopes that it would promote their going to *Port-Royal*, which he had solicited for; and returning from thence, after they had seen them tried, by the said engineer, and performing what was proposed: Coming near to Capt. *William Clark's* house, over against the horse-shoe; his Excellency was invited by Captain *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 enterprise. His Excellency was pleased to reply; Col. *Church*. you must say no more of that matter, for the letter I told you of I writ 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 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 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

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JAMIN CHURCH,
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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 so 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 ac-
cording 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 circum-
stances will admit of, and be sent either to *Casco-Fort*,
or to Mr. *Peperel's* at *Kittery*, which may be easiest, 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, Captain
Somback Commander, and let Lieutenant Colonel *Gor-
ham* go on board Captain *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

store sloop and transports know that they sail, anchor and serve at your direction.

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 *Montinicus*, and there embark the forces in the whale-boats for the main, to range that part of the country, in search of the enemy, to *Mount Defart*, sending the vessels to meet you there, and after having refreshed and recruited your soldiers, proceed to *Machias*, and from thence to *Passamequado*; 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*; and use all possible methods for the burning and destroying of the enemies 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 imploy 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 *Norrig-wack*, 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 Commission Officers, not under the degree of *Captains*, and the sea Commission Captains (whom you shall, 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 way of *Casco*, *Piscataqua*,

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at *taqua*, 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 Captain *Smith* and
 Captain *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 com-
 pany under the command of Captain *Harridon*; taking
 care also to provide a pilot for them in the *Bay of Fundy*;
 Colonel *Church* being directed to one *Fellows*,
 whom he met with at *Ipswich*. And going from thence
 to *Piscataqua* with his Excellency, was there met by that
 worthy Gentleman Major *Wintrop Hilton*, who was very
 helpful to him in the whole expedition, whose name and
 memory ought not to be forgot. Being ready to embark
 from *Piscataqua*, Colonel *Church* requested the Com-
 manders of her Majesty's ships, Captain *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, Captain *John Cooke* in one, and Captain *Con-*
stant 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 the other part, that
 so they might not miss of what could be discovered;
 where they met with old *Lasaure* with his two sons *Tho-*
mas

mas and *Timothy*, and a *Canada* Indian. The enemy seeing that they were discovered, threw down their ducks and eggs, who had got a considerable quantity of each, and ran to their canoes, getting into them, 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 *Lafaire* 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 bro't to Colonel *Church*, he ordered them to be apart, and first proceeded to examine old *Lafaire*, whom he found to be very furly 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 *Senello*; 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 bro't, and to be bound to the stakes; also ordering his Indians to paint themselves with colours, which they had bro't 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

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. *Sbarkee*. Being asked where they were? Answered at *Passamequado*; building a fort there. Being also 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

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returned to their transports; and ordering provisions to be put into every man's knapsack for 6 or 8 days; so in the dusk of the evening left their transports, with orders how they should act; and 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, who 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. Casheen's* daughter, who said that her husband was gone to *France*, to her father *Monsieur Casheen*. 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 *Lafaire's* sons; that there were no more Indians thereabouts, but enough of them at *Passamequado*; upon which they soon returned to their 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 there to 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 day-time 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

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 was likely to lurk: Particularly at *Macbias*; but found neither fires nor tracks. Coming afterwards to the west harbour at *Passamequado*, where they entered upon action; an account whereof Colonel *Cburch* 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 possibly I 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 *Lotriel* and his family.

This intelligence caused me to leave Col. *Gorbam*, 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

• have them to secure and guard at our next landing,
 • where I did really expect, and hoped to have an op-
 • portunity, 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. *Gorbam*, would have a good opportunity in the morn-
 • ing to destroy some of those our enemies, (we were inform-
 • ed 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 *Lottiel* 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 na-
 • ture 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 some-
 • what open and clear, I ordered Capt. *Merrick* and Capt.
 • *Cole*, having *English* companies, to tarry with several of the
 the

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, 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 opportuni-
 ty 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 lit-
 tle hut or wigwam, which we immediately surrounded
 with a few men, the rest marching directly up into the
 woods, to see what wigwams or huts they could disco-
 ver; myself made a little stop, ordering the pilot to tell
 them in the hut, that they were surrounded with an ar-
 my, and that if they would come forth, and surrender
 themselves, they should have good quarter, but if not,
 they should all be knock'd on the head and die: One of
 them showed himself; I asked who he was? He said,
Gourdan; and begg'd 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 up-
 on

on her knees, begg'd 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 direc-
 tions : Ask'd them what they were doing ? They re-
 ply'd, There were some of the enemy in a house, and
 would not come out : I ask'd, 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 enemies 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, expo-
 sing themselves, and the whole army, to utter ruin, by
 their so disorderly crowding thick together ; had an e-
 nemy come upon them in that interim, and fired a vol-
 ley amongst them, they could not have mis'd a shot ; and
 wholly neglecting their duty, in not attending my or-
 ders, 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 ene-
 mies ; for I took no notice of half a dozen of the ene-
 my, when at the same time, I expected to be engaged
 with some hundreds of them, of whom we had a conti-
 nued account, who were expected from *Port-Royal* side.
 In this heat of action, every word that I then spoke,
 I cannot give an account of, and I presume it is im-
 possible I stopped but little here, but went directly
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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
had discovered nothing; we fetching a small compass
round, came down again. It being pretty dark, I took
notice, I saw two men lay dead, as I thought, at the
end of the house, where the door was, and immediate-
ly 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 he,
and one of our men wounded in the leg; and I turning
about, a *Frenchman* spoke to me, and I gave him quar-
ter. Day-light coming on, and no discovery made of
the enemy, I went to the place where I had left Mon-
sieur *Gourdan*, to examine him, and his sons, who a-
greed in their examinations; told me two of their men
were abroad. It proved a damage; and further told
me, That Monsieur *Sbarkee* lived several leagues up
at the head of the river, at the falls, and all the In-
dians were fishing, and tending their corn there; and
that Monsieur *Sbarkee* 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 *Sbarkee*, and the Indians would certainly be
down that day, or the next at the furthest, to come to
conclude of that matter. This was a short night's ac-
tion, and all sensible men do well know, that actions
done in the dark (being in the night as aforesaid) un-
der so many difficulties, as we then laboured under, as
before

before related, was a very hard task for one man, mat-
 ters 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 trans-
 ported above fear, or any sort of dread; yet being sen-
 sible of the danger in my armies crowding so thick to-
 gether, and of the great duty incumbent on me, to pre-
 serve them from all the danger I possibly could; for
 further improvement, in the destruction of our impla-
 cable enemies; am ready to conclude, that I was very
 quick and absolute in giving such commands and or-
 ders, as I then apprehended most proper and advanta-
 geous. And had it not been for the intelligence I had
 received from the *French* we took at *Penobscot*, as be-
 fore hinted, and the false report the *French* woman (first
 took) gave me, I had not been in such haste. I ques-
 tion not but those *Frenchmen* that were slain, had the
 same good quarter of other prisoners. But I ever look'd
 on it a good providence of Almighty God, that some
 few of our cruel and bloody enemies were made sen-
 sible of their bloody cruelties, perpetrated on my dear
 and loving friends and countrymen; and that the same
 measure (in part) meted 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, al-
 though 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 ac-
 ceptance with your Excellency, the honorable Coun-
 cil 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

This night's service being over, immediately Colonel *Church* leaves a sufficient guard with *Gourdan*, and the other prisoners, moved in some whale-boats with the rest, and as they were going spied 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. Colonel *Church* fearing they would run directly to *Sbarkee*, made all the expedition imaginable; but it being ebb and the water low, was obliged to land, and make the best of their way through the woods, hoping to intercept the Indians, and get to *Sbarkee's* house before them; which was two miles from where our forces landed. The Colonel being ancient and unwildy, desired Serjeant *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 to *Sbarkee'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 just by; who immediately left their work and ran, endeavouring to get to *Sbarkee'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 *Sbarkee's* house found a woman and child, to whom they gave good quarter: And finding that Madam *Sbarkee* had left her silk clothes and fine linen behind her, our forces were desirous to have pursued and taken her; but Colonel *Church* forbade them, saying he would have her run and suffer, that she might be made sensible, what hardships our poor people had

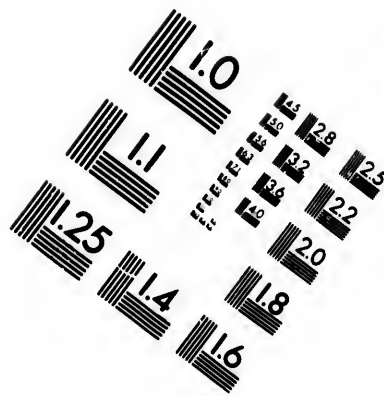
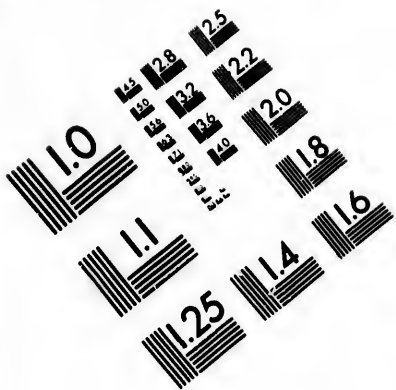
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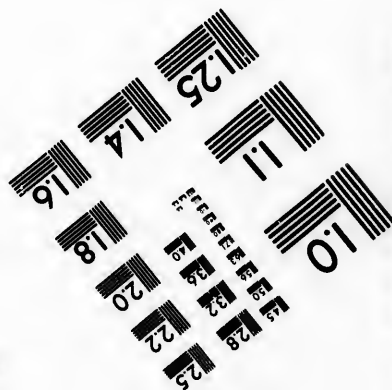
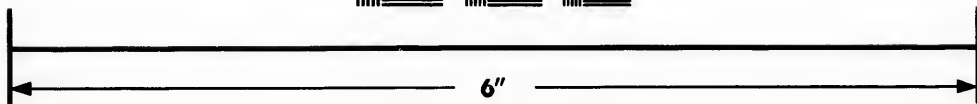
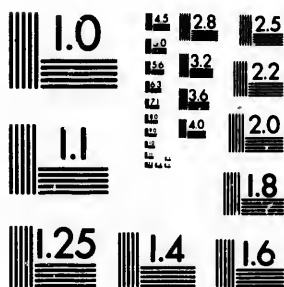
had suffered by them, &c. Then proceeded to examine the prisoners newly taken, who gave him the same account he had before, of the Indians being up at the falls, &c. It being just night prevented our attacking of them that night. But next morning early they moved up to the falls (which was about a mile 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 Colonel *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 *Sharkee's*, and took their prisoners, beaver, and other plunder which they had got, and put it into their boats, and went down to *Gourdan's* house, where they had left Lieutenant Colonel *Gorbam*, 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 arriving: The Commanders of her Majesty's ships told Colonel *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*; and Colonel *Church* advising with them, proposed that it was very expedient and serviceable to the Crown,

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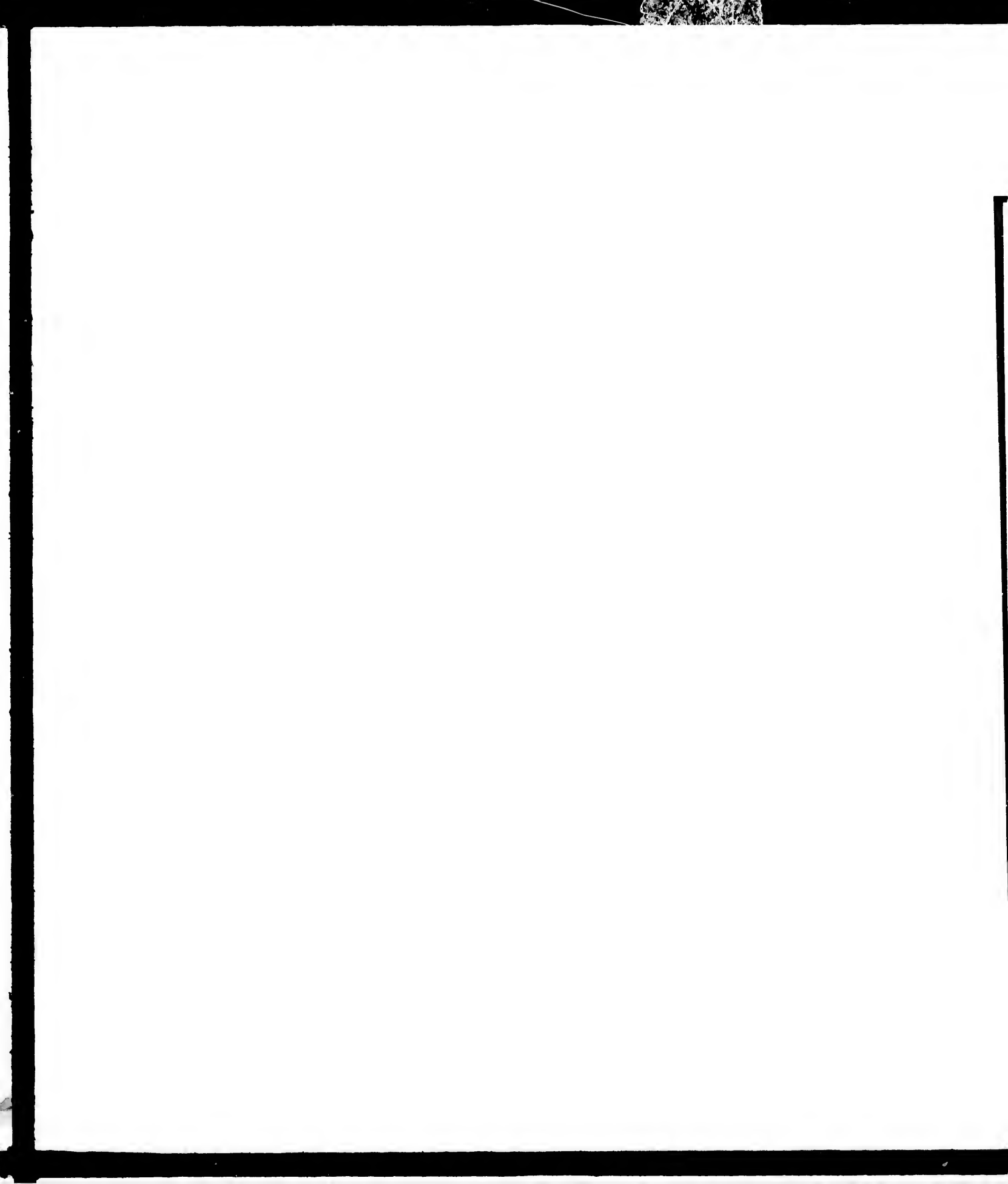
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Crown, that Captain *Soutback* in the Province Galley should accompany them, which they did readily acquiesce with him in. Upon which the Colonel immediately embarked his forces on board the transports, and himself on board Captain *Jarvis*; ordering 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 that vessel they were in at low water. So when coming near, Colonel *Church* observed a woody island between them and the town, that they run up on the back side of the said island, with all their transports undiscovered to 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, whom 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 Lieutenant *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

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 Calco, and the places adjacent : Particularly, the horrid action at Deerfield, this last winter, in killing, massacring, murdering 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 they kill'd many in the journey) and exposed the rest to the hardships of cold & 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 shewn kindness to our captives, and express'd a love to, and desire of being under the English government, We do therefore, notwithstanding all 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, & we expect your answer positively, within an hour.

Benjamin Church, Col.
John Gorham. Lt. Col.
Winthrop Hilton, Maj.

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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 at the town before the hour was out, that 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 20 or 30 feet deep, which were very muddy and dirty, so that the army could not get over them, was obliged to return to their boats again, and wait till within night before the tide served them to go up to the town; and 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 tides rising so high exposed them all to the enemy, who had the trees and woods to befriend them:— And so 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 amongst 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; (but, as 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 Major *Hilton*, who led them, came on upon them, and forced them to run; and notwithstanding the sharp firing of the enemy at our forces, by the repeated providence

dence of God; there was never a man of ours kill'd 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: Colonel *Church* 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 amongst his army; knowing it was impossible to have kept it from them, especially the Indians, if it was saved, &c. 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. Captain *Cooke*, and Captain *Church* to lead the two wings, and Lieutenant *Barker*, who led the Colonel's company, in the centre: And the said Captain *Cooke*, and Captain *Church* desired Lieutenant *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 Colonel *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, that so they might be together: And just before night ordered some of his men to go see if there were any men in any of the houses in the town; if not, to set them all on fire; which was done, and the whole town seemed to be on fire, all at once, &c. The next morning the Colonel gave orders to his

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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 fortification 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 Colonel *Church* and his forces only went aboard their transports, and there staid till the tide served; in the night embarked on board their whale-boats, 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 surprize took as many prisoners as they could desire. And it happened that Colonel *Church* was at the *French* Captain's house when two gentlemen came post from the Governor of *Port-Royal* to him, 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. Colonel *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

nor of *Canada*, at *Quebec*, to prevent his further sending any 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 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 terrified them very much, &c. 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, Colonel *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 Colonel *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 matter of 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

to him, 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; alledging to them that when 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 (which opportunity they improved) 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 if were ready to choke them; confessed they were all his prisoners, and begged

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 towards 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 resolving the next day to complete all his action at *Menis*, and so draw off. Accordingly, sent his orders to Colonel *Gorbam*, and Major *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, 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

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 honor, 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 inferior 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 Gorbam, 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. Benj. Church.

WHEREAS Colonel 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 Colonel *Church* with his transports came to them. Being all ready, the Colonel with his transports and forces went up the bay to *Signesto*, where they needed not a pilot, being several of them well acquainted there ; (and 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, &c. And coming to *Signesto*, 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 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 ; having had timely notice of our forces, had carried all away out of the reach of our army ; for Colonel *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*, and going in, 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 amongst the islands, with an intent to go to *Sbarkee'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 ; soon found *De Boiffes* Wife, who had formerly

formerly been Colonel *Charcb's* prisoner, and carried to *Boston*; but returned; who seemed very glad to see him: She had with her two sons that were near 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, 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. Gordans*, 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 *Messippee*, 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 householdstuff, and corn behind them, and went all, except those two for *Canada*.

nada. Also her sons giving the same intelligence, so we had no reason to think but that it was true.

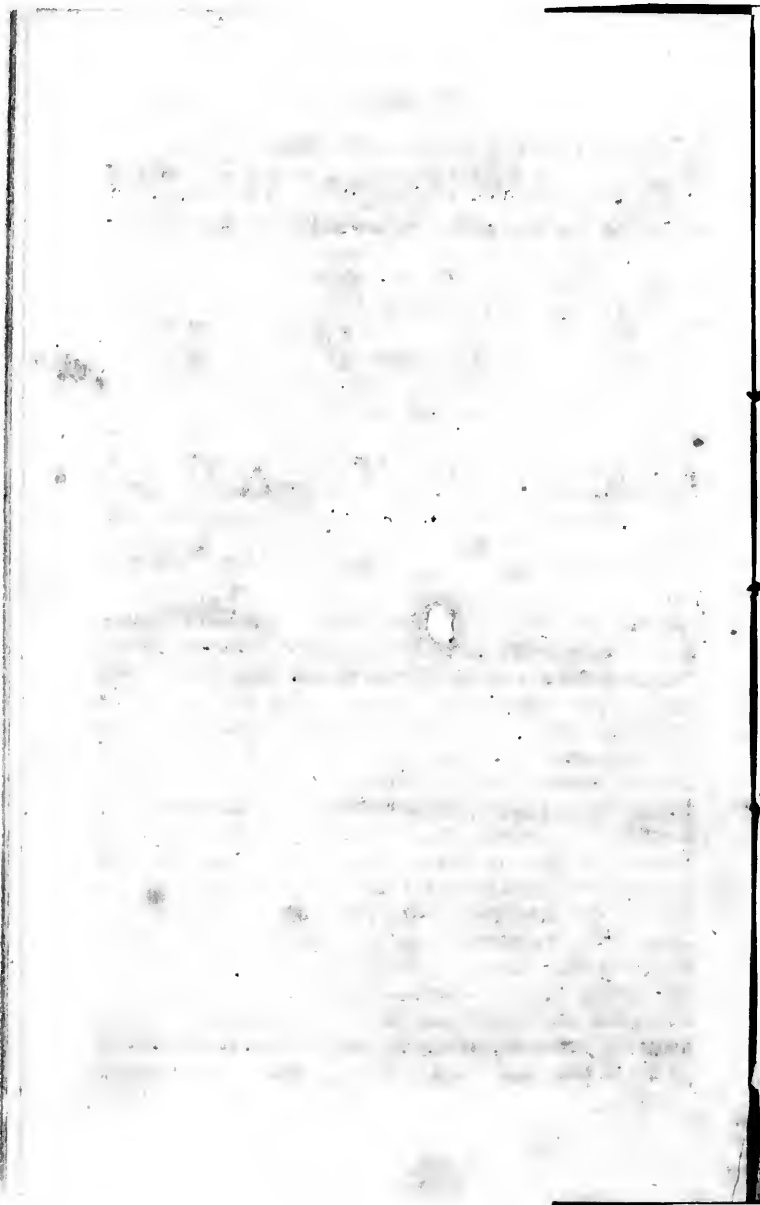
Colonel *Church* having done what he could there, embarked on board the transports, and went to *Mount-Desert*, found no ships there, but a rundlet rid off by a line in the harbour, which he ordered to be taken up, and opening of it found a letter, which gave him an account that the ships were gone home 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 Boiffes* wife had told him was true.

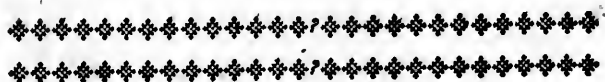
I will only by the way just give a hint of what we heard since of the effects of this expedition, and then proceed: First, That the *English* forces that went next to *Norrigwock*, found that the enemy was gone, and had left their rough household stuff and corn behind them; also not long after this expedition, 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; that some of the prisoners that were taken gave an account; so that we have great cause to believe that the message Colonel *Church* sent by the two *French* gentlemen from *Menis*, to the Governor of *Port-Royal*, took effect, and was a means to bring peace in our borders, &c. 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 was to send

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 wore 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.

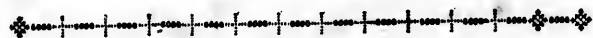
To conclude this expedition, I will just give a hint of some treatment Colonel *Church* had before and after he came home. For all his great expences, fatigues and hardships, in and about this expedition, (*viz.*) He received of his Excellency *Fifteen Pounds*, as an earnest penny towards raising volunteers; 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 received 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 honorable Council, and House of Representatives saw cause to clear him, and gave him thanks for his good service done.

F I N I S.





T H E
L I F E
O F
Colonel *CHURCH*.
By Ezra Stiles, D.D.



COLONEL *NYAMIN CHURCH* was born in 1639, in *Duxbury*, near *Plymouth*, of reputable 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 a rational and manly judgment—which, joined with a naturally generous, obliging and hospitable disposition, procured him both authority and esteem. He married
Mrs.

Mrs. *Alice Southworth*, by whom he had a daughter, Mrs. *Rotbatham*, and five sons, viz.

Thomas Church, the author, or publisher of this history, and father of the Honourable *Thomas Church*, Esq; now living in *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 batchelor.

Edward Church, whose only son, now living, is deacon *Benjamin Church* of *Boston*, who furnishes these memoirs of the family.

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*, & his 2d successor) had wro't 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.

federacy. An army of 1000 *English* was on foot at once, under the command of Governor *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.

Colonel *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 that he would have been more successful among them. But on a long & extended frontier, open to immense deserts, little more has ever been done by troops of undoubted courage, than to arouse and drive off the Indians into a wide, *sterling* wilderness; where it was as much in vain to seek them, as for *Cæsar* to seek the *Gauls* in the *Hircinian* deserts.

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

After *Philip's* war Colonel *Church* settled and lived first at *Bristol*, then at *Fall-River*, lastly at *Seconet*,—in 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 to 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 sympathize with her on the

the death of her only child. After a friendly and pious visit, in a moving and affecting manner he took his leave of her, and said, "It was a last farewell; telling her he was persuaded he should never see her more; but hoped to meet her in heaven." Returning homeward, he had not rode above half a mile before his horse stumbled, and threw him over his head: And the Colonel being exceeding fat and heavy, fell with such force that a blood vessel was broken, and the blood gushed out of his mouth like a torrent. His wife was soon brought to him; he tried but was unable to speak to her, and died in about twelve hours. He was carried to the grave with great funeral pomp, and was buried under arms, and with military honours. On his tomb-stone is this inscription:

Here lieth interred the Body

Of the Hon^{ble}.

Col. BENJAMIN C. RICH, Esq;

Who departed this Life

January the 17th, 1717-18,

In the 78th Year of his Age.

Newport, April 8, 1772.



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