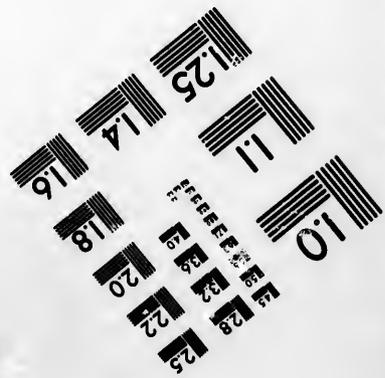
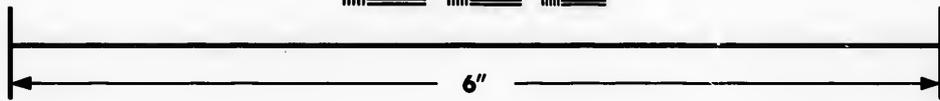
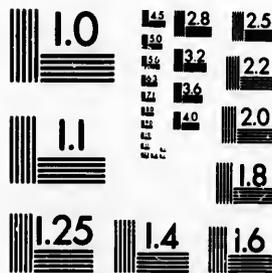


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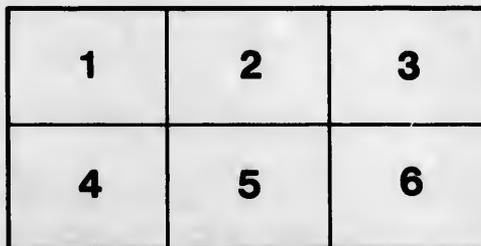
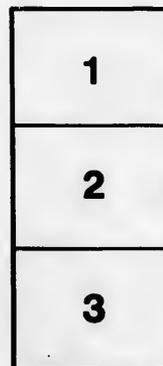
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King Powhatan coman'd C. Smith to be slayne, his daughter Pokahontas begs his life his thankfullnes and how he. subiected 39 of their kings reade y^e history

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INDIAN BIOGRAPHY,

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TWO HUNDRED

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ALSO SUCH OTHERS OF THAT RACE AS HAVE RENDERED THEIR NAMES
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BEING KNOWN TO EUROPEANS TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

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NUMEROUS ANECDOTES;

AND A

HISTORY OF THEIR WARS.

MUCH OF WHICH IS TAKEN FROM MANUSCRIPTS NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.



BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE.



O time! the beautifier of the dead,
Adorner of the ruin, comforter
And only healer when the heart hath bled—
Time! the corrector where our judgments err.....BYRON.

Nishnoh oonóuh/dí pish qunóhquutsaun, kah nishnoh wadchu, kah wadchuemes pish
tiubquohquuttaunash.....*Indian Bible*.....*Isaiah XL. 4.*

BOSTON.

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INDIAN BIOGRAPHY

INDIAN CHIEFS:

SELECTED FROM THE PAPERS OF
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21171

TO

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TO THE REVEREND

WILLIAM JENKS, D. D.

The eminent Antiquary,

Renowned Scholar, and

Friend of the Indian :

This work is respectfully

dedicated, by the

AUTHOR.

2171

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WHOEVER expects here a preface of apologies, will loose but little time in finding a disappointment. We have none to make. All must acknowledge the great want of such a work, which is deemed a sufficient excuse for adding another title to the long catalogue of books. No exertions have been remitted, to render it as perfect as its magnitude would admit. It is the first general attempt to embody Indian history in the only proper manner.

The following notices have been thrown together within a few months, although many years have elapsed since the author began the collection of materials, and set about gaining a knowledge of this kind of history.

The first adventurer in any untrodden path, must often find himself embarrassed for want of landmarks, by which to direct his course. This will be apparent to the reader. But he will not be the first to whom it has been thus apparent. A small edition is now offered, which if well received, will be much improved and enlarged, and placed at the public disposal.

It will be remembered by some, that in an edition of *Church's History of Philip's War*, published by the author five years ago, he advertised in a note upon page ninety-seven of that work, that he had it in contemplation to publish a work

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of this kind. This he considers a redemption of that pledge. It has been composed with much freedom of expression, and freedom of examination is expected in return.

The edition of *Hubbard's* Indian Wars which he some time since announced, as preparing with large notes, is in a forward state.

The reader should be reminded, that where the "History of New England" is cited, reference to Mr. *Hubbard's* is understood. We have no other worthy of that title.

Acknowledgements are due to several individuals, who have directly or indirectly aided the author in his work ; and he can only express his regret that he is not indebted to more, equally eminent in this branch of American antiquities. The reverend Dr. *Jenks*, to whom, by permission, his work is dedicated, has many thanks for his kindness in facilitating his researches in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society ; as also Mr. *Joshua Coffin*, of Boston, and the reverend Dr. *Harris*, of Dorchester, who have obligingly loaned him several valuable manuscripts ; and *Edward D. Bangs, Esq.* Secretary of State, for his politeness in accelerating the examination of our State Papers.

Boston, May 20th, 1832.

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*Wetanssee = Squaw
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INDIAN BIOGRAPHY.

" We call them Savage—O be just!
Their outraged feelings scan!
A voice comes forth, 'tis from the dust—
The savage was a man!

* * * * *

I venerate the Pilgrim's cause,
Yet for the red man dare to plead;
We bow to Heaven's recorded laws,
He turned to nature for a creed."..... *Sprague.*

Aacompanet, (James,) one of the *Eleven* Christian Indians accused as concerned in the murder of the people of Lancaster, 22d Aug. 1675. Mr. Gookin calls him "a very understanding fellow," who pleaded in behalf of himself and the rest, that what *David* said against them was to save his own life, and to revenge himself of them because they had seized and delivered up to the English his brother *Andrew*, whom they had taken in the service of the English.* See articles *DAVID*, *ANDREW*, and *MONOCO*.

Adario, Chief of the *Dinondadies*.† About 1687, the Iroquois, from some neglect on the part of the governor of New York, owing, says Smith,‡ to the orders of his master, "king *James*, a poor bigoted, popish, priest ridden prince," were drawn into the French interest, and a treaty of peace was concluded. The *Dinondadies* were considered as belonging to the

* Manuscript of Hon. D. Gookin.

† *Dinondadies*, *Colden*. Tionontazed, *Charlavoix*.

‡ Hist. N. Y. 56 (4to ed.)

confederate Indians, but from some cause they were dissatisfied with the league with the French, and wished by some exploit to strengthen themselves in the interest of the English. For this purpose, *Adario* put himself at the head of 100 warriors, and intercepted the ambassadors of the Five Nations* at one of the falls in Kadarakkui river, killing some and taking others prisoners. These he informed that the French governor had told him, that 50 warriors of the Five Nations were coming that way to attack him. They were astonished at the governor's perfidiousness, and so completely did the plot of *Adario* succeed, that these ambassadors were deceived into his interest. In his parting speech to them he said, "Go, my brethren, I untie your bonds, and send you home again, though our nations be at war. The French governor has made me commit so black an action, that I shall never be easy after it, till the Five Nations shall have taken full revenge." This outrage upon their ambassadors, the Five Nations doubted not in the least to be owing to the French governor's perfidy, from the representations of those that returned. They now sought immediate revenge; and assembling 1200 of their chief warriors, landed upon the island of Montreal, 26 July, 1688, while the French were in perfect security, burnt their houses, sacked their plantations, and slew all the men, women, and children without the city. A thousand† persons were killed in this expedition. In October, following, they attacked the island again with

* These associated nations were known by this name until 1712, at which time they were joined by the Tuskaroras from Carolina, which added another, and hence afterwards they were properly called the *Six Nations*.

† So says Colden, but Charlevoix says 200. There can be no doubt but that the truth is between them, as there is ample room.

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success. These horrid disasters threw the whole country into the utmost consternation. The fort at lake Ontario was abandoned, and 28 barrels of powder fell into the hands of the confederate Indians. Nothing now saved the French from an entire extermination from Canada, but the ignorance of their enemies in the art of attacking fortified places.

Ahaton, (William,) a Christian Indian who lived at Punkapog in 1675, and was a principal man of that station. In the consternation that then prevailed, the Punkapogs were ordered to leave their dwellings and repair to Dorchester. Capt. *Brattle* with an armed force was directed to see the order executed. This done, "the court, after they had spoken with *William Ahaton*, and others of their principal men, received such satisfaction from them that they were all returned back to their habitations, except 3 or 4 men that were suspected."*

Alderman, the Indian that shot Philip. He was a subject of *Weetamore*, the Squaw Sachem† of Pocasset. In the commencement of Philip's war he went to the governor of Plymouth, and desired to remain in peace with the English, and immediately took up his residence upon an island, remote from the tribes engaged in the war. But meeting with *Philip* in company with his brother, ventured to advise him to make peace with the English. *Philip* now being driven to desperation, one company of his people taken after another, in quick succession, could not govern himself, and in a moment, when he even looked upon his

* Manuscript of Hon. D. Gookin.

† "Sachems or Sagamores—which are but one and the same title, the first more usual with the southward, the other with the northward Indians, to express the title of him that hath the chief command of a place or people." Hist. N. E. 60. Many modern writers, however, consider Sagamore a subordinate chief.

own race with horror and hatred, put to death this brother of *Alderman*. The rest of our notice of him will be given in the life of *Philip*, with which it is immediately connected. But we should not omit to mention here, that as a compensation for the great service he had done in killing *Philip*, he was allowed the head of the chief, which for a long time he carried about as a curiosity to show to people for money, and by this means he accumulated considerable sums.

Alexander, The English name of the elder son of Massasoit. His real name appears at first to have been *Mooanam*, and afterwards *Wamsutta*, and lastly *Alexander*. The name of *Mooanam* he bore as early as 1639; in 1656 we find him noticed under the name *Wamsatta*. About this year, he and his younger brother *Metacomet*, were brought to the court of *Plymouth*, and being solicitous to receive English names, the governor called the elder *Alexander*, and the younger, *Philip*, probably from the two Macedonian heroes, which on being explained to them might have flattered their vanities.

A lasting and permanent interest will always be felt, and peculiar feelings associated with the name of this chief. Not on account of a career of battles, devastations or murders, for there were none of these, but there is left only for us to relate an account of his death. Mr. Hubbard's account of this event is in the hands of almost every reader, and cited by every writer upon our early history, and hence is extensively known as by him related. Dr. I. Mather agrees very nearly in his account with Mr. Hubbard, but being more minute, and rarely to be met with, we give it entire.

"In A. D. 1662, *Plymouth* colony was in some danger of being involved in trouble by the *Wampanoag* Indians. After *Massasoit* was dead, his two sons, called

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Wamsutta and Metacomet, came to the court at Plymouth pretending high respect for the English, and, therefore, desired English names might be imposed on them, whereupon the court there named *Wamsutta*, the elder brother *Alexander*, and *Metacomet*, the younger brother, *Philip*. This *Alexander*, Philip's immediate predecessor, was not so faithful and friendly to the English as his father had been. For some of Boston, having been occasionally at Narraganset, wrote to Mr. *Prince*, who was then governor of Plymouth, that *Alexander* was contriving mischief against the English, and that he had solicited the Narragansets to engage with him in his designed rebellion. Hereupon, capt. *Willet*, who lived near to Mount Hope, the place where *Alexander* did reside, was appointed to speak with him, and to desire him to attend the next court in Plymouth, for their satisfaction, and his own vindication, he seemed to take the message in good part, professing that the Narragansets, whom, he said, were his enemies, had put an abuse upon him, and he readily promised to attend at the next court. But when the day for his appearance was come, instead of that, he at that very time went over to the Narragansets, his pretended enemies, which, compared with other circumstances, caused the gentlemen at Plymouth to suspect there was more of truth in the information given, than at first they were aware of. Wherefore the governor and magistrates there, ordered Major Winslow (who is since, and at this day [1677] governor of that colony), to take a party of men, and fetch down Alexander. The major considering that *semper rocuil deferre paratis*, he took, but 10 armed men with him from Marshfield, intending to have taken more at the towns that lay nearer Mount Hope. But divine providence so ordered, as that when they were about the midway between

Plimouth and Bridgewater,* observing an hunting house, they rode up to it, and there did they find *Alexander* and many of his men† well armed, but their guns standing together without the house. The major, with his small party, possessed themselves of the Indian's arms, and beset the house; then did he go in amongst them, acquainting the Sachem with the reason of his coming in such a way; desiring *Alexander* with his interpreter to walk out with him, who did so a little distance from the house, and then understood what commission the major had received concerning him. The proud Sachem fell into a raging passion at this surprise, saying the governor had no reason to credit rumors, or to send for him in such a way, nor would he go to Plimouth, but when he saw cause. It was replied to him, that his breach of word touching appearance at Plimouth court, and, instead thereof going at the same time to his pretended enemies, augmented jealousies concerning him. In fine, the major told him, that his order was to bring him to Plimouth, and that, by the help of God, he would do it, or else he would die on the place; also declaring to him that if he would submit, he might expect respective usage, but if he once more denied to go, he should never stir from the ground whereon he stood; and with a pistol at the Sachem's breast, required that his next words should be a positive and clear

* Within 6 miles of the English towns. Hubbard, 10 (Edition, 1677.) Massasoit, and likewise Philip, used to have temporary residences, in eligible places for fishing, at various cites between the two bays, Narraganset and Massachusetts, as at Raynham, Namasket, Titicut, [in Middleborough] and Munponset pond in Halifax. At which of these places he was, we cannot with certainty decide; that at Halifax, would, perhaps, agree best with Mr. Hubbard's account.

† Eighty, says Hubbard; 6.

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answer to what was demanded. Hereupon his interpreter, a discreet Indian, brother to *John Sausaman*, being sensible of Alexander's passionate disposition, entreated that he might speak a few words to the Sachem before he gave his answer. The prudent discourse of this Indian prevailed so far as that *Alexander* yielded to go, only requesting that he might go like a Sachem, with his men attending him, which, although there was some hazard in it, they being many, and the English but a few, was granted to him. The weather being hot, the major offered him an horse to ride on, but his squaw and divers Indian women being in company, he refused, saying he could go on foot as well as they, entreating only that there might be a complying with their pace, which was done. And resting several times by the way, *Alexander* and his Indians were refreshed by the English. No other discourse happening while they were upon their march, but what was pleasant and amicable. The major sent a man before, to entreat that as many of the magistrates of that colony as could, would meet at Duxbury. Wherefore having there had some treaty with *Alexander*, not willing to commit him to prison, they entreated major *Winslow* to receive him to his house, until the governor, who then lived at Eastham, could come up. Accordingly he and his train were courteously entertained by the major. And albeit, not so much as an angry word passed between them whilst at Marshfield; yet proud *Alexander*, vexing and fretting in his spirit, that such a check was given him, he suddenly fell sick of a fever. He was then nursed as a choice friend. Mr. *Fuller*, the physician, coming providentially thither at that time, the Sachem and his men earnestly desired that he would administer to him, which he was unwilling to do, but by their importunity was pre-

valled with to do the best he could to help him, and therefore gave him a portion of working physic, which the Indians thought did him good. But his distemper afterwards prevailing, they entreated * to dismiss him, in order to a return home, which upon engagement of appearance at the next court was granted to him. Soon after his being returned home he died."

Thus ends Dr. Mather's "relation" of the short reign of *Alexander*. And although by a document lately published by Judge Davis of Boston, which sets the conduct of the English in a very favorable light, yet it is very difficult to conceive how Mr. *Mather* and Mr. *Hubbard* could have been altogether deceived in their information. They both wrote at the same time, and at different places, and neither knew what the other had written. Of this we are confident, if, as we are assured, there was at this time, rather a misunderstanding between these two reverend authors.

It now only remains that we make such extracts from the above mentioned document, as will exhibit all the evidence on the side of the English. I recollect to have seen in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a manuscript paper headed "*Narrative de Alexandro*." This paper contains an account of this transaction, drawn up by the authorities of Plymouth, and Mr. Mather's and Mr. Hubbard's accounts are the substance of it. As the affair had caused much excitement, and, judging from the writers of that time, particularly the latter, some recrimination upon the conduct of the government of Plymouth, by some of the English who were more in the habit of

* "Entreating those that held him prisoner, that he might have liberty to return home, promising to return again if he recovered, and to send his son as hostage till he could so do. On that consideration he was fairly dismissed, but died before he got half way home."—*Hubbard*.

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using, or recommending mild measures, than they appear to have been. After thus premising, we will offer the document, which is a letter written by the Rev. *John Cotton* of *Plimouth*, to *Dr. I. Mather*, and now printed by Judge *Davis* in his edition of *Morton's Memorial*, 426-7. There is no date to it, at least the Editor gives none; but if it were written in answer to one from *Mr. Mather* to him, desiring information on that head, dated 21st April, 1677,* we may conclude it was about this time; but *Mr. Mather's* "Relation" would not lead us to suppose that he was in possession of such information, and therefore he either was not in possession of it, when he published his account, or that he had other testimony which invalidated it.

The letter begins, "Major *Bradford* [who was with *Mr. Winslow* when *Alexander* was surprised] confidently assures me, that in the narrative *de Alexandro*, there are many mistakes, and fearing lest you should through misinformation, print some mistakes on that subject, from his mouth I this write. Reports being here, that *Alexander* was plotting or privy to plots against the English, authority sent to him to come doyn. He came not. Whereupon major *Winslow* was sent to fetch him. Major *Bradford* with some others went with him. At *Munponset river*, a place not many miles hence, they found *Alexander* with about 8 men, and sundry squaws. He was there about getting canoes. He and his men were at breakfast under their shelter, their guns being without. They saw the English coming, but continued eating; and *Mr. Winslow* telling their business, *Alexander*, freely and readily, without the least hesitancy consented to go, giving his reason why he came not to the court before, viz: because he waited for captain *Willet's* return from the

* See his *Memorial*, 288.

Dutch, being desirous to speak with him first. They brought him to Mr. *Collier's* that day, and governor *Prince* living remote, at Eastham, those few magistrates who were at hand, issued the matter peaceably, and immediately dismissed *Alexander* to return home, which he did part of the way ; but in two or three days after, he returned and went to major *Winslow's* house, intending thence to travel into the bay and so home ; but at the major's house he was taken very sick, and was, by water, conveyed to major *Bradford's*, and thence carried upon the shoulders of his men to Tethquet river, and thence in canoes, home, and about two or three days after died."

Thus it is evident that there is error some where, and it would be very satisfactory, if we could erase it from our history ; but at present we are able only to agitate it, and wait for the further discovery of documents, before *Alexander's* true history can be given ; and to suspend judgment, although some may readily decide that the evidence is in favor of the old printed accounts. It is the business of an historian, where a point is in dispute, to exhibit existing evidence, and let the reader make up his own judgment.

We are able, from the first extract given upon this head, to limit the time of his Sachemship to a portion of the year 1662. In this year his father died.

Amos, (captain.) One of the friendly Indians who accompanied col. *Church* in his first expedition upon the eastern coast of Maine, in 1689. He was probably from some part of Cape Cod. It was in September that the Indian and English forces arrived before Casco, now Portland. They landed their men the same night with secrecy, having learned that a great number of the enemy were near by and about to fall

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upon the town. The next day, being 21st September, some companies were sent out, which soon fell in with about 400 Indians, as they judged. A fight followed, in which eight of the English were killed and many more wounded. Two of captain *Amos'* men were badly wounded. A friendly Indian by the name of *Sam Moses* was killed. The sudden attack upon the enemy here at this time, when they, no doubt, felt perfectly secure, so disconcerted their plans, that they drew off without making any further attempts.

An Indian company under captain *Daniel* was also in this fight, one of whose men was killed. He was of Yarmouth.*

Andrew, A sufferer in the great Indian war. He belonged to the Christian Indians, and had gone some months before the war began on a hunting voyage towards the lakes. Returning, he fell among the enemy Indians about Quabaog, where it appears he was at the time captains Hutchinson and Wheeler were attacked at Wikkabaug pond.

We have no evidence that he took any part with the enemy, and it is probable he only remained with them while a good opportunity of escape to his friends presented; for soon after he was met with in the woods near Marlborough by some Christian Indian scouts, with whom he returned to that place. The English soldiers there stationed, accused him of aiding in the affair of Quabaog, and without any orders, shot him. The English authorities were displeased at this precipitate step; and had it not been for the general consternation of the English on account of the success of the enemy, they had no doubt been dealt with as they deserved. But the common enemy now so engrossed all consideration, criminals at home escaped

* Manuscript letter of Captain Basset, of the expedition.

without their reward. Provided he had been guilty, much valuable information relative to the enemy might have been obtained before his execution.*

Andrew, brother of the preceding, was in company with him when he was taken, and was sold into slavery, out of the country.

Andrew, known also by the name of *Pooky John*, lived in the vicinity of Amesbury upon the Merrimack, in 1677. He belonged to a small party of about 20, who made daily inroads upon the inhabitants about in this quarter. As this party were led by one *Symon*, the particulars will be found under that head.*

Annawon, a Wampanoag, and one of Philip's most famous captains. The first notice we have of him is at the fight when *Philip* was killed. He was his fast friend, and fought with desperation as long as there was a beam of hope; when he gave himself up, it was in the most heroic manner, as will appear in the following account.

At the swamp when *Philip* was killed, he escaped with most of his men, by his thoroughly understanding the situation of his enemies. "Perceiving they were way-laid on the east side of the swamp, tacked short about. One of the enemy, who seemed to be a great surly old fellow, hallooed with a loud voice, and often called out, *I-oo-tash, I-oo-tash*. Captain *Church* called to his Indian Peter, and asked him who that was that called so. He answered that it was old *Annawon*, Philip's great captain, calling on his soldiers to stand to it, and fight stoutly."

"Captain *Church* had been but little while at *Plymouth*, [after killing *Philip*] before a post from *Rehoboth* came to inform the governor, that old *Annawon*, Philip's chief captain, was with his company ranging

* Manuscript documents.

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

In the early part of this expedition, some of captain Church's Indian scouts captured a number of Annawon's company, but from whom they could learn nothing of the old chief, only that he did not lodge "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. Captain Church inclined 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 and 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 making a howling for his father, and at length somebody answered him; but while they were listening, they thought they heard somebody coming towards them. Presently they 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 between them, and then started up and laid hold of them both. Captain *Church* immediately examined them apart, telling them what they must trust to, if they told false stories. He asked the young woman what company they came from last. She said, from captain *Annawon's*. He asked her how many were in company with him when she left him. She said 'fifty or sixty.' He asked her how many miles it was to the place where she left him. She said she did not understand miles, but he was up in Squannaconk swamp. The old man, who had been one of Philip's Council, upon examination, gave exactly the same account." On being asked whether they could get there that night, answered, "if we go presently, and travel stoutly, we may get there by sunset." The old man said he was of *Annawon's* company, and that *Annawon* had sent him down to find some Indians that were gone down into Mount Hope neck to kill provisions. Captain *Church* let him know that that company were all his prisoners.

The Indian who had been permitted to go after his father, now returned with him and another man. Captain *Church* was now at great loss what he should do. He was unwilling to miss of so good an opportunity of giving a finishing blow to the Indian power. He had, as himself says, but "half a dozen men beside himself," and yet was under the necessity of sending some one back to give Lieutenant *Howland*, whom he left at the old fort in Pocasset, notice, if he

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should proceed. But without wasting time in pondering upon what course to pursue, he put the question to his men, "whether they would willingly go with him and give *Annawon* a visit." All answered in the affirmative, but reminded him, "that they knew this captain *Annawon* was a great soldier; that he had been a valiant captain under *Asuhmequin*, Philip's father; and that he had been Philip's chieftain all this war." And they further told captain *Church*, (and these men knew him well,) that he was "a very subtle man, of great resolution, and had often said, that he would never be taken alive by the English."

They also reminded him that those with *Annawon* were "resolute fellows, some of Philip's chief soldiers," and very much feared that to make the attempt with such a handful of soldiers, would be hazardous in the extreme. But nothing could shake the resolution of captain *Church*, who remarked to them, "that he had a long time sought for *Annawon*, but in vain," and doubted not in the least, but providence would protect them. All with consent now desired to proceed.

A man by the name of *Cook*, belonging to *Plimouth*, was the only Englishman in the company, except the captain. Captain *Church* asked Mr. *Cook* what his opinion of the undertaking was. He made no other reply than this, "I am never afraid of going any where when you are with me." The Indian who brought in his father, informed captain *Church* that it was impossible for him to take his horse with him, which he had brought thus far. He therefore sent him and his father with the horse back to Lieutenant *Howland*, and ordered them to tell him to take his prisoners immediately to *Taunton*, and then to come out the next morning in the *Rehoboth* road, where, if alive, he hoped to meet him.

Things being thus settled, all were ready for the journey. Captain *Church* turned to the old man, whom he took with the young woman, and asked him whether he would be their pilot. He said, "You having given me my life, I am under obligations to serve you." And they marched for Squannaconk. In leading the way, this old man would travel so much faster than the rest, as sometimes to be nearly out of sight, and consequently might have escaped without fear of being recaptured, but he was true to his word, and would stop until the wearied followers came up.

Having travelled through swamps and thickets until the sun was setting, the pilot ordered a stop. The captain asked him if he had made any discovery. He said, "About that hour of the day *Annawon* usually 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 we may move securely." When it was sufficiently dark, and they were about to proceed, capt. *Church* asked the old man if he would take a gun and fight for him. He bowed very low and said, "I pray you not to impose such a thing upon me, as to fight against capt. *Annawon*, my old friend, but I will go along with you, and be helpful to you, and will lay hands on any man that shall offer to hurt you." They had proceeded but a short space, when they heard a noise, which they concluded to be the pounding of a mortar. This warned them that they were in the vicinity of *Annawon's* retreat. And here it will be very proper to give a description of it. It is situated in the south-easterly corner of Rehoboth, about 8 miles from Taunton green, a few rods from the road which leads to Providence, and on the south-easterly side of it. If a straight line were drawn from Taunton to Providence, it would pass very nearly over this place. Within the

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limits of an immense swamp of nearly 3000 acres, there is a small piece of upland, separated from the main only by a brook, which in some seasons is dry. This island, as we may call it, is nearly covered with an enormous rock, which to this day is called *Annawon's rock*. Its southeast side presents an almost perpendicular precipice, and rises to the height of 25 or 30 feet. The north-west side is very sloping, and easy of ascent, being at an angle of not more than 35 or 40°. A more gloomy and hidden recess than this, even now, although the forest tree no longer waves over it, could hardly be found by any inhabitant of the wilderness.

"And here forlorn and lost I tread
With *fainting* steps and slow,
Where wilds immeasurably spread,
Seem lengthening as I go."

When they arrived near the foot of the rock, Capt. Church, with two of his Indian soldiers, crept to the top of it, from whence they could see distinctly the situation of the whole company, by the light of their fires. They were divided into three bodies, and lodged a short distance from one another. *Annawon's* camp was formed by felling a tree against the rock, with bushes set up on each side. With him lodged his son, and others of his principal men. Their guns were discovered standing, and leaning against a stick resting on two crotches, safely covered from the weather by a mat. Over their fires were pots and kettles boiling, and meat roasting upon their spits. Capt. Church was now at some loss how to proceed, seeing no possibility of getting down the rock without discovery, which would have been fatal. He therefore creeps silently back again to the foot of the rock, and asked the old man, their pilot, if there were

no other way of coming at them. He answered, "No," and said that himself and all others belonging to the company were ordered to come that way, and none could come any other without danger of being shot.

The fruitful mind of *Church* was no longer at loss, and the following stratagem was put in successful practice. He ordered the old man and the young woman to go forward, and lead the way, with their baskets upon their backs, which, when *Annawon* should discover them, would take no alarm, knowing them to be those he had lately sent forth upon discovery. "Capt. *Church* and his handful of soldiers crept down also, under the shadow of those two and their baskets. The captain himself crept close behind the old man, with his hatchet in his hand, and stepped over the young man's head to the arms. The young *Annawon* discovering him, whipped his blanket over his head, and shrunk up in a heap. The old captain *Annawon* started up on his breech, and cried out "*Howoh!*" which signified "I am taken." All hope of escape was now fled forever, and he made no effort, but laid himself down again in perfect silence, while his captors secured the rest of the company. For he supposed the English were far more numerous than they were, and before he was undeceived his company were all secured.

One circumstance much facilitated this daring project. It has been before mentioned that they heard the pounding of a mortar, on their approach. This continued during their descent down the rock. A squaw was pounding green dried corn for their supper, and when she ceased pounding to turn the corn, they ceased to proceed, and when she pounded again they moved. This was the reason they were not heard as

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they lowered themselves down, from crag to crag, supported by small bushes that grew from the seams of the rock. The pounded corn served afterwards for a supper to the captors.

Annawon would not have been taken at this time but for the treachery of those of his own company. And well may *their* Lucan exclaim as did the *Roman*,

“A race renowned the world’s victorious lords,
Turned on thousands with their own hostile swords.”

* * * * *

Of all the woes which civil discords bring,
And Rome o’ercome by Roman arms I sing.”

The two companies situated at a short distance from the rock, knew not the fate of their captain, until those sent by *Church* announced to them that they were all prisoners. And to prevent their making resistance, were told that capt. *Church* had encompassed them with his army, and that to make resistance would be immediate death; but if they all submitted peaceably, they should have good quarter. “Now they being old acquaintance, and many of them relations,” readily consented; delivering up their guns and hatchets, were all conducted to head quarters.

“Things being thus far settled, captain *Church* asked *Annawon* what he had for supper, ‘for,’ said he, ‘I am come to sup with you.’” *Annawon* replied, “*Taubut*,” with a majestic voice, and looking around upon his women, ordered them to hasten and provide capt. *Church* and his company some supper. He asked capt. *Church* “whether he would eat cow beef or horse beef.” He said he would prefer cow beef. It was soon ready, which by the aid of some salt he brought in his pocket, he made a good meal. And here it should be told, that a small bag of salt (which *Church* carried in his pocket) was the only provision he took with him upon this expedition.

When supper was over capt. *Church* set his men to watch, telling them that if they would let him sleep two hours they should sleep all the rest of the night, he not having slept any for 36 hours before; but after laying a half hour, and no disposition to sleep came, from the momentous cares upon his mind, for

“The dead alone, in such a night can rest;”

he looked to see if his watch were at their posts, but they were all fast asleep. *Annawon* felt no more like sleeping than *Church*, and they lay for some time looking one upon the other. *Church* spoke not to *Annawon*, because he could not speak Indian, and thought *Annawon* could not speak English, but it now appeared that he could, from a conversation they held together. *Church* had laid down with *Annawon* to prevent his escape, of which however he did not seem much afraid, for after they had laid a considerable time, *Annawon* got up and walked away out of sight, which *Church* considered was on a common occasion. But being gone some time, “he began to suspect some ill design.” He therefore gathered all the guns close to himself, and lay as close as he possibly could under young *Annawon’s* side, that if a shot should be made at him, it must endanger the life of young *Annawon* also. After laying a while in great suspense, he saw by the light of the moon, *Annawon* coming with something in his hands. When he had got to captain *Church* he knelt down before him, and after presenting him what he had brought, spoke in English as follows. “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.” He then took out of his pack a beautifully wrought belt, which

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belonged to *Philip*. It was nine inches in breadth, and of such length, as when put about the shoulders of capt. *Church*, reached to his ancles. This was considered at that time of great value, being embroidered all over with money, that is wampampeag,* of various colors, curiously wrought into figures of birds, beasts and flowers. A second belt of no less exquisite workmanship, was next presented, which belonged also to *Philip*. This, that chief used to ornament his head with. From the back part of which flowed two flags, which decorated his back. A third was a smaller one, with a star upon the end of it, which he wore upon his breast. All three were edged with red hair, which *Annawon* said was got in the country of the Mohawks. . These belts, or some of them, it is believed remain at this day, the property of a family in Swazey. He next took from his pack two horns of glazed powder, and a red cloth blanket. These, it appears, were all of the effects of the great chief. He told capt. *Church* that those were *Philip's* royalties, which he was wont to adorn himself with, when he sat in state, and he tho't himself happy in having an opportunity to present them to him.

The remainder of the night they spent in discourse, in which *Annawon* "gave an account of what mighty success he had had formerly in wars against many nations of Indians, when he served *Asuhmequin*, *Philip's* father.

Morning being come, they took up their march for Taunton. In the way they met Lieutenant *Howland*, according to appointment, at his no small surprise. They lodged at Taunton that night. The next day "capt. *Church* took old *Annawon*, and half a dozen

* An Iroquois word, signifying a muscle. *Gordon's Hist. Pennsylvania*, page 598. No.

Indian soldiers, and his own men, and went to Rhode Island; the rest were sent to Plimouth, under Lieut. *Howland*.

Not long after this, to the great grief of capt. *Church*, *Annawon* was beheaded at Plimouth. It is true *Church* did not guarantee his life when he surrendered, but he had little doubt of his being able to save him, knowing how much the country was indebted to him in this war.*

Annawon, it is said, confessed that he had put to death many of the English, even "ten in a day," nor did he deny but he had witnessed some tortured.† His being an enemy, and acting as such, were sufficient reasons, with the English, for putting him to death; although the war was now considered as over; and it is true that he was excepted when pardon was offered to those who should surrender themselves, still his execution is a dark item in the page of the history of that day.

Anthony, one of the Christian Indians, sent to the island in Boston harbor in Philip's war. He was so instructed that he was able to teach, and was a kind of minister among his brethren. After they were liberated from thence, this *Anthony* built a large sort of shelter, by some denominated a meeting house, in which a school was kept on week days, and on Sundays discourses were delivered by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Gookin*, in the winter of 1676. The place of their settlement was upon Charles' river, near Hoanantum hill.

Apannow, one of the nine chiefs who, on the 13th Sept. 1621, subscribed an instrument of Submis-

* Thus far the facts are mainly from the actor himself, capt. *Church*.

† This upon the authority of Mr. Hubbard.

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sion to king *James*. The place of his residence we are unable to assign, but he was one of those subject to *Massasoit*.

Arruhawikwabemt, chief Sachem of *Norridgewock*.* In the year 1710, colonel Walton visited the eastern coast of N. England, with a force of 170 men. As they were encamped upon an island, the smoke of their fires decoyed some of the enemy into their hands, among whom was *Arruhawikwabemt*. "An active bold fellow, [says Penhallow, page 60,] and one of an undaunted spirit; for when they asked him several questions he made them no reply, and when they threatened him with death, he laughed at it with contempt. At which they delivered him up unto our friendly Indians, who soon became his executioners. But when the squaw saw the destiny of her husband, she became more flexible, and freely discovered where each of them encamped."!!! These are Christian deeds, which

"Established violence and lawless might
Avowed and hallowed by the name of right."

Ascassasotick, of Long Island, a most warlike chief, who gave great trouble to those more peaceably inclined, along the coast of Long Island Sound, upon the Connecticut shore, especially the *Narragansets*. In 1654, this chief taking courage from a confidence that the English were his friends, made an expedition into the country of the *Narragansets*, and killed several of the inhabitants, subjects of *Nenekunat*. This *Narraganset* Sachem sent messengers to the English governors for directions, "who sent him an

* *Nerigwok* is believed to be the most proper way of spelling this name, as agreeing best with its orthoepy. At least with that heard at the place at this day by elderly people, as the writer can bear testimony.

implicit consent to right himself.*" Accordingly he fell upon the Long Islanders with a body of his warriors, killing many and bringing away fourteen captives, "divers of them chief women." When this came to the knowledge of the English they interceded in favor of *Ascassasotick*, and *Nenekunat* at once consented to a peace, and gave up all his prisoners. Not long after this peace, some of *Ascassasotick's* men, under a false pretence of friendship, pretending to visit the Narragansets at Block Island, at midnight fell upon them unexpectedly, and slew about 30 persons; "two of them of great note, especially *Wepileammock's* son, to whom *Nenekunat* was uncle." *Nenekunat* now raised a great army from the inland country, "yet upon protestation of the English against his proceedings, he retreated and dissolved his army." Thus it appears that the Narragansets were entirely under the direction of the English at this time, and doubtless with proper treatment would have remained so. And our record, above cited, bears us out in this conclusion. "I cannot yet learn that ever it pleased the Lord to permit the Narragansets to stain their hands with any English blood, neither in open hostility nor secret murders, as both Pequot and Long Islanders did, and Monhiggins also in the Pequot wars. 'Tis true they are barbarians, but their greatest offence against the English have been matters of money, or petit revengings of themselves on some Indians upon extreme provocations, but God hath kept them clear of our blood."

✓ *Aspinet*, Sachem of *Nauset*, (now included in the township of Eastham, upon Cape Cod.) He was known to the people of Plymouth as early as July, 1621. At which time the English had great cause,

* Manuscript of R. Williams.

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ever after, to treat him with attention and kindness. About this time a young lad by the name of *John Billington*, got lost in the woods and was found by some of *Aspinet's* people, and conveyed to him. He treated him with great kindness, and when the English sent for him, gave him up, and entertained them courteously. "Ere we came to Nauset (says a writer of that day) the day and tide were almost spent; insomuch as we could not go in with our shallop: but the Sachem of Cummaquid, (now port of Barnstable and Yarmouth) went ashore, and his men with him. We also sent *Tisquantum* to tell *Aspinet*, the Sachem of Nauset, wherefore we came. After sunset *Aspinet* came with a great train and brought the boy with him, one bearing him through the water. He had not less than an hundred with him, the half whereof came to the shallop's side, unarmed, with him; the other half stood aloof with their bows and arrows. There he delivered us the boy, behung with beads, and made peace with us, we bestowing a knife on him, and likewise on another that first entertained the boy and brought him thither. So they departed from us."

In the winter of 1622, when Mr. *Weston's* men saw nothing but famine before them, and indeed those of *Plimouth* were but very little better off, these two companies obtained of *Aspinet* and his people, by purchase, eight or ten hogsheads of corn and beans, which seemed their only relief from starvation. Capt. *Standish* conducted the English in this trading expedition, and but for the good nature of *Aspinet* there would have been some trouble on account of a few trifling articles which his men pilfered from the English; who were a hundred times more in fault for leaving their trinkets exposed, than these uninformed people for taking them. But instead of viewing it in this

light, the captain threatened vengeance to his nation, if either the articles or those who took them were not immediately delivered. *Aspinet* without taking any offence, laboured diligently until every thing was restored. He then took the captain's hand and knelt down, and with his tongue licked it all over; this being their method of salutation. He expressed great satisfaction in being able to appease the wrath of the English chief, and they parted with cordiality. Not long after this, it was reported that *Aspinet* and other Sachems of that part of the country had plotted to fall upon and kill all the English. The English taking at once a prompt and salutary course, by exterminating, as they thought, the root of the design, in taking off the head of *Witwamet*. This so terrified *Aspinet*, and many others, that they fled into swamps, and lived in unhealthy places, until many died with diseases which they had thus contracted. Among such victims were *Aspinet*, *Cunnecum*, and others.

Asquenet, one of the eleven Naticks so cruelly dealt with upon a suspicion of no foundation. His case was the same with *Acompanet*, which see.

Asuhmequin, see Massasoit.

Awashonks, female chief* of the Sogkonates. From the part she acted in Philip's war, few deserve a more particular attention. We shall, therefore, go as minutely into her history as our documents will enable us.

The first notice we have of her is in 1671, when

* Commonly called in the histories, "squaw Sachem of Sogkonate." There were several other squaw Sachems, as of Pocasset and Narraganset. The terms *snuke*, *sunk*, *snake*, &c. have been given to the squaw Sachems, owing to the ignorance of writers of the meaning of the term. *Saunks* was the title or name of a Sachem's wife, in the Narraganset dialect.

* See comments
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she entered into articles of agreement with the court of Plimouth as follows. " In admitting that the court are in some measure satisfied with your voluntary coming in now at last, and submission of herself unto us ; yet this *we expect* that she give some meet satisfaction for the charge and trouble she has put us upon by her too long standing out against the many tenders of peace we have made to her and her people. And that we yet see an intention to endeavor the reduction of such as have been the incendiaries of the trouble and disturbance of her people and ours. And as many of her people, as shall give themselves and arms unto us, at the time appointed, shall receive no damage or hurt from us, which time appointed is ten days from the date hereof. Thus we may the better keep off such from her lands as may hereafter bring upon her and us the like trouble, and to regulate such as will not be governed by her, she having submitted her lands to the authority of the government. And that if the lands and estates of such as we are necessitated to take arms against, will not defray the charge of the expedition ; that she shall bear some due proportion of the charge. In witness whereof, and in testimony of the Sachem, her agreement hereunto, she hath subscribed her hand in presence of *Samuel Barker and John Almey*.

Mark X of the squaw Sachem *Awasunck*.
 The mark X of *Totalomet, and Somagaonet*."
 Plimouth, 24th July, 1671.

Awashonks was at Plimouth when the above articles were executed, from which it appears there was considerable alarm in Plimouth colony. There were about this time many other submissions of the Indians in differ-

ent places. This step was taken to draw them from Philip, or at least to give a check to their joining with him, as he was now on the point of attacking the English settlements, under a pretence of injury done him in his planting lands.

Not only the chiefs of tribes or clans subscribed articles, but all their men that could be prevailed with to do so. The August following, 42 of *Awashonks* men signed a paper approving what she had done, and binding themselves in like manner. Out of 42 we can give names of three only; *Totalomet, Tunuokum and Sausaman*.

It appears from the following letter written by *Awashonks* to gov. *Prince*, that those who submitted themselves, delivered up their arms to the English.

"August 11, 1671, Honored Sir, I have received a very great favor from your Honor, in yours of the 7th instant, and as you are pleased to signify, that if I continue faithful to the agreement made with yourselves at Plimouth, I may expect all just favors from your Honor. I am fully resolved, while I live, with all fidelity to stand to my engagement, and in a peaceable submission to your commands, according to the best of my poor ability. It is true, and I am very sensible thereof, that there are some Indians who do seek an advantage against me, for my submitting to his Majesty's authority in your jurisdiction, but being conscious to myself of my integrity and real intentions of peace, I doubt not but you will afford me all due encouragement and protection. I had resolved to send in all my guns, being six in number, according to the intimation of my letter; but two of them were so large, the messengers were not able to carry them. I since proffered to leave them with Mr. *Barker*, but he not having any order to receive them, told me he con-

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ceived I might do well to send them to Mr. *Almy*, who is a person concerned in the jurisdiction, which I resolved to do; but since then an Indian, known by the name of *Broad-faced-will*, stole one of them out of the wigwam in the night, and is run away with it, to Mount Hope; the other I think to send to Mr. *Almy*. A list of those that are obedient to me, and, I hope, and am persuaded, faithful to you, is here enclosed. Honored Sir, I shall not trouble you further, but desiring your peace and prosperity, in which I look at my own to be included. I remain, your unfeigned servant,

× AWASUNCKS."

This letter was very probably written by Mr. Barker, named in it.

October 20, 1671, governor Prince wrote to Awashonks, that he had received the list of names of her men and husband, that freely submitted themselves to his majesty's authority; and assured her that the English would befriend her on all just occasions; but intimates her disappointment, and his own, that she had succeeded no better in procuring the submission of her subjects. "Though," he continued, "I fault not you, with any failing to endeavor, only to notice your good persuasions of them outwent their deserts, for aught yet appeareth. I could have wished they had been wiser for themselves, especially your two sons, that may probably succeed you in your government, and your brother also, who is so nearly tied unto you by nature. Do they think themselves so great as to disregard and affront his majesty's interest and authority here; and the amity of the English? Certainly if they do, I think they did much disservice, and wish they would yet show themselves wiser, before it be too late." He closed by recommending her to send some of her's to the next court, to desire their arms, that

her people might have the use of them in the approaching season. Desires her to let him hear from her and her husband.*

We hear no more of Awashonks until about the commencement of Philip's war. The year before this war, Mr. *Benjamin Church*, afterwards the famous and well known colonel *Church*, settled upon the peninsula of Sogkonate, in the midst of *Awashonks* people. This peninsula is on the north-east side of Narraganset bay, against the south-east end of the island of Rhode Island. Here he lived in the greatest friendship with these Indians, until the spring of the year 1675, when suddenly a war was talked of, and messengers were sent by *Philip* to *Awashonks*, to engage her in it. She so far listened to their persuasions as to call her principal people together, and make a great dance; and because she respected Mr. *Church*, she sent privately for him also. *Church* took with him a man that well understood Indian, and went directly to the place appointed. Here "they found hundreds of Indians gathered together from all parts of her dominions. *Awashonks* herself in a foaming sweat was leading the dance," but when it was announced that Mr. *Church* was come, she stopped short, and sat down; ordered her chiefs into her presence, and then invited Mr. *Church*. All being seated, she informed him that *Metacomet*, that is *Philip*, had sent six of his men to urge her to join with him in prosecuting a war against the English. She said these messengers informed her that the *Unpames*, that is Plimouth men, were gathering a great army to invade his country, and wished to know of him if this were truly the case. He told her that it was entirely without foundation, for he had but just come from Plimouth, and no prep-

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erations of any kind were making, nor did he believe any thoughts of war were entertained by any of the head men there. "He asked her whether she thought he would have brought up his goods to settle in that place," if he in the least apprehended a war; at which she seemed somewhat convinced. *Awashonks* then ordered the six Pokanokits into their presence. These made an imposing appearance, having their faces painted, and their hairs so cut as to represent a cock's comb, being all shaved from each side of the head, leaving only a tuft upon the crown, which extended from the forehead to the occiput. They had powder-horns and shot-bags at their backs, which denoted warlike messengers of their nation. She now informed them of what capt. *Church* had said. Upon which they discovered dissatisfaction, and a warm talk followed, but *Awashonks* soon put an end to it; after which she told Mr. *Church* that *Philip* had told his messengers to tell her, that unless she joined with him, he would send over some of his warriors, privately, to kill the cattle and burn the houses of the English, which they would think to be done by her men, and consequently would fall upon her.

Mr. *Church* asked the Mount Hopes what they were going to do with the bullets in their possession, to which they scoffingly answered, "to shoot pigeons with." *Church* then told *Awashonks* that if *Philip* were resolved on war, "her best way would be to knock those six Mount Hopes on the head, and shelter herself under the protection of the English." When they understood this they were very silent, and it is to be lamented that so worthy a man as *Church* should be the first to recommend murder, and it is due only to the wisdom of *Awashonks*, that his unadvised counsel was not put in practice.

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These six Pokanokets came over to Sogkonate with two of *Awashonks* men, who seemed very favourably inclined to the measures of *Philip*. They expressed themselves with great indignation, at the rash advice of *Church*. Another of her men, called *Little-eyes*, one of her council, was so enraged that he would then have taken *Church's* life, if he had not been prevented. His design was to get Mr. *Church* aside from the rest, under a pretence of private talk, and to have assassinated him when he was off his guard. But some of his friends seeing through the artifice prevented it.

The advice of *Church* was adopted, or that part which directed that *Awashonks* should immediately put herself under the protection of the English, and she desired him to go immediately and make the arrangement, to which he agreed. After kindly thanking him for his information and advice, she sent two of her men with him to his house, to guard him. These urged him to secure his goods, lest in his absence the enemy should come and destroy them; but he would not, because such a step might be thought a kind of preparation for hostilities; but told them, that in case hostilities were begun, they might convey his effects to a place of safety. He then proceeded to *Plimouth*, where he arrived 7th June, 1675.

In his way to *Plimouth*, he met, at *Pocasset*, the husband of *Weetamore*, commonly known by the name of squaw Sachem of *Pocasset*. He was just returned from the neighborhood of *Mount Hope*, and confirmed all that had been said about *Philip's* intentions to begin a war.

But before Mr. *Church* could return again to *Awashonks*, the war commenced, and all communication was at an end. This was sorely regretted by *Church*, and the benevolent *Awashonks* was carried away in

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the tide of Philip's successes, which was her only alternative.

Mr. *Church* was wounded at the great Swamp fight, 19th December following, and remained upon Rhode Island until about the middle of May, 1676. He now resolved to engage again in the war, and taking passage in a sloop bound to Barnstable, arrived at Plimouth the first Tuesday in June. The governor and other officers of government were highly pleased to see him, and desired him to take the command of a company of men to be immediately sent out, to which he consented. We thus notice *Church's* proceeding, because it led to important matters connected with the history of *Awashonks*. Before he set out with the soldiers raised at Plimouth, it was agreed that he should first return to Rhode Island, for the purpose of raising other forces to be joined with them. In his return to the island, as he passed from *Sogkonasset*, now called *Wood's hole*, to the island, and when he came against Sogkonate point, some of the enemy were seen fishing upon the rocks. He was now in an open canoe, which he had hired at Sogkonasset, and two Indians to paddle it. He ordered them to go so near the rocks that he might speak with those upon them; being persuaded that if he could have an opportunity, he might still gain over the Sogkonates to the side of the English, for he knew they never had any real attachment to *Philip*, and were now in his interest, only from necessity. They accordingly paddled towards them, who made signs for them to approach; but when they had got pretty near, they skulked away among the rocks, and could not be seen. The canoe then paddled off again, lest they should be fired upon; which when those among the rocks observed, showed themselves again, and called to them

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to come ashore; and said they wished to speak with them. The Indians in the canoe answered them, but those on shore informed them that the waves dashed so upon the rocks that they could not understand a word they said. Church now made signs for two of them to go along upon the shore to a beach, where one could see a good space round, whether any others were near. Immediately two ran to the place, one without any arms, but the other had a lance. Knowing Church to be in the boat, they urged him to come on shore, for they wanted to discourse with him. He told him that had the lance, that if he would carry it away at considerable distance, and leave it, he would. This he readily did. Mr. Church then went ashore, left one of his Indians to guard the canoe, and the other he stationed upon the beach to give notice if any should approach. He was surprised to find that George was one of them, a very good man, and the last Sogkonate he had spoken with, being one of those sent to guard him to his house, and to whom he had given charge of his goods when he undertook his mission to Plimouth. On being asked what he wanted that he called him ashore, answered, "that he took him for Church, as soon as he heard his voice in the canoe, and that he was glad to see him alive." He also told him that *Awashonks* was in a swamp about 3 miles off, and that she had left *Philip* and did not intend to return to him any more; and wished Mr. Church to stay while he should go and call her; this he did not think prudent, but said he would come again and speak with *Awashonks*, and some other Indians, that he should name. He therefore told *George* to notify *Awashonks*, her son *Peter*, their chief captain, and one *Nompash*, to meet him two days after at a certain rock, "at the lower end of captain *Richmond's* farm, which

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was a very noted place." It was provided that if that day should prove stormy, the next pleasant day should be improved. They parted with cordiality; *George* to carry the news to *Awashonks*, and *Church* to Newport.

On being made acquainted with *Church's* intention to visit these Indians, the government of Rhode Island marvelled much at his presumption, and would not give him any permit under their hands; assuring him that the Indians would kill him. They said also that it was madness on his part, after such signal services as he had done, to throw away his life in such a manner. Neither could any entreaties of friends alter his resolution, and he made ready for his departure. It was his intention to have taken with him one *Daniel Wilcox*, a man who well understood the Indian language, but the government utterly refused; so that his whole retinue in this important embassy, consisted only of himself, his own man, and the two Indians who conducted him from *Sogkonesset*. As an important item in his outfit, must be mentioned a *bottle of rum*, and a *roll of tobacco*.

The day appointed having arrived, after paddling about three miles, they came to the stated rock, where the Indians were ready to receive them, and gave him their hands in token of friendship. They went back from the shore about fifty yards, for a convenient place for consultation, when all at once rose up from the high grass, a great many Indians, so that they were entirely encompassed. They were all armed with guns, spears and hatchets; faces painted and hairs trimmed, in complete warlike array. If ever a man knew fear, we should apprehend it would discover itself upon an occasion like this. But like *Mentor* in the fable; "*qui craignoit les maux avant qu'il arrivassent*,

ne savoit plus ce que c'étoit que de les croire dès qu' ils étoient arrivés."

As soon as he could be heard, Mr. Church told *Awashonks* that *George* had said that she desired to see him, about making peace with the English. She said, "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." He observed that it would be very proper for her men to lay aside their arms while they discoursed of peace. At this there was much murmuring among them, and *Awashonks* asked him what arms they should lay aside. Seeing their displeasure, he said only their guns for forms' sake. With one consent they then laid away their guns and came and sat down. He then drew out his bottle of rum and asked *Awashonks* whether she had lived up so long at Wachusett as to forget to drink *occapeches*. Then drinking to her, observed she watched him very narrowly to see whether he swallowed, and on offering it to her, she wished him to drink again. He then told her there was no poison in it, and pouring some into the palm of his hand, sipped it up. After he had taken a second hearty dram, *Awashonks* ventured to do likewise; then passed it among her attendants. The tobacco was next passed round, and they began to talk. *Awashonks* wanted to know why he had not come as he promised the year before, observing, that if he had, she and her people had not joined with *Philip*. He told her he was prevented by the breaking out of the war, and mentioned that he made an attempt, notwithstanding, soon after he left her, and got as far as Punkatesse, when a multitude of enemies set upon him, and obliged him to retreat. A great murmur now arose among the warriors, and one, a fierce

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and gigantic fellow, raised his war club, with intention to kill Mr. Church, but some laid hold on him and prevented him. They informed him that this fellow's brother was killed in the fight at *Punkateese*, and that he said it was *Church* that killed him, and he would now have his blood. *Church* told them to tell him that his brother began first, and that if he had done as he had directed him, he would not have been hurt. The chief captain now ordered silence, telling them they should talk no more about old matters, which put an end to the tumult, and an agreement was soon concluded. *Awashonks* agreed to serve the English "in what way she was able," provided "Plimouth 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." This, *Church* told her he did not doubt in the least but Plimouth would consent to.

Things being thus matured, the chief captain stood up, and after expressing the great respect he had for Mr. Church, said, "Sir, if you will please accept of me and my men, and will head us, we will fight for you, and will help you to *Philip's* head before the Indian corn be ripe." We do not expect that this chief pretended to possess the spirit of prophecy, but certainly he was a truer prophet than many who have made the pretension.

Mr. Church would have taken a few of the men with him, and gone directly through the woods to Plimouth; but *Awashonks* insisted that it would be very hazardous. He therefore agreed to return to the island and proceed by water, and so would take in some of their company at Sogkonate point, which was accordingly brought about. And here it should be mentioned that the friendship now renewed by the

industry of Mr. *Church*, was never afterward broken. Many of these Indians always accompanied *Church* in his memorable expeditions, and rendered great service to the English. When *Philip's* war was over, *Church* went to reside again among them, and the greatest harmony always prevailed. But to return to the thread of our narrative :

On returning to the island, Mr. *Church* "was at great pains and charge to get a vessel, but with unaccountable disappointments; sometimes by the falseness, and sometimes by the faint heartedness of men that he bargained with, and sometimes by wind and weather, &c." was hindered a long time. At length, Mr. *Anthony Low*, of Swanzey, happening to put into the harbor, and although bound to the westward, on being made acquainted with Mr. *Church's* case, said he would run the venture of his vessel and cargo to wait upon him. But when they arrived at Sogkonate point, although the Indians were there according to agreement waiting upon the rocks, they met with a contrary wind, and so rough a sea, that none but *Peter Awashonks* could get on board. This he did at great hazard, having only an old broken canoe to get off in. The wind and rain now forced them up into Pocasset sound, and they were obliged to bear away, and return round the north end of the island, to Newport.

Church now dismissed Mr. *Low*, viewing their effort as against the will of Providence, and drew up an account of what had passed, and despatched *Peter*, on the 9th July, by way of Sogkonate, to Plimouth.

Major *Bradford* having now arrived with the army at Pocasset, Mr. *Church* repaired to him and told him of his transactions and engagements with *Awashonks*. *Bradford* directed him to go and inform her of his arrival, which he did. *Awashonks* doubtless now discov-

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ered much uneasiness and anxiety, but Mr. Church told her, "that if she would be advised and observe order, she nor her people need not fear being hurt by them." He directed her to get all her people together, "lest if they should be found straggling about, mischief might light on them;" and that the next day the army would march down into the neck to receive her. After begging him to consider the short time she had to collect them together, promised to do the best she could, and he left her.

Accordingly two days after she met the army at Punkateese. *Awashonks* was now unnecessarily perplexed by the conduct of Major *Bradford*. For she expected her men would have been employed in the army; but instead of that, he "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." *Church* was also quite disconcerted by this unexpected order, but all reasoning or remonstrance was of no avail with the commander in chief. He told Mr. *Church* he would employ him if he choose, but as for the Indians, "he would not be concerned with them," and accordingly sent them off with a flag of truce, under the direction of *Jack Havens*, an Indian who had never been engaged in the war. Mr. *Church* told *Awashonks* not to be concerned, but it was best to obey orders, and he would shortly meet her at Sandwich.

According to promise, *Church* went by way of Plymouth to meet the *Sogkonates*. The governor of Plymouth was highly pleased at the account *Church* gave him of the Indians, and so much was he now satisfied of his superior abilities and skill, that he desired him to be commissioned in the country's service. He left Plymouth the same day with six attendants, among

whom were Mr. *Jabez Howland*, and Mr. *Nathaniel Southworth*. They slept at Sandwich the first night, and here taking a few more men agreeably to the governor's orders, proceeded to *Agawom*, a small river of Rochester, where they expected to meet the Indians. Some of his company now became discouraged, presuming, perhaps, the Indians were treacherous, and half of them returned home. When they came to *Sippican* river, which empties into Buzzard's bay in Rochester, Mr. *Howland* was so fatigued that they were obliged to leave him, he being in years, and somewhat corpulent. *Church* left two more with him as a reserve in case he should be obliged to retreat. They soon came to the shore of Buzzard's bay, and hearing a great noise at considerable distance from them, upon the bank, were presently in sight of a "vast company of Indians, of all ages and sexes, some on horseback, running races, some at foot-ball, some catching eels and flat fish in the water, some clamming, &c." They now had to find out what Indians these were, before they dared make themselves known to them. *Church* therefore halloed, and two Indians that were at a distance from the rest, rode up to him, to find out what the noise meant. They were very much surprised when they found themselves so near Englishmen, and turned their horses to run, but *Church* making himself known to them, they gave him the desired information. He sent for *Jack Havens*, who immediately came. And when he had confirmed what the others had related, there arrived a large number of them on horsetack, well armed. These treated the English very respectfully. *Church* then sent *Jack* to *Awashonks*, to inform her that he would sup with her that night, and lodge in her tent. In the mean time the English returned with their friends they had left at

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Sippican. When they came to the Indian company, "were immediately conducted to a shelter, open on one side, whither *Awashonks* and her chiefs soon came and paid their respects." When this had taken place there were great shouts made by the "multitudes" which "made the heavens to ring." About sunset "the *Netops** came running from all quarters, laden with the tops of dry pines, and the like combustible matter, making a huge pile thereof, near Mr. Church's shelter, on the open side 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 salt was wanting. When the supper was finished, "the mighty pile of pine knots and tops, &c. was fired, and all the Indians, great and small, gathered in a ring around it. *Awashonks*, with the eldest of her people, men and women mixed, kneeling down, made the first ring next the fire, and all the lusty stout men standing up made the next; and then all the rabble in a confused crew, surrounded on the outside. Then the chief captain stepped in between the rings and the fire, with a spear in one hand, and a hatchet in the other, danced round the fire, and began to fight with it, making mention of all the several nations and companies of Indians in the country that were enemies to the English. And at naming of every particular tribe of Indians, he would draw out and fight a new fire-brand, and at his finishing his fight with each particular fire-brand, would bow to Mr. Church and thank him." When he had named over all the tribes at war with the English, he stuck his spear and hatchet in the ground, and left the ring, and then another stepped in, and acted over

* Signifying *friends*, in Indian.

the same farce; trying to act with more fury than the first. After about a half a dozen had gone through with the performance, their chief captain stepped to Mr. Church and told him "they were making soldiers for him, and what they had been doing was all one swearing of them." *Awashonks* and her chiefs next came and told him "that now they were all engaged to fight for the English." At this time *Awashonks* presented to Mr. Church a very fine gun. The next day, July 22, he selected a number of her men and proceeded to Plymouth. A commission was given him, and being joined with a number of English, volunteers, commenced a successful series of exploits, in which these Sogkonates bore a conspicuous part, but have never, since the days of Church, been anywhere sufficiently noticed.

It is said* that *Awashonks* had two sons, the youngest was *William Mommynewit*, who was put to a grammar school, and learned the Latin language, and was intended for college, but was prevented by being seized with the palsy. The bounds of *Awashonks* territories were a line from *Pachet* brook to the head of *Coaxet*.

About 130 years ago, i. e. 1700, there were 100 Indian men of the Sogkonate tribe, and the general assembly appointed *Numpaus* their captain, who lived to be an old man, and died about 1748, after the taking of Cape Breton, 1745. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, they made quite a respectable religious congregation; had a meeting-house of their own, in which they were instructed by Rev. Mr. *Billings*, once a month, on Sundays. They had a steady preacher among themselves, whose name was *John Simon*, a man of a strong mind. See Art. *John Simon*.†

† See Col. Mas. His. Soc.

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About 1750, a very distressing fever carried off many of this tribe, and in 1803 there were not above ten in Compton, their principal residence.

Barrow, (Sam.) famous in Philip's war; fell into the hands of capt. *Church*, in one of his successful expeditions in the vicinity of Cape Cod. *Church* says, in his history, that he was "as noted a rogue as any among the enemy." Capt. *Church* told him that the government would not permit him to grant him quarter, "because of his inhuman murders and barbarities," and therefore ordered him to prepare for execution, "*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 favor, than to smoke a whiff of tobacco before his execution. When he had taken a few whiffs, he said, 'I am ready;' upon which one of capt. *Church's* Indians sunk his hatchet into his brains." Thus perished a martyr in a great cause, and with infinitely more honor than his murderers. He was the father of *Totoson*.

Big-tree, a chief of the Seneca nation, one who signed the treaty of fort Stanwix*, in 1784. We hear of no warlike exploits of his, but his name is often associated with that of *Corn-plant* and *Half-town*, in their appeals to government during the period immediately following the revolution. Although the following notices may more properly belong to *Corn-plant*, we recite them here, as it is presumed that that article will be sufficiently long without them.

In the year 1790, *Big-tree*, *Corn-plant* and *Half-town* appeared at Philadelphia, and by their interpreter, communicated to President *Washington* as follows:

"*Father*; The voice of the Seneca nations speaks

* Situated 15 miles north west of Utica, in the state of N. Y.

to you ; the great counsellor, in whose heart the wise men of all the *thirteen fires* [13 U. S.] have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your ears, and we therefore entreat you to hearken with attention ; for we are able to speak of things which are to us very great.

“When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you the *town destroyer* ; to this day, when your name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers.”

“When our chiefs returned from fort Stanwix, and laid before our council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give up to you, without your paying to us anything for it. Every one said, that your hearts were yet swelled with resentment against us for what had happened during the war, but that one day you would consider it with more kindness. We asked each other, *what have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?*”

“*Father* ; when you kindled your 13 fires separately, the wise men assembled at them, told us that you were all brothers ; the children of one great father, who regarded the red people as his children. They called us brothers, and invited us to his protection. They told us that he resided beyond the great water where the sun first rises ; and that he was a king whose power, no people could resist, and that his goodness was as bright as the sun. What they said went to our hearts. We accepted the invitation, and promised to obey him. What the Seneca nation promises they faithfully perform. When you refused obedience to that king, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober. In obeying him we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise.” “We were

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deceived; but your people teaching us to confide in that king, had helped to deceive us; and we now appeal to your breast. *Is all the blame ours?*

"*Father*; when we saw that we had been deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us to draw near to the fire you had kindled, and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste towards it. You told us you could crush us to nothing; and you demanded from us a great country, as the price of that peace which you had offered to us: *as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights.* Our chiefs had felt your power and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to has bound our nation, but your anger against us must by this time be cooled, and although our strength is not increased, nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly: *were the terms dictated to us by your commissioners, reasonable and just?*"

They also remind the president of the solemn promise of the commissioners, that they should be secured in the peaceable possession of what was left to them, and then ask, "*does this promise bind you?*" And that no sooner was the treaty of fort Stanwix concluded, than commissioners from Pennsylvania, came to purchase of them what was included within the lines of their state. These they informed that they did not wish to sell, but being further urged, consented to sell a part. But the commissioners said that "*they must have the whole;*" for it was already ceded to them by the king of England, at the peace following the revolution. But still as their ancestors had always paid the Indians for land, they were willing to pay them for it. Being not able to contend, the land was sold. Soon after this they empowered a person to let out part of their land, who said congress had sent him for the pur-

pose, but who, it seems, fraudulently procured a *deed* instead of a *power*; for there soon came another person claiming all their country northward of the line of Pennsylvania, saying that he purchased it of the other, and for which had paid twenty thousand dollars to him, and twenty thousand more to the United States. He now demanded the land and, on being refused, threatened immediate war. Knowing their weak situation, they held a council, and took the advice of a white man, whom they took to be their friend, but who, as it proved, had plotted with the other, and was to receive some of the land for his agency. He therefore told them they must comply. "Astonished at what we heard from every quarter, with hearts aching with compassion for our women and children, we were thus compelled to give up all our country north of the line of Pennsylvania, and east of the Genessee river, up to the great forks, and east of a south line drawn up from that fork to the line of Pennsylvania." For this he agreed to give them ten thousand dollars down, and one thousand dollars a year forever. Instead of that he paid them two thousand five hundred dollars, and some time after offered five hundred dollars more, insisting that that was all he owed them, which he allowed to be yearly. They add,

"*Father*; you have said that we were in your hand, and that by closing it you could crush us to nothing. Are you determined to crush us? If you are, tell us so; that those of our nation who have become your children, and have determined to die so, may know what to do. In this case one chief has said, he would ask you to put him out of his pain. Another, who will not think of dying by the hand of his father, or his brother, has said he will retire to the Chataughque, eat of the fatal root, and sleep with his fathers in peace."

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"All the land we have been speaking of belonged to the Six Nations. No part of it ever belonged to the king of England, and he could not give it to you."

"Hear us once more. At fort Stanwix we agreed to deliver up those of our people who should do you any wrong, and that you might try them and punish them according to your law. We delivered up two men accordingly. But instead of trying them according to your law, the lowest of your people took them from your magistrate, and put them immediately to death. It is just to punish the murder with death, but the Senecas will not deliver up their people to men who disregard the treaties of their own nation."

There were many other grievances enumerated, and all in a strain, which we should think would have drawn forth immediate relief. In his answer, President *Washington* said all, perhaps, which could be said in his situation, and his good feelings are manifest throughout, still there is something like evasion in answering some of their grievances, and an omission of notice to others. His answer nevertheless, gave them much encouragement. He assured them that the lands obtained from them by fraud was not sanctioned by the government, and that the whole transaction was declared null and void. And that the persons who murdered their people should be dealt with as though they had murdered white men, and that all possible means would be used for their apprehension, and rewards should continue to be offered to effect it. But we have not learned that they were ever apprehended. The land conveyed by treaty, the President informed them, he had no authority to concern with, as that act was before his administration.

Bimilick, a Narraganset, one who in 1661, with *Potok*, *Ninicraft* and several other chiefs, were

much crowded and infringed upon in their lands near Point-Judith by other Indians; and against which encroachments they petitioned the court of Massachusetts, that they might have liberty to expel them by force. What orders the court passed upon their petition is not known. There is a brook in Worcester, Mass. bearing the name of *Bimilick*, which perhaps derived its name from this chief.*

Black-kettle, a famous chief and warrior of the Five Nations. A war with France in 1690, brought this chief upon the records of history. In the summer of that year, major Schuyler of Albany, with a company of Mohawks, fell upon the French settlements at the north end of lake Champlain. *De Callieres*, governor of Montreal, hastily collected about 800 men and opposed them, but notwithstanding his force was vastly superior, yet they were repulsed with great loss. About 300 of the enemy were killed in this expedition. The French now took every measure in their power to retaliate. They sent presents to many tribes of Indians, to engage them in their cause, and in the following winter a party of about 300 men, under an accomplished young gentleman, marched to attack the confederate Indian nations at Niagara. Their march was long, and rendered almost insupportable; being obliged to carry their provisions on their backs through deep snow. *Black-kettle* met them with about 80 men, and maintained an unequal fight until his men were nearly all cut off; but it was more fatal to the French, who far from home, had no means of recruiting. *Black-kettle*, in his turn, carried the war into Canada during the whole summer following, with immense loss and damage to

* Manuscript documents.

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the French inhabitants. The governor was so enraged at his successes, that he caused a prisoner, which had been taken from the Five Nations, to be burnt alive. This captive withstood the tortures with as much firmness, as his enemies showed cruelty. He sung his achievements while they broiled his feet, burnt his hands with red hot irons, cut and wrung off his joints, and pulled out the sinews. To close the horrid scene, his scalp was torn off, and red hot sand poured upon his head.

Black-william, called also *Manatahqua*, was Sachem of *Sagus*, now Lynn, and vicinity, when the English settled about there in 1630. His father lived at Swampscot, and was also a Sagamore, but probably was dead before the English settled in the country.* A traveller in this then † wilderness world, thus notices *William*, as possessing *Nahant*. "One *Black-william*, an *Indian Duke*, out of his generosity gave this place in general to the plantation of Saugus, so that no other can appropriate it to himself." He was a great friend to the whites, but his friendship was repaid, as was that of many others of that and even much later times. There was a man by the name of *Walter Bagnall*, "a wicked fellow," who had much wronged the Indians, ‡ was killed near the mouth of Saco river, probably by some of those whom he had defrauded. This was in October, 1631. As some vessels were upon the eastern coast in search of Pirates, in January, 1633, they put in at Richman's island, where they fell in with *Black-william*. This was the place where *Bagnall* had been killed about two years before, but whether he had anything to do with it, does not appear, nor do I find as any one, even his

* Hist. N. England: 32. † 1633, Mr. William Wood; he wrote N. England Prospect. ‡ Winthrop's Jour. 1, 62, 63.

murderers, pretended he was any way implicated, but out of revenge for *Bagnall's* death, these pirate hunters hanged *Black-william*.† On the contrary it was particularly mentioned* that *Bagnall* was killed by *Squidrayset* and his men, some Indians belonging to that part of the country.

It is believed that this chief married a daughter of *Passaconaway*. See that head.

Blue-jacket, a name necessarily reminding us of the fate of several tribes almost destroyed by the American army under general *Wayne*, in 1794. Led on by this chief, rather against the judgment of some others, inspired by a confidence which had grown out of their late victories, proved to them when too late, that success at one time, was no security for its continuance.‡

The tribes united to oppose the Americans under *Wayne*, were the Wyandots, Miamis, Pattowatomys, Delawares, Shawanese, Chippeways, Ottoways, and a few Senecas. *Blue-jacket* was the director and leader of this mighty band of warriors.

From the time general *St. Clair* was defeated in 1791, murders were continued upon the frontier, and all attempts on the part of government to effect a peace, proved of no avail; and lastly the ambassadors sent to them were murdered, and that too while the army was progressing towards their country.

After building fort Greenville, upon the Ohio, six miles above fort Jefferson, general *Wayne* took possession of the ground where gen. *St. Clair* had been defeated, and there erected a fort, to which he gave the name of Recovery, in which the army spent the winter of 1793-4. Many censures were passed upon the general for his slow progress, but he knew much bet-

* Hist. Lynn. † Winthrop's Jour. I. 62, 63.

‡ Advice of *Little-turtle*.

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ter what he was doing, than newspaper writers did what they were writing, when they undertook to censure him, as the event proved.

It was the 8th of August, 1794, when the army arrived at the confluence of the rivers Au Glaize and Maumee, where they built fort Defiance. It was the general's design to have met the enemy unprepared, in this move, but a fellow deserted his camp and notified the Indians. He now tried again to bring them to an accommodation, and from the answers which he received from them it was some time revolved in his mind, whether they were for peace or not; so artful was the manner in which their replies were formed.* At length being fully satisfied, he marched down the Maumee, and arrived at the rapids, 18th of August. His army consisted of upwards of 3000 men, 2000 of whom were regulars. Fort Deposit was erected at this place for the security of their supplies. They now set out to meet the enemy, who had chosen his position, upon the bank of the river, with much judgment. They had a breastwork of fallen trees in front, and the high rocky shore of the river gave them much security, as also did the thick wood of Presque isle. Their force was divided, and disposed at supporting distances for about two miles. When the Americans had arrived at proper distance, a body was sent out to begin the attack, "with orders to rouse the enemy from their covert with the bayonet; and when up, to deliver a close fire upon their backs, and press them so hard as not to give them time to reload."† This order was so well executed, and the battle at the point of attack so short, that only about 900 Americans participated in it. But

* Marshall's Washington, v. 481. ed. 4to.

† Schoolcraft.

they pursued the Indians with great slaughter through the woods to fort Maumee, where the carnage ended. The Indians were so unexpectedly driven from their strong hold, that their numbers only increased their distress and confusion. And the cavalry made horrible havoc among them with their long sabres. Of the Americans there were killed and wounded about one hundred and thirty. The loss of the Indians could not be ascertained, but must have been very severe. The American loss was chiefly at the commencement of the action, as they advanced upon the mouths of the Indians rifles, who could not be seen until they had fired. They maintained their coverts but a short time, being forced in every direction by the bayonet. But until that was effected the Americans fell fast, and we only wonder that men could be found thus to advance in the face of certain death.

This horrid catastrophe in our Indian annals, is chargeable to certain white men, or at least mainly so; for some days before the battle, general *Wayne* sent a flag of truce to them, and desired them to come and treat with him. The letter which he sent was taken to a col. *M'Kee*, who it appears was their ill-adviser, and he, by putting a false construction upon it, increased the rage of the Indians; he then informed them that they must forthwith fight the American army. Some of the chiefs, learning the truth of the letter, were for peace, but it was too late. *Little-turtle* was known to have been in favor of making peace; and seemed well aware of the abilities of the American general. He said to the other chiefs, "The Americans are now led by a chief, who never sleeps. The night and the day are alike to him. And during all the time that he has been marching upon our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him."

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The night before the battle, the chiefs assembled in council, and some proposed attacking the army in its encampment, but was objected to by others; finally the proposition of fighting at Presque Isle, prevailed.

In this battle all the chiefs of the Wyandots were killed, being nine in number. Some of the nations escaped the slaughter by not coming up until after the defeat. This severe blow satisfied the western Indians of the folly of longer contending against the Americans; they therefore were glad to get what terms they could from them. The chiefs of twelve tribes met commissioners at fort Greenville, and as a price of their peace, gave up an extensive tract of country south of the lakes, and west of the Ohio; and such other tracts as comprehended all the military posts in the western region. The government discovered some liberality to these tribes, on their relinquishing to it what they could not withhold, and as a gratuity gave them twenty thousand dollars in goods, and agreed to pay them nine thousand dollars a year forever; to be divided among those tribes in proportion to their numbers.*

It has been mentioned, that when the Indians were routed, they fled to fort Maumee. This was a British garrison, and its commander had promised the Indians protection within its walls, if the battle turned against them, but he broke his promise with them, and they never overlooked it in the British afterwards. *Tecumseh* alludes to the transaction in his famous speech to Proctor in our last war, and so did *Walk-in-the-water* upon another occasion. Many English Canadians from Detroit fought in this battle, notwithstanding the

*The terms of this treaty were the same as were offered to them before the battle, which should be mentioned, as adding materially to our good feelings towards its authors. It is generally denominated *Wayne's* treaty. It is worthy of him.

two nations were then at peace. The fact admitted of no contradiction, for several were found among the slain, who were known to be such.

Blue-jacket, a Shawanese chief, who rendered his name famous during the last war. At a time when many of the north-western tribes were about to join the Americans, this chief, under a false pretence, intended to have joined others in the council appointed to be held at Seneca with the American commissioners, in the summer of 1813, with the intention of assassinating the commander, general *Harrison*. He had formerly lived at Wapockonta, but from which he had been absent a considerable time, and had returned only a few days before the warriors of that town set out to join the American army. That they might not mistrust his intentions, he told them that he had been hunting on the Wabash, and at his request they permitted him to march with them to Seneca. "Upon their arrival at M'Arthurs block-house, they halted, and encamped for the purpose of procuring provisions from the deputy Indian agent, col. *M'Pherson*, who resided there. Before their arrival at that place, *Blue-jacket* had communicated to a friend of his, a Shawanese warrior, his intention to kill the American general, and requested his assistance, but his friend declined, and tried to influence him to give up the idea; urging that he would assuredly loose his own life in the attempt. The determined warrior chief, like the famous *Nanuntenoh*, replied "I would kill the general, if I knew his guards would cut me in pieces not bigger than my thumb nail."* This friend chanced to be a friend also of general *Harrison*, which proved in the end, a means to save his life. His name was *Beaver*, and a Delaware, and was under peculiar obligations to

* Memoirs of gen. Harrison,

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general *Harrison*, who had been a father to him in his youth, when his own father had been killed. He therefore felt bound to prevent an injury coming upon him; and on the other hand, he knew not how to rid himself of the obligation due, and almost always strictly observed, from one chief towards another. At length an opportunity presented, in which he might discharge, as he conceived, his obligations. While they were encamped at the Block-house, and *Beaver* sat in his tent, *Blue-jacket* drew near, reeling under the effect of ardent spirit, and uttering vengeance against *M'Pherson*, who had turned him out of his house, for acting, it is probable, in a manner agreeable to what he had received from its inmates, and as they ought to have expected. At this, *Beaver's* determination was in a moment fixed, and raising his tomahawk, exclaimed, "you must be a great warrior; you will not only kill this white man for serving you as you deserve, but you will also murder our father, the American chief, and bring disgrace and misery upon us all; but you shall do neither." At the same moment dealing a deadly blow upon his skull, with which he prostrated him upon the earth, and with a second ended his life. "*There*," said he to some Shawanese present, "take him to the camp of his tribe, and tell them who has done the deed." *Beaver* was applauded for the act, and no resentment appears to have existed against him afterward. Nor could any one account for the design of *Blue-jacket*.

Bomazeen, or Bomazon, Sachem of Nerigwok, or Noifidgewock. Whether he was the next in succession to *Arruhawikwabeml* or not, we have not learned; or whether he were a distinct chief among others of equal authority among the Nerigwoks.

Whether this chief was the leader in the attack up-

on Oyster river in N. Hampshire, Groton in Massachusetts, and many other places about the year 1694, we cannot determine, but Hutchinson says he was "a principal actor in the carnage upon the English," after the treaty which he had made with governor Phips, in 1693. In 1694 he came to the fort at Pemmaquid with a flag of truce, and was treacherously seized by those who commanded, and sent prisoner to Boston, where he remained some months, in a loathsome prison. In 1706 new barbarities were committed. Chelmsford, Sudbury, Groton, Exeter, Dover and many other places suffered more or less. Many captives were taken to Canada, and many killed upon the way. A poor woman who had arrived at the river St. Lawrence, was about to be hanged by her master. The limb of the tree on which he was executing his purpose gave way, and while he was making a second attempt, *Bomazeen*, happened to be passing, and rescued her. Here was humanity. What a thrill of gratitude would our natures receive, were we able to record, or read, that at a certain time the arm of an Englishman was stayed, when the axe was about to descend upon the neck of a poor helpless Indian prisoner!

We hear of him just after the death of *Arrahawik-wabent*, in October, 1710, when he fell upon Saco with 60 or 70 men, and killed several people, and carried away some captives. He is mentioned as a "notorious fellow," and but few of his acts are upon record. Some time after the peace of 1701, it seemed to be confirmed by the appearance of *Bomazeen*, and another principal chief, who said the French Friars were urging them to break their union with the English, "but that they had made no impression on them, for they were as firm as the mountains, and should continue so, as long as the sun and moon en-

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dured." On peace being made known to the Indians, as having taken place between the French and English nations, they came into Casco with a flag of truce, and soon after concluded a treaty at Portsmouth, N. H., dated 11th July, 1713. *Bomazeen's* name and mark are to this treaty.

When capt. *Moulton* was sent up to Nerigwok in 1724, they fell in with *Bomazeen* about Taconnet, where they shot him as he was escaping through the river. Near the town of Nerigwok, his wife and daughter were, in a barbarous manner fired upon, the daughter killed, and the mother taken.

I purposely omit Dr. C. Mathers-account of *Bomazeen's* conversation with a minister of Boston, while a prisoner there, which amounts to little else than his recounting some of the extravagant notions which the French of Canada had made many Indians believe, to their great detriment, as he said; as that *Jesus Christ* was a French man, and the virgin *Mary* a French woman; that the French gave them poison to drink, to inflame them against the English, which made them run mad, &c.

Brandt, an Onondaga chief, conspicuous for his deception and treachery in the French war. About 1756, notwithstanding three of his sons were in the English army, yet he used wily arts that they might fall into the hands of the French at Oswego. In the revolutionary war he was commissioned colonel in the English army, and led a band of warriors in the Massacre of Wyoming, and in the attack on Minisink, in New York. He died in 1807. His father was a German, and his mother an Indian. His residence was at *Anaquaga*, in New York, about 36 miles from the present site of Cooperstown. His most noted exploit of barbarity was in the attack on Wyoming, at the

head of about 300 Indians. In this, however, if barbarity be chargeable to one more than another, it is to a Connecticut tory, by the name of *John Butler*. This man had lived among the Indians on the frontier, for some time, in the character of an Indian trader. At the head of about 1300 men, he associated himself with *Brandt* and other Indian chiefs of the Six Nations, and appeared upon the Susquehanna in the beginning of July, 1778. The story of the fall and Massacre of Wyoming is told in every history of the revolution, but I shall refer the reader to that of Dr. Gordon.*

From *Weld's* travels in America, soon after the Revolution, I extract as follows concerning *Brandt*. "With a considerable body of his troops he joined the forces under the command of sir *John Johnson*. A skirmish took place with a body of American troops; the action was warm, and *Brandt* was shot by a musket ball in his heel, but the Americans, in the end were defeated, and an officer with 60 men, were taken prisoners. The officer, after having delivered up his sword, had entered into conversation with sir *John Johnson*, who commanded the British troops, and they were talking together in the most friendly manner, when *Brandt*, having stolen slyly behind them, laid the American officer low with a blow of his tomahawk. The indignation of sir *John Johnson*, as may be readily supposed, was roused by such an act of treachery, and he resented it in the warmest terms. *Brandt* listened to him unconcernedly, and when he had finished, told him, that *he was sorry for his displeasure, but that, indeed, his heel was extremely painful at the moment, and he*

* But the critical reader, may be very properly directed to an account published in the Worcester Magazine, written in a humorous and neat style.

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could not help revenging himself on the only chief of the party that he saw taken."

The famous poem, *Gertrude of Wyoming*, often recalls to our social circles, the recollection of *Brandt*. But it is as hard to find excuse for the author's putting the words of *Logan* into his hero's mouth, in one of the stanzas, as for a modern tragedy writer, those of *Nan-untenh* into the mouth of *Philip*. However, as it is a beautiful stanza in other respects, I will not withhold it from the reader.

"Scorning to wield the hatchet for his bride,
'Gainst *Brandt* himself, I want to battle forth:
Accursed *Brandt*! he left of all my tribe
Nor man nor child, nor thing of living birth:
No! not the dog, that watched my household hearth,
Escaped that night of blood, upon our plains!
All perished! I alone am left on Earth!
To whom nor relation nor blood remains,
No!—not a kindred drop that runs in human veins!"

It should be mentioned that a son of *Brandt*, has contradicted much of what has been said and written about his father. But what his assertions are we know not; none of them having ever come to our knowledge, but in general terms.

Whatever treachery or barbarity attaches itself to the name of *Brandt*, the friend of the Indian has the consolation that he was but a half blood, or in other words, that he was but half Indian.

At the massacre of Wyoming, col. *Robert Durkee*, whose name was for several years before conspicuous in the French war, was tortured in the most horrid manner. The Indians held him in the fire with pitchforks until he expired. But whether col. *Brandt* or col. *Butler* presided upon the occasion we are not informed.

King *George* conferred on *Brandt* a fine tract of land

on the west shore of lake Ontario, as a reward for his military services, where a son and daughter were very recently living, in the English style; but their mother would never conform to this mode of life. *Brandt* was a man of some learning, and translated a prayerbook and some of the bible into Indian; copies of which may be seen in the library of Harvard College.

Bull, (capt.) a chief among the Wabash tribe, who when gens. Scott and Wilkinson were sent into that country in 1791, did by his warriness, save many of his people from falling into the hands of the Americans. He discovered the army at a considerable distance, and before they could come up, himself and nearly all his people, escaped across the Wabash. In one house, however, a detachment of 40 men killed *two warriors!* At another town a little higher up the river, they fell upon the inhabitants as they were embarking in their canoes. How many they killed in this situation is not distinctly stated, but they "destroyed all the savages with which five canoes were crowded." The river here being not fordable to the Americans, gave many an opportunity of escape. A detachment at the same time surprised a neighboring village, killed 6 warriors and took 52 prisoners; mostly *women and children*. About 18 miles farther up, at the mouth of Eel river, a detachment burnt the town of Kethlipecanunk, and had a skirmish with a few warriors, in which three whites were wounded, but we hear of none on the other side. Some French people lived here with the Indians, as they ascertained by many French books and letters which they found in the houses. The village contained "about 70 houses, many of them well finished."

The army, after releasing 16 prisoners, who were unable to travel, by whom a proclamation was sent to

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the Wabash tribes, decamped and left the country. Thus ended the expedition of general Scott; in which not a white man was killed, and but five wounded." "Thirty-two, chiefly warriors of size and figure," were killed, and fifty-eight taken prisoners.

Bullet, (captain.) A Seneca chief, was known by this name in 1791. His depredations, added to those of many others, was the cause of the unfortunate expeditions afterwards, of *Harmer* and *St. Clair*. This chief, on the 22d March, in that year, led a party of his warriors to a frontier settlement on the Alleghany river, in Pennsylvania, opposite to a small island, called Owen's island, where *Bullet*, with five of his men went into the house of one Mr. *Cutwright*, in a friendly manner, and requested some victuals, which the family immediately gave them. When they had finished eating, capt. *Bullet* told Mr. *Cutwright* he must give him his gun, and on meeting with a refusal, raised his tomahawk and gave *Cutwright* such a blow, that he instantly fell dead. By this time a son of *Cutwright* having provided himself with an axe, struck at and killed *Bullet*. Upon this a second Indian laid young *Cutwright* dead with his tomahawk. The affray had alarmed the neighborhood, and others were engaged on both sides. No more of the whites appear to have been killed, but two of *Bullet's* company were added to the former number, and the Indians, to the number of 14, made their escape into the woods, and the few scattered settlers retired for a time to the lower settlements.

Bull-head, chief of the lower Seminoles, noticed for the sake of exhibiting a custom of surprising barbarity. He had escaped the ravages of war, carried on by the Americans against them for several years previous to and during 1818, and lived in a place

of security, enjoying the rich plunder he had wrested from his enemies. In June of this year, 1818, he died, and agreeable to his direction, four beautiful horses, and a negro man for whom he had great attachment while living, were burned as sacrifices upon the occasion.

Busheag, a Pequot, who in the time of the first settlement of Connecticut, made an attempt to murder some of the people of the town of Stamford, and although he did not succeed, yet the English offered a reward for the intended murderer, and he was shortly after apprehended by one of his own nation and delivered up to the English, who put him to death at New Haven.

Caleb, a Punkapog, one of those called praying Indians, but who had become disaffected, as was often the case among those professing Christianity. This **Caleb** being detected in attempting to run away to join the Narragansets with another man's wife, about the commencement of Philip's war, fled into the woods, and was taken soon after, and delivered to the English, who closely confined him; his fate is unknown, but doubtless the fate of a slave in a distant land was his.

Canassatego, a Mengwe chief of the Six Nations. In 1742, there arose a dispute between the Delawares and the government of Pennsylvania, relative to a tract of land in the forks of the Delaware. The English claimed it by right of prior purchase, and the Delawares persisted in their claim, and threatened to use force unless it should be given up by the whites. This tribe of the Delawares were subject to the Six Nations, and the governor of Pennsylvania sent deputies to them to notify them of the trouble, that they might interfere and prevent war. It was on this occasion that **Canassatego** appeared in Philadelphia

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with 230 warriors. He observed to the governor, "that they saw the Delawares had been an unruly people, and were altogether in the wrong; that they had concluded to remove them, and oblige them to go over the river Delaware, and quit all claim to any lands on this side for the future, since they had received pay for them, and it is gone through their guts long ago. They deserved, he said, to be taken by the hair of the head, and shaken severely, till they recovered their senses, and became sober; that he had seen with his own eyes a deed signed by nine of their ancestors above fifty years ago for this very land, and a release signed not many years since, by some of themselves, and chiefs yet living, (and then present) to the number of 15 and upwards; but how came you (addressing himself to the Delawares present,) to take upon you to sell land at all? We conquered you; we made women of you; you know you are women; and can no more sell land than women; nor is it fit you should have the power of selling lands, since you would abuse it. This land you claim is gone through your guts; you have been furnished with clothes, meat and drink, by the goods paid you for it, and now you want it again, like children as you are. But what makes you sell lands in the dark? Did you ever tell us that you had sold this land? Did we ever receive any part, even the value of a pipe shank, from you, for it? You have told us a blind story, that you sent a messenger to us, to inform us of the sale; but he never came amongst us, nor did we ever hear any thing about it. This is acting in the dark, and very different from the conduct our Six Nations observe in the sales of land. On such occasions they give public notice, and invite all the Indians of their united nations, and give them all a share of the presents they receive for their lands.

This is the behaviour of the wise united nations. But we find you are none of our blood; you act a dishonest part, not only in this, but in other matters; your ears are ever open to slanderous reports about your brethren. For all these reasons, *we charge you to remove instantly; we dont give you liberty to think about it. You are women.*" They dared not disobey this command, and soon after removed, some to Wyoming and Shamokin, and some to the Ohio.*

When *Canassatego* was at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, in 1744, holding a talk about their affairs with the governor, he was informed that the English had beaten the French, in some important battle. "Well," said he "if that be the case, you must have taken a great deal of rum from them, and can afford to give us some, that we may rejoice with you." Accordingly a glass was served round to each, which they called a *French glass*. †

We are not to look into the history of Pennsylvania for a succession of Indian wars, although there have been some horrid murders and enormities committed among the whites and Indians. For about 70 years, their historic page, is very clear of such records, namely, from 1682, the arrival of William Penn, until the French war of 1755.

Canonchet, or by some *Quanonshet*, was son of *Miantunomoh*. *Canonchet* was the last name by which he was known; that of *Nanuntenuo* he bore some time previous to Philip's war. He was a famous warrior, and commanded in the fight when capt. *Michael Pierce*,

* Gordon's Pa. A very pleasant story is told of *Canassatego* by Dr. *Franklin*, but is too long to be here inserted, and is or ought to be in the hands of every person. It is printed in the common edition of his life.

† Colden's Hist. Five Nations, ii, 142.

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of Scituate, and his company were cut off at Patuxet, in Rhode Island. He was, says Dr. *Trumbull*, an "inheritor of all his father's pride, and of his insolence and hatred towards the English."

The "sore defeat" of capt. *Pierce*, and the tide of the enemies previous success, caused the united colonies to send forth all the strength they could raise. The fight at Patuxet was on Sunday, the 26th of March, 1676, and before the end of the month *Canonchet*, with many of his men, atoned by their lives for the loss of the English. During the winter of 1675, *Canonchet* took up his abode far into the country of the Nipmucks. He came down early in the spring to collect seed corn for the purpose of planting the deserted settlements of the English upon Connecticut river. It was in this service that his scouts discovered and watched the movements of capt. *Pierce's* company, and fell upon them at such great advantage. Shortly after this, capt. *George Denison* of Southerton,* with a considerable body of English, and a large number of Pequot and Mobegan Indians, came upon *Canonchet* near Patucket river. They first took a squaw belonging to his company, who informed them where *Canonchet* was. He was nearly surrounded in his wigwam, when one of his men apprised him of the approach of the English, and he instantly fled with great precipitation. A friendly Indian by the name of *Catapazet*, discovering him as he fled, knew him and pursued him with all the speed he was master of. Several others

* Since, Stonington, in Connecticut. He lived near Mystic river in 1658, and was the chief officer in the place, civil, military, or ecclesiastical. Possibly some future historian may ask the editors of the Connecticut Gazetteer, who pretend to give biographical notices of the most eminent men in the towns, what they have done with capt. *George Denison*.

who were very swift of foot, joined in the pursuit. When pressed to great extremity, he threw off his blanket, and again as they neared him, his silver laced coat, which was, some time before the war, given him at Boston, when he made a treaty with the English. A doubt no longer remained with his pursuers, as to the certainty that it was *Canonchet*, which gave them new ardor in the pursuit; yet it seemed very doubtful whether they would be able to overtake him; and but for an accident was hardly probable. As he was crossing the river, his foot slipped upon a stone, which brought him into a deep place, and his gun under water, and he lost so much time in recovering himself, that one of the foremost of his pursuers, a Pequot named *Monopoide*, came up and seized upon him, as he was flying upon the opposite shore, and within 30 rods of it. *Canonchet* made no resistance, although he was a man of great physical strength, and acknowledged bravery, and the one who seized him very ordinary in that respect. *Robert Stanton*, a young man, was the first Englishman who came up. He asked the captured chief some questions, who appeared at first to regard him with silent indignity, but at length casting a disdainful look upon him, said in broken English, "you too much child: no understand matters of war: let your captain come, him I will answer." "Acting herein," says Mr. Hubbard, "as if by a Pythagorean metempsychosis, some old Roman ghost had possessed the body of this western pagan; and like *Attilius Regulus*,* he would not accept of his own life, when it was tendered him," on condition that he would make peace with the English, observing that he knew his men would not submit. But the true cause no doubt was, his considering such an act contrary to his dignity.

* *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, a Roman Consul.

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For he had said before that "he would not deliver up a Wampanoag, or the pearing of a Wampanoags nail; that he would burn the English alive in their houses." This his captors now reminded him of, and he made no other answer, but this, "others were as forward for the war as I," and he desired to hear no more of it. When he was told that he must die, he said, "he liked it well; that he should die before his heart was soft, or had spoken any thing unworthy of himself." He was taken to Stonington, where he was shot by some of the Pequots and Mohegans. His head was cut off and sent to Hartford, and his body consumed by fire. At the time he was taken, there were killed and captured forty three others.*

Canonicus, † the great Sachem of the Narragansets. He was contemporary with *Miantunnomoh* who was his nephew. We know not the time of his birth, but a son of his was at Boston the next year after it was settled, 1631. But the time of his death is minutely recorded by gov. Winthrop in his "Journal," thus: "June 4, 1647. *Canonicus*, the great Sachem of Narraganset, died, a very old man." He is mentioned with great respect by Rev. *Roger Williams*, † in the year 1654. After observing that *many hundreds* of the English were witnesses to the friendly disposition of the Narragansets, says, "Their late famous

* Manuscript documents.

† A name probably conferred on him by the English. Or perhaps it came nearest to the sound of the Indian word. The Philologists of that day might have raised an argument in favor of their having descended from the Latins upon it, if it were really Indian. There was a great poet, orator and artist, friar of Trinity Church, London, in the year 1200, surnamed *Canonicus*, mentioned by *Hakluyt*, as having travelled into Palestine, &c. *Voyages*, II, 30, ed. 1599.

‡ Manuscript letter to the governor of Massachusetts.

longlived *Caunonicus* so lived and died, and in the same most honorable manner and solemnity, (in *their* way) as *you* laid to sleep *your* prudent peace-maker, Mr. Winthrop, did they honor this their prudent and peaceable prince; yea through all their towns and countries how frequently do many, and oft times, our Englishmen travel alone with safety and loving kindness?"

When Mr. John Oldham was killed near Block island, and an investigation set on foot by the English to ascertain the murderers, they were fully satisfied that *Canonicus* and *Miantunmomoh* had no hand in the affair, but that "the six other Narraganset Sachems had." It is no wonder that he should have taken great offence at the conduct of the English concerning the death of *Miantunmomoh*. The Warwick settlers considered it a great piece of injustice, and Mr. *Samuel Gorton* wrote a letter for *Canonicus* to the government of Massachusetts, notifying them that he had resolved to be revenged upon the Mohegans. Upon this the English despatched messengers to Narraganset to inquire of *Canonicus* whether he authorized the letter. He treated them with great coldness, and would not admit them into his wigwam for the space of two hours after their arrival, although it was very rainy. When they were admitted, he frowned upon them, and gave them answers foreign to the purpose, and referred them to *Pessacus*. This was a very cold reception, compared with that which the messengers met with when sent to him for information respecting the death of Mr. *Oldham*. "They returned with acceptance and good success of their business; observing in the Sachem much state, great command of his men, and marvelous wisdom in his answers; and in the carriage of the whole treaty clearing himself and his neighbors of the murder, and offering revenge of it, yet upon very safe and wary conditions."

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* Col. R.

This Sachem is said to have governed in great harmony with his nephew. "The chiefest government in the country is divided between a younger Sachem, *Miantunnanu*, and an elder Sachem, *Caunaunacus*, of about four score years old, this young man's uncle; and their agreement in the government is remarkable. The old Sachem will not be offended at what the young Sachem doth; and the young Sachem will not, do what he conceives will displease his uncle."*

We have yet to go a step back to relate some matters of much interest in the history of this chief. It is related by Mr. *Edward Winslow*, in his "Good news from New England, † that in February, 1622, O. S., *Canonicus* sent into Plimouth, by one of his men, a bundle of arrows bound with a rattlesnakes skin, and there left them, and retired. When *Squantum* was made acquainted with the circumstance, he told the English that it was a challenge for war. Governor Bradford took the rattlesnake's skin, and filled it with powder and shot and returned it to *Canonicus*; at the same time instructing the messenger to bid him defiance, and invite him to a trial of strength. The messenger, and his insulting carriage, had the desired effect upon *Canonicus*, for he would not receive the skin, and it was cast out of every community of them, until it at last was returned to Plimouth, and all its contents. This was a demonstration that he was awed into silence and respect of the English."

In a grave assembly, upon a certain occasion, *Canonicus* thus addressed *Roger Williams*, "I have never suffered any wrong to be offered to the English since they landed, nor never will;" and often repeated the word *Wunnaunewaycan*, which signified faithfulness. "If the Englishman speak true, if he mean truly, then

* Col. R. I. Hist. Soc. Vol. I. † Col. Mas. His. Soc. VIII.

shall I go to my grave in peace, and hope that the English and my posterity shall live in love and peace together."

In 1635, Rev. *Roger Williams* found *Canonicus* and *Miantunnomoh* carrying on a bloody war against the Wampanoags. By his intercession an end was put to it, and all the Sachems grew much into his favor; especially *Canonicus*, whose "heart *he says*, was stirred up to love me as his son to his last gasp." He sold the island of Rhode Island to *William Coddington*, *Roger Williams*, and others. A son of *Canonicus*, named *Mriksah* is named by *Williams*, as inheriting his father's spirit.*

There was another chief of the same name, in Philip's war, which Mr. Hubbard denominates "the great Sachem of the Narragansets," and who, "distrusting the proffers of the English, was slain in the woods by the Mohawks, his squaw surrendering herself: by this means her life was spared."

In 1632, a war broke out between the Narragansets and the Pequots, on account of disputed right to the lands between Paucatuck river and Wecapang brook.† It was a tract of considerable consequence, being about ten miles wide, and fifteen or twenty long. *Canonicus* drew along with him, besides his own men, several of the Massachusetts Sagamores. This was maintained with ferocity and various success, until 1635, when the Pequots were driven from it, but who, it would seem, considered themselves but little worsted; for

* Manuscript letter.

† "The natives are very exact and punctual in the bounds of their lands, belonging to this or that prince or people, even to a river, brook, &c. And I have known them make bargain and sale amongst themselves, for a small piece, or quantity of ground; notwithstanding a sinful opinion amongst many, that Christians have right to heathen's lands." *R. Williams*.

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Canonicus doubting his ability to hold possession long, and ashamed to have it retaken from him, made a present of it to one of his captains, who had fought heroically in conquering it; but he never held possession. This captain, *Sochoso*, was a Pequot, but deserting from them, espoused the cause of *Canonicus*, and was made a chief.

Cassassinamon, a noted Narraganset chief, of whom we have some account as early as 1659. In that year a difficulty arose about the limits of Southerton, since called Stonington, in Connecticut, and several English were sent to settle the difficulty, which was concerning the location of Wekapauge. "For to help us (they say) to understand where Wekapauge is, we desired some Poquatucke Indians to go with us." *Cassassinamon* was one who assisted. They told the English that "*Cashawasset*, (the governor of Wekapauge) did charge them that they should not go any further than the east side of a little swamp, near the east end of the first great pond, where they did pitch down a stake, and told us [the English] that *Cashawasset* said that that very place was Wekapauge; said that he said it and not them; and if they should say that Wekapauge did go any further, *Cashawasset* would be angry." *Cashawasset* was a Pequot, and after this had confirmed to him and those under him, 8000 acres of land in the Pequot country, with the provision that they continued subjects of Massachusetts, and "shall not sell or alienate the said lands or any part thereof, to any English man or men, without this courts approbation."

The neck of land called Quinicuntauge was claimed by both parties, but *Cassassinamon* said that when a whale was sometime before cast ashore there, no one disputed *Cashawasset's* claim to it, which it is believed

settled the question: *Cashawasset* was known generally by the name of *Harmon Garret*. *

We next meet with *Cassassinamon* in Philip's war, in which he commanded a company of Pequots, and accompanied capt. *Denison* in his successful career, and aided much in the capture of *Canonchet*. †

Caunbitant, or *Corbitant*, a distinguished chief in the time of the settlement of Plimouth, whose residence was at a place called *Mettapoiset*, in the present town of *Swansey*. His character was much the same as that of the famous *Metacomet*. The English were always viewed by him as intruders and enemies of his race, and there is little doubt but he intended to wrest the country out of their hands on the first occasion. When Mr. *Edward Winslow* and Mr. *John Hamden* went to visit *Massasoit* in his sickness, in 1623, they heard by some Indians, when near *Corbitant's* residence, that *Massasoit* was really dead, they therefore, though with much hesitation, ventured to his house, hoping they might treat with him, he being then thought the successor of *Massasoit*. But he was not at his place. The squaw *Sachem*, his wife, treated them with great kindness, and learning here that *Massasoit* was still alive, they made all haste to *Pokanoket*. When they returned, they stayed all night with *Corbitant*, at his house, who accompanied them there from *Massasoit's*. "By the way (says Mr. *Winslow*) I had much conference with him, so likewise at his house, he being a notable politician, yet full of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased than when the like are returned again upon him. Amongst other things he asked me, if in case he were thus dangerously sick, as *Massasoit* had been, and should send word thereof to

* Several manuscript documents. † Hubbard.

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Patuxet (their name of Plimouth) for *maskiest*, [that is physic,] whether their master governor would send it? and if he would whether I would come therewith to him? To both which I answered, yea; whereat he gave me many joyful thanks." He then expressed his surprise that two Englishmen should adventure so far alone into their country, and asked them if they were not afraid. Mr. *Winslow* said, "where was true love, there was no fear." "But," said *Corbitant*, "if your love be such, and it bring forth such fruits, how cometh it to pass, that when we come to Patuxet, you stand upon your guard, with the mouth of your pieces presented towards us?" Mr. *Winslow* told him that was a mark of respect, and that they received their best friends in that manner; but to this he shook his head, and answered, that he did not like such salutations.*

Previous to what has just been related, in the year 1621, the English heard that *Massasoit* had been taken by the Narragansets, and wishing to learn the truth of the report, sent *Squanto* and *Hobbomok* to Namasket, where they understood *Corbitant* was trying to influence the people against the English; "storming at the peace between Nauset, Cummaquid and us, and *Tisquantum* [the same as *Squanto*] the worker of it." At Namasket, as they were in a house, they were suddenly set upon by *Corbitant* who seized them, but *Hobbomok* being a stout man, broke from them, while *Corbitant* held a knife at the breast of *Squanto*, and brought news to Plimouth that *Squanto* was dead. Immediately upon this, capt. *Standish*, with ten men, proceeded with warlike parade to Namasket, beset a house in which they expected to find *Corbitant*, but he had made his escape. As some were flying from the house the English fired upon them and wounded several, but by

* Good News from N. England. Col. Mas. Hist. Soc.

the help of *Hobbomok* they conciliated many, though they could learn nothing of *Corbitant*, only that he was fled with many others whom he had made believe that the English would murder them. *Hobbomok* got upon the top of the house and called for *Squanto* and *Tokamahamon*, who soon came with a company of others. The English now returned to Plimouth, taking along with them two of those they had wounded, to heal them; at the same time leaving such threats against *Corbitant*, which together with their conduct, struck them with such fear and dread of them, that he interceded with *Massasoit* and became friendly again, in appearance, but was always suspected by the English.

Chikataubut, or Chikkatabak, a Sachem of considerable note, and generally supposed to have had dominion over the Massachusetts Indians. Thomas Morton mentions him in his *New Canaan*, as Sachem of *Passonagesit* (about Weymouth,) and says his mother was buried there. I need make no comments upon the authority, or warn the reader concerning the stories of Morton, as this is done in almost every book, early and late, about New England; but shall relate the following from him.

In the first settling of Plimouth, some of the company in wandering about upon discovery, came upon an Indian grave, which was that of the mother of *Chikataubut*. Over the body a stake was set in the ground, and two huge bear skins sewed together, spread over it; these the English took away. When this came to the knowledge of *Chikataubut* he complained to his people, and demanded immediate vengeance. When they were assembled, he thus harangued them: "When last the glorious light of all the sky was underneath this globe, and birds grew silent, I began to settle,

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as my custom is, to take repose; before mine eyes were fast closed, me tho't I saw a vision, at which my spirit was much troubled, and trembling at that doleful sight, a spirit cried aloud, 'Behold! my son, whom I have cherished, see the paps that gave thee suck, the hands that clasped thee warm, and fed thee oft, canst thou forget to take revenge of those wild people, that hath my monument defaced in a despiteful manner; disdainng our ancient antiquities, and honorable customs: See now the Sachem's grave lies like unto the common people, of ignoble race defaced: Thy mother doth complain, implores thy aid against this thievish people new come hither; if this be suffered, I shall not rest in quiet within my everlasting habitation.'" †

Battle was the unanimous resolve, and the English were watched, and followed from place to place, until at length as some were going ashore in a boat, they fell upon them, but gained no advantage. After maintaining the fight for some time, and being driven from tree to tree, the chief captain was wounded in the arm, and the whole took to flight. This action caused the natives about Plimouth to look upon the English as invincible, and was the reason peace so long after was maintained.

Mourt's Relation goes far to establish the main facts in the above account. "We brought sundry of the prettiest things away with us, and covered the corpse up again," says Mourt, and, "there was variety of opinions amongst us about the embalmed person," but no mention of the bear skins.

From the agreement of the different accounts, there is but little doubt that the English were attacked at

† If this be fiction, a modern compiler may have deceived some of his readers. The article in the *Analectic Magazine* may have been his source of information, but the whole may be seen in *Morton's New Canaan*, 106 and 107.

Namskekit, in consequence of their depredations upon the graves, corn, &c. of the Indians.

In 1621, *Chikataubut*, with eight other Sachems, acknowledged, by a written instrument, themselves the subjects of King James. About ten years after this, when Boston was settled, he visited gov. *Winthrop*, and presented him with a hogshead of corn. Many of "his samops and squaws" came with him, but were most of them sent away "after they had all dined;" *Chikataubut*, probably fearing they would be burdensome, although it thundered and rained, and the governor urged their stay. At this time he wore English clothes, and sat at the governor's table, "where he behaved himself as soberly, &c. as an Englishman." Not long after he called on gov. *Winthrop* and desired to buy clothes for himself, the governor informed him that "English Sagamores did not use to truck;* but he called his tailor and gave him order to make him a suit of clothes; whereupon he gave the governor two large skins of coat beaver." In a few days his clothes were ready, and the gov. "put him into a very good new suit from head to foot, and after, he set meat before them; but he would not eat till the gov. had given thanks, and after meat he desired him to do the like, and so departed."

June 14, 1631, at a court, *Chikataubut* was ordered to pay a small skin of beaver, to satisfy for one of his men's having killed a pig, which he complied with. A man by the name of *Plastowe*, and some others, having stolen corn from him, the court, Sept. 27, '31, ordered that *Plastowe* should restore "two fold" and loose his title of gentleman, and pay £5. This I suppose they deemed equivalent to four fold. His

* However true this might have been of the governor, at best, we think, he should not have used the plural.

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accomplices were whipped, *to the same amount?* The next year we find him engaged with other Sachems in an expedition against the Pequots, but the particulars are not recorded. The same year two of his men were convicted of assaulting some persons of Dorchester in their houses. "They were put in the bilboes," and himself required to beat them, which he did.

The Small Pox was very prevalent among the Indians in 1633, in which year, sometime in November, *Chikataubut* died.

There is a quit claim deed from *Josias Wampatuck*, grandson of *Chikataubut*, dated in 1695, of Boston and the adjacent country and the islands in the harbor, to the "proprietary inhabitants of the town of Boston," to be seen among the Suffolk records. *Wampatuck* says, or some one for him, "Forasmuch as I am informed, and well assured from several ancient Indians, as well those of my council as others, that upon the first coming of the English to sit down and settle in those parts of New England, my above named grandfather *Chikataubut*, by and with the advice of his council, for encouragement thereof moving, did give, grant, sell, alienate, and confirm unto the English planters," the lands above named.

Conscience, a native of Swansey in Massachusetts, was one of the last of the Wampanoags. In January, 1677, as capt. *Church* was ranging the woods in the northwest of Plimouth colony, a party of the enemy fell into his hands. One among them, an old man, particularly attracted his notice, and on being asked his name, said it was *Conscience*. "Conscience!" exclaimed *Church*, "then the war is over, for that is the very thing I am in search of." *Conscience* was sold to a person of his native place, agreeably to his desire, and this was, we believe, the last expedition of *Church* in Philip's war.

Corn-plant, signifying in Iroquois, *Obeil*, was one of the principal Senecas, in 1821.* The most of our knowledge of him, is derived from himself, and is contained in a letter sent from him to the governor of Pennsylvania. And although written by an interpreter, is believed to be the real production of *Obeil*. It was dated "Alleghany river, 2d mo. 2d, 1822," and is as follows :

"I feel it my duty to send a speech to the governor of Pennsylvania at this time, and inform him the place where I was from—which was at Conewaugus,† on the Genesee river.

"When I was a child, I played with the butterfly, the grasshopper and the frogs ; and as I grew up, I began to pay some attention and play with the Indian boys in the neighbourhood, and they took notice of my skin being a different color from theirs, and spoke about it. I enquired of my mother the cause, and she told me that my father was a resider in Albany. I still eat my victuals out of a bark dish—I grew up to be a young man, and married me a wife, and I had no kettle or gun. I then knew where my father lived, and went to see him, and found he was a white man, and spoke the English language. He gave me victuals whilst I was at his house, but when I started to return home, he gave me no provision to eat on the way. He gave me neither kettle nor gun, neither did he tell me that the United States were about to rebel against the government of England.

"I will now tell you, brothers, who are in session of the legislature of Pennsylvania, that the Great Spirit

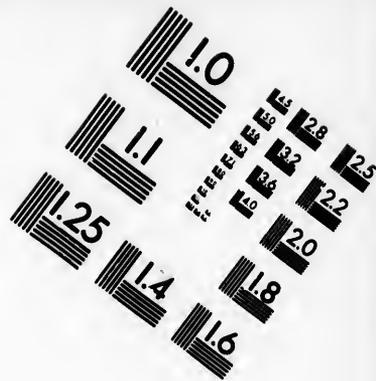
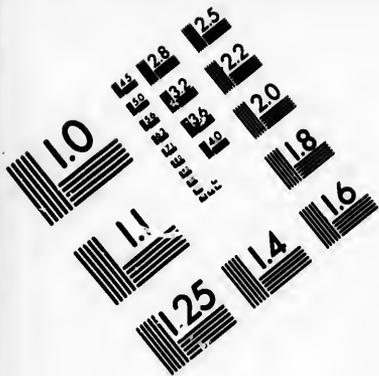
* Stansbury.

† This was the Iroquois term to designate a place of Christian Indians, hence many places bear it. It is the same as Caughnewaga.

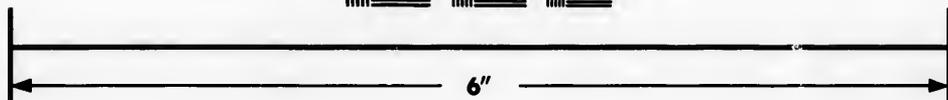
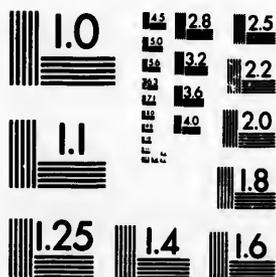
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has made known to me that I have been wicked; and the cause thereof was the revolutionery war in America. The cause of Indians having been led into sin, at that time, was that many of them were in the practice of drinking and getting intoxicated. Great Britian requested us to join with them in the conflict against the Americans, and promised the Indians land and liquor. I, myself was opposed to joining in the conflict, as I had nothing to do with the difficulty that existed between the two parties. I have now informed you how it happened that the Indians took a part in the Revolution, and will relate to you some circumstance that occurred after the close of the war. Gen. *Putnam*, who was then at Philadelphia, told me there was to be a council at fort Stanwix; and the Indians requested me to attend on behalf of the Six Nations; which I did, and there met with three commissioners, who had been appointed to hold the council. They told me they would inform me of the cause of the Revolution, which I requested them to do minutely, they then said that it had originated on account of the heavy taxes that had been imposed upon them by the British government, which had been for fifty years increasing upon them; that the Americans had grown weary thereof, and refused to pay, which affronted the king. There had likewise a difficulty taken place about some tea, which they wished me not to use, as it had been one of the causes that many people had lost their lives. And the British government now being affronted, the war commenced, and the cannons began to roar in our country. General *Putnam* then told me at the council at fort Stanwix, that by the late war, the Americans had gained two objects: they had established themselves an independent nation, and had obtained some land to live upon; the division line of





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which from Great Britian, run through the lakes. I then spoke, and said that I wanted some land for the Indians to live on, and general *Putnam* said that it should be granted, and I should have land in the state of New York, for the Indians. Gen. *Putnam* then encouraged me to use my endeavors to pacify the Indians generally; and as he considered it an arduous task to perform, wished to know what I wanted for pay therefor? I replied to him, that I would use my endeavors to do as he had requested, with the Indians, and for pay thereof, I would take land. I told him not to pay me money or dry goods, but land. And for having attended thereto I received the tract of land on which I now live, which was presented to me by governor *Miflin*. I told general *Putnam*, that I wished the Indians to have the exclusive privilege of the deer and wild game, which he assented to. I also wished the Indians to have the privilege of hunting in the woods, and making fires, which he likewise assented to.

“The treaty that was made at the aforementioned council, has been broken by some of the white people, which I now intend acquainting the governor with. Some white people are not willing that Indians should hunt any more, whilst others are satisfied therewith; and those white people who reside near our reservation, tell us that the woods are theirs, and they have obtained them from the governor. The treaty has been also broken by the white people using their endeavours to destroy all the wolves, which was not spoken about in the council at fort Stanwix, by general *Putnam*, but has originated lately.

“It has been broken again, which is of recent origin. White people wish to get credit from Indians, and do not pay them honestly, according to their agreement.

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In another respect it has also been broken by white people, who reside near my dwelling; for when I plant melons and vines in my field, they take them as their own. It has been broken again by white people, using their endeavors to obtain our pine trees from us. We have very few pine trees on our land, in the state of New York; and white people and Indians often get into dispute respecting them. There is also a great quantity of whiskey brought near our reservation by white people, and the Indians obtain it and become drunken. Another circumstance has taken place which is very trying to me, and I wish the interference of the governor.

"The white people, who live at Warren, called upon me some time ago, to pay taxes for my land; which I objected to, as I had never been called upon for that purpose before; and having refused to pay, the white people, became irritated, called upon me frequently, and at length brought four guns with them and seized our cattle. I still refused to pay, and was not willing to let the cattle go, after a time of dispute, they returned home, and I understood the militia was ordered out to enforce the collection of the tax. I went to Warren, and, to avert the impending difficulty, was obliged to give my note for the tax, the amount of which was 43 dollars and 79 cents. It is my desire that the governor will exempt me from paying taxes for my land to white people; and also cause that the money I am now obliged to pay, may be refunded to me, as I am very poor. The governor is the person who attends to the situation of the people, and I wish him to send a person to Alleghany, that I may inform him of the particulars of our situation, and he be authorized to instruct the white people, in what manner to conduct themselves towards the Indians.

"The government has told us that when any difficulties arose between the Indians and white people, they would attend to having them removed. We are now in a trying situation, and I wish the governor to send a person, authorised to attend thereto, the fore part of next summer, about the time that grass has grown big enough for pasture.

"The governor formerly requested me to pay attention to the Indians, and take care of them. We are now arrived at a situation that I believe Indians cannot exist, unless the governor should comply with my request and send a person authorised to treat between us and the white people, the approaching summer. I have now no more to speak."*

Whether the government of Pennsylvania acted at all, or if at all, what order they took, upon this pathetic appeal, our author does not state. But, that an independent tribe of Indians should be taxed by a neighboring people, is absurd in the extreme; and we hope we shall learn that not only the tax was remitted, but a remuneration granted for the vexation and damage.

Corn-plant was very early distinguished for his wisdom in council, notwithstanding he confirmed the treaty of fort Stanwix of 1784, five years after, at the treaty of fort Harmer, giving up an immense tract of their country, and for which his nation very much reproached him, and even threatened his life. Himself and other chiefs committed this act for the best of reasons. The Six Nations having taken part with England in the Revolution, when the king's power fell in America, the Indian nations were reduced to the miserable alternative of giving up so much of their country as the Americans required, or the *whole* of it.

* Buchanan's Sketches.

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In 1770, *Corn-plant*, *Half-town* and *Big-tree*, made a most pathetic appeal to Congress for an amelioration of their condition, and a reconsideration of former treaties, in which the following memorable passage occurs:

"*Father*; we will not conceal from you that the great God and not men has preserved the *Corn-plant* from the hands of his own nation. For they ask continually 'where is the land on which our children, and their children after them, are to lie down upon? You told us that the line drawn from Pennsylvania to lake Ontario, would mark it forever on the east, and the line running from Beaver creek to Pennsylvania, would mark it on the west, and we see that it is not so: For, first one, and then another, come and take it away by order of that people which you tell us promised to secure it to us.' He is silent, for he has nothing to answer. When the sun goes down he opens his heart before God, and earlier than the sun appears, again upon the hills he gives thanks for his protection during the night. For he feels that among men become desperate by the injuries they sustain, it is God only that can preserve him. He loves peace, and all he had in store he has given to those who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the innocent to repay themselves. The whole season which others have employed in providing for their families, he has spent in endeavors to preserve peace; and this moment his wife and children are lying on the ground, and in want of food."

In president *Washington's* answer, we are gratified by his particular notice of this chief. He says, "The merits of the *Corn-plant*, and his friendship for the United States, are well known to me, and shall not be forgotten; and as a mark of esteem of the United

States, I have directed the Secretary of War to make him a present of *two hundred and fifty dollars*, either in money or goods, as the *Corn-plant* shall like best." See article *Big-tree*.

We find this notice of *Corn-plant* in the Pennsylvania Gazette, of 1791. "The Indians in this quarter [fort Pitt] have been very peaceable for some time, but down the Ohio they are continually doing mischief. There are many conjectures in this country, about col. Proctor's business in the Indian country, as it is known he has left fort Franklin, at French creek, in company with the *Corn-planter* and many of his people."

David, a Christian Indian of Marlborough; was one of those unfortunate people, who in the beginning of Philip's war was suspected of disaffection to the English, and who shot at a boy keeping sheep at that place. He was from some cause, now unknown, singled out by the commanding officer to be used as an accuser of his fellows, of the Lancaster murder. He was bound to a tree to be shot, and guns levelled at his breast. The soldiers were ordered not to fire if he would confess, which he promised to do; and which it will be inferred, that he must do to the liking of his inquisitors. For he accused *eleven* of them, then within the fort at Marlborough, of being the murderers of the people of Lancaster, but did not go so far as to say that he saw them do it. Himself with the others, fifteen in number, were all sent down prisoners to Boston, to take their trial. *David*, now relieved of the fear of immediate death, acknowledged that he had accused them wrongfully, and they were cleared, after a protracted trial. But *David*, for his false accusation, and shooting at the boy, was condemned to be sold.* See Art. *Monaco*.

* Manuscript of Hon. Daniel Gookin.

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Daniel, a preacher to his countrymen at a place called Ohkonkemme, in Tisbury, upon Marthas Vineyard, in 1698. At which time there was a congregation of 72 persons. He had a brother *Stephen* who was united with him in the ministry. *Daniel* is mentioned as "praying and preaching not only affectionately, but understandingly."

Dehamda, a native of New England, whose name is associated with the first colony who settled in it. He was one of those taken from Pemmaquid by capt. Weymouth in his voyage for the discovery of a Northwest passage. On *Weymouth's* return to England, he put into the harbor of Plymouth, where sir *Ferdinando Gorges* was governor* of the castle. Gorges "seized" upon some of the natives, among whom was *Dehamda*. "This accident he says, must be acknowledged the means, under God, of putting on foot, and giving life to all our plantations."† Accordingly, in 1607, two ships were sent over with *Dehamda* and another native, and 100 men, who arrived at the mouth of the Sagadahock, since called Kennebeck, in August. They made a settlement on an island and built a fort which they named fort *St. George*. What became of those two natives after this we have no account, but the winter was so severe that many of the settlers died; among whom was their governor. The rest, in the following spring returned to England.

Diogenese, a Sachem who lived upon Sheepscot river, in Maine, in 1663, and one among others who deeded the land there, which is all we learn of him. From his having a name given by the English, no doubt he was particularly friendly, and perhaps resided among them.

Doney. The theatre of the actions of this chief

* *His description of New England*, p 3. † *Ibid.*

were between the Pascataqua and Kennebeck rivers. The first notice we have of him is in the expedition of col. *Church* to those shores in 1690. He was known by the name of *Old Doney*, and was very active and conspicuous in the eastern wars. His residence, in September this year, was upon the Saco river, but a short distance from its mouth. It was probably temporary, and at this time he was preparing fish for winter, with about forty of his people.

Church landed at *Maquait*, September 12th, before day, and after a wet, fatiguing march into the woods of about two days, on the southwest side of the *Androscoggin*, came into the neighbourhood of an Indian fort. They came upon an Indian and his wife who were leading two captives; and immediately pursuing and firing upon them, killed the Indian woman, who proved to be the wife of *Young Doney*, which I suppose to be a son of *Old Doney*.* From the known humanity of *Church*, we hope it was not his design to have thus killed an innocent woman. Which party it was that fired upon them, (for they divided themselves into three,) is unknown, and we in charity must suppose that at considerable distance, and in much confusion, it was difficult to know a man from a woman.

As *Church* expected, *Doney* ran into one gate of the fort and out at the other, giving the alarm so effectually, that nearly all within it escaped. They found and took prisoners "but two men and a lad of about eighteen, with some women and children. Five ran into the river, three or four of which were killed. The lad of eighteen made his escape up the river." The whole number killed in this action was "six or seven." The English had but one wounded. They took

* And the same called in the *Magnalia Robin Doney*.

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here at this time,* a considerable quantity of corn, guns and ammunition, and liberated *Mrs. Huckings*, taken at Oyster river, *Mrs. Barnard* of Salmon falls, *Anne Heard* of Cochecho, a young woman, daughter of one *Willis* of Oyster river, and a boy belonging to Exeter. These captives, says *Church*, "were in a miserable condition." They learned here that most of their men were gone to Winter harbor to get provisions for the Bay of Funday Indians. This information was given by a prisoner taken in the fort, who also said that the Bay of Funday Indians were to join them against 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. *Hucking's* wife, and another woman, down on their knees and begged for him, saying, that he had been a means of saving 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 *Hakin's*† wife, kept at the fort with them, having been there two years; but his living was to the westward of Boston. So upon their request his life was spared."

Two old squaws were left in the fort, provided with provisions, and instructed to tell those who returned who they were, and what they were determined to do. They then put *four* or *five* to death, and decamped. Those, we must suppose, were chiefly women and children! "*Knocked on the head for an example.*" Wretched is the state of man, when his mind is not above thinking that he can prevent barbarities by being wretchedly barbarous himself.

Old *Doney* was next to be hunted. As they were

* Says my record, which is a manuscript letter from *Church* written at that time.

† The same called *Hankamagus*, which see.

embarking at Maquait, Mr. *Anthony Bracket* came to the shore and called to them to take him on board, which they did. He learning that an English army was thereabout, made his escape from the Indians, with whom he had been some time a prisoner. The fleet now proceeded to Winter harbor, from whence they despatched a detachment of sixty men to Saco falls. When they came near they discovered Doney's company on the opposite side of the river, who chiefly made their escape. A canoe with three Indians were observed coming over the river, who did not see the English, and were fired upon, and "all three perished." This gave the first alarm to *Doney's* company. They did not however leave their ground without returning the fire of the English, by which lieut. *Hunnewell* was shot through the thigh.* When the parties fired upon each other, *Old Doney* with an English captive was up the river above, who hearing the firing, came down to see what it meant, and discovered the English time enough to escape. *Doney* fled from the canoe, leaving his captive, who came to the English. His name was *Thomas Baker*, who had lived before at Scarborough.

There was many other movements of the English after this, in which they got much plunder, and which tended to cause an uneasiness among the troops, and their determination to return home; which, notwithstanding Church urged a longer continuance, but was out voted in a council of officers, and thus ended the expedition. Many in the country reproached Church with cowardice, and almost every thing but what we should have looked for. If putting to death captives had been the charge, many might have accorded *Amen!* But we do not find that urged against him.

Two years after this, in 1693, *Robin Doney* became

* Manuscript Documents.

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reconciled to the English, and signed a treaty at Pemnaquid. But within a year afterward he became suspected, whether with or without reason, we know not, and coming to the fort at Saco, probably in a friendly way, was seized by the English. What his fate was, is rather uncertain, but the days of forgiveness and mercy were not yet.

Drummer, "a noted Indian that lived near Taunton," taken at the same time with *Caleb*, (which see) and doubtless shared the same fate.

Dublet, (Tom) the same as *Napanet*, (which see.) He was one of 26, who, in 1684, deeded the tract of country, now called Marlborough, in Massachusetts, to the English.*

Ducoigne, chief of the Kaskaskias; adopted as early as 1803, the Roman Catholic religion, and was very much praised for his friendship to the Americans. By a treaty he made with them in that year, the United States agreed to build him a house and enclose him a field of 100 acres. He is represented as a "gentlemanly man, by no means addicted to drink, and possessing a very strong inclination to live like a white man; indeed he has done so as far as his means would allow."† Governor Harrison, writing to the Secretary of War says of him, "*Ducoigne's* long and well proved friendship for the United States, of which the president is well informed, has gained him the hatred of all the other chiefs, and ought to be an inducement with us to provide, as well for his happiness, as his safety. He wishes to have some coffee, sugar, and chocolate, sent to him, and is also desirous to have a ten gallon keg of wine, to show, as he says, the other Indians how well he is treated by the United States, and how much like a gentleman he lives."†

* Worcester's Hist. Journal. † Mem. Harrison.

Egeremet, an eastern Sachem, who with five others of like quality, were seized by the English when they came into Pemnaquid fort to treat with them. *Egeremet* and another was killed. This was February 16, 1696.* Their seizure cannot be out done by the greatest barbarian, for faithlessness; and we shall learn that its author paid for it in due time with his life. We are not disposed to add to transactions which are in themselves sufficiently horrid, but we will venture to give the account as we find it in Dr. C. Mather's *decennium luctuosum*.†

"Let us before the year be quite gone see some vengeance taken upon the *heads in the house of the wicked*. Know then, reader, that capt. *March* petitioning to be dismissed from his command of the fort at Pemnaquid, one *Chub* succeeded him. This *Chub* found an opportunity, in a pretty *chubbed* manner to kill the famous *Edgeremett* and *Abenquid*, a couple of principal Sagamores, with one or two other Indians, on a Lord's day. Some that well enough liked the *thing* which was now done, did not altogether like the *manner* of doing it, because there was a pretence of *treaty* between *Chub* and the Sagamores, whereof he took his advantage to lay violent hands on them."

Thus the *manner* is seen in which this horrid and cold blooded act is related!! Few are the instances that we meet with in history, where *Indian treachery*, as it is termed, can go before this. The rev. author adds, "If there were any unfair dealing (which I know not) in this action of *Chub*, there will be another *February* not far off, wherein the *avengers of blood* will take their *satisfaction*." By "another *February*" he means to intimate the fate of capt. *Chub* in that month.

* Manuscript of Rev. John Pike. † Magnalia B. VII.

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The point of land called Trotts Neck, in Woolwich, in the state of Maine, was sold, in 1685, by *Egeremet* and several other Sachems. In 1693, he with twelve other chiefs treated with sir *William Phips*, at Pem- maquid, and a long treaty was signed by them.*

Before this, in 1691, "New England being quite out of breath," says C. Mather, a treaty, or truce was entered into between the eastern Sachems, and Messrs. *Huchinson* and *Townsend* of Boston, and others of the eastern coast, at Sagadahock. Here ten captives were given up by them. One was a woman by the name of *Hull*, who had been of great service to them, having written letters on various occasions, such as their affairs required, and with whom they regretted much to part. Another was *Nathaniel White*, who had been bound and tortured in a wretched manner. His ears were cut off, and instead of food he was forced to eat them, after which, but for this timely treaty, the sentence of burning would have been executed upon him. This truce stipulated that no hurt should be done the English until May 1692, and that on the first of that month they would deliver, at Wells, all English captives in their hands, and in the mean time would inform of any plots that they might know of the French against the English. *Egeremet* being the chief Sachem, and most forward in this business, Dr. Mather utters his contempt for him by saying, "To this instrument were set the paws of *Egeremet*, and five more of their Sagamores and noblemen."† The next year he was with *Madokawando*, *Moxus* and a body of French under *Labrocre*, and made the notable attack upon the garrison at Wells, which will be found related under the head *Madokawando*.

* It may be seen in the *Magnalia*.

† *Magnalia* Christ. Americana, Book VII. Art. VIII.

We must now inform the reader of the wretched fate of capt. *Pasco Chub*. It was not long after he committed the bloody deed of killing the Indian Sagamores, before he and the fort were taken by the French and Indians. He was exchanged and returned to Boston, where he suffered much disgrace for his treachery with the Indians.* He lived at Andover in Massachusetts, where the Indians made an attack in February 1698, in which he was killed. It was not thought they knew of finding him there, but when they *knew* they had killed him, it gave them as much joy, says Huchinson, "as the destruction of a whole town, because they had taken their beloved vengeance of him for his perfidy and barbarity to their countrymen." They shot him through several times, after he was dead.

The most favorable account given of the conduct of *Chub*, and indeed the only one, follows; "an Indian Sagamore's son appeared with a flag of truce, and capt. *Chub* went out to them without arms, man for man. An Indian asked, for rum and tobacco, the capt. said no. *It is Sabbath day*. They said, *We will have rum, or we will have rum and you too*. Two Indians laid hold on the captain. Then he called to his men, to fall on, for God's sake. Then he made signs to his men, to come from the fort. One of the English had a hatchet under his coat, took it out and killed an Indian; and then ours killed two more Indians, and took another alive, and wounded another, supposed mortally. Then many of the enemy came

* Harris' *Voyages*, II, 305, (ed. 1764.) says *Chub* was arrested by col. *Gedney* who was sent east with three ships of war on hearing of the surrender of the fort, and that no French or Indians could be found. That after he strengthened the garrison he returned home.

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There was another Sagamore of the same name, noticed in the following wars with the eastern Indians, who was friendly to the whites.

Ensenore, son of the famous *Wingina* or *Pemisapan*, a Sachem of Virginia. He was known to capt. *Ralph Lane* and his company during their short stay in that country, of about one year and two months, and was to them what *Hobomok* was to the people of Plimouth. *Lane* and some of his companions made a journey into the country of about 160 miles. They suffered greatly for want of provisions, and from continual watching, being much annoyed by the various tribes of the country. *Wingina* pretended to be their friend, but deceived them on every opportunity, by giving notice to his countrymen of their course and purpose, and urging them to cut them off. He thought at one time that the English were destroyed, and thereupon scoffed and mocked at such a God as theirs, who would suffer it. This caused his son *Ensenore* to join their enemies, but on their return he was their friend again. He and many of his people now believed that "we could do them more hurt being dead, than living, and that being an hundred myles from them, shot, and struck them sick to death, and that when we die it is but for a time, then we return again." Many of the chiefs now came and submitted themselves to the English, and among others, *Ensenore* persuaded his father to become their friend, who, when they were in great straits for provisions, came and planted their fields, and made wears in the streams to

* Manuscript letter in Lib. Mas. Hist. Soc., written in the following month. As it was written at a great distance from the place, and from a report of the day, little reliance can be placed upon it. It may have been *Chub's* report of the case.

catch fish, which were of infinite benefit to them. This was in the spring of 1586, and says *Lane*, "we not having one coru till the next harvest to sustain us." What added greatly to their distresses was the death of their excellent friend *Ensenore*, who died 20th of April, following. The Indians began anew their conspiracies, and the colony availed themselves of the first opportunity of returning to England, which was in the fleet of sir *Francis Drake*, which touched there in its way from an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies.*

The conduct of *Lane* and his company in this fruitless attempt to establish themselves in Virginia, was in the highest degree reprehensible. They put to death some of the natives on the most frivolous charges, and no wonder they were driven out of the country, as they ought to have been.† While they were there they became acquainted with the use of *tobacco*, and taking it to England, its introduction into general use soon rendered it a great article of commerce. And here it will not be improper to notice how many different persons have had the credit, or perhaps I should say *discredit*, of introducing it into England; as sir *Francis Drake*, sir *Walter Raleigh*,‡ *Ralph Lane*, and some others. Now, as some writer observes, the reader may father it upon whom he pleases, as it is evident sir *Francis Drake* took *Ralph Lane* and *tobacco* both together into England, and no one will dispute the agency of the gallant knight, sir *Walter Raleigh*, for he sent out *Lane* in his employ.

* Relation of *Lane*, printed in *Smith's Virginia*

† *Herriot's Observations*, (one of *Lane's* company) printed in *Smith*.

‡ *Sc Prince* spells his name, in his *Worthies of Devonshire*, and he wrote from MSS.

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Epanow, one of those taken from an island near Cape Cod, in 1611, by capt. *Harlow*, and carried to England. Here he learned the English language, and was afterwards sent in a ship with capt. *Hobson* to the same coast, with the hope that by his means, the friendship of the natives might be regained, which capt. *Hunt* and others had so wantonly broken. *Epanow* appears to have been an arch and cunning fellow, and had made sir *Ferdinando Gorges* and others believe that he knew of the existence of a gold mine in his own country. It was chiefly on his information that capt. *Hobson* was sent over in hopes of finding it. When they arrived at the island called Capawak they were welcomed by many of the natives, among whom were some of *Epanow's* friends, who were kindly entertained on board the ship by capt. *Hobson*. This gave *Epanow* a favorable opportunity, of not only making arrangements to escape from the ship, but to finish his obligation of pointing out the gold mine. Accordingly the next day, twenty canoes approached the ship, full of Indians with their arms concealed, *Epanow* jumped overboard, which was the signal for his friends in the boats to pour in their arrows upon the ship, which they did, until *Epanow* had got on board among them, when they paddled off. The English fired upon the canoes and killed and wounded some of the Indians; several of the English were also wounded by them. The design of the voyage being now frustrated they returned to England.

As capt. *Dermer* was passing from Monahigon to Virginia in the year 1619, having put in to a place near Cape Cod, was fired upon and badly wounded by a party of Indians, led by *Epanow*, who also took him prisoner, but from whom he by some means made his escape, and got to Virginia, where he died of his

wounds. While he was with the Indians, *Epanow* told him of his stratagem and escape from capt. *Hobson's* ship, and at which he laughed merrily.*

Ephraim, (Peter) a Natick, who fought for, and rendered much valuable service to the English in *Philip's* war. He went out with *Andrew Pityme* in January, 1676, and brought in many of the Nipnets, who had endeavored to shelter themselves under *Uncas*. He commanded an Indian company, and had a commission from government. The news that many of the enemy were doing mischief about Rehoboth, caused a party of English of Medfield to march out to their relief; *Ephraim* went with them with his company, which consisted of twenty-nine. The snow being deep, the English soon grew discouraged and returned, but capt. *Ephraim* continued the march, and came upon a body of them, encamped, in the night. Early the next morning he successfully surrounded them, and offered them quarter. "Eight resolute fellows refused, who were presently shot," the others yielded and were brought in, being in number forty-two.† Other minor exploits of this Indian captain are recorded.

Felix, one of those Christian Indians who went out to Mount Hope in the beginning of *Philip's* war, and was very serviceable in those expeditions. When he returned, himself and two others presented to gov. *Leverett* four of the enemies scalps.‡ He was a Nipnet and had lived at Marlborough.

Fife, (Jim,) a famous Creek warrior and chief of that nation, who in the war of 1812, joined the Amer-

* Relations of *Sir F. Gorges*, and *Dr. I. Mather*, *Prince's Chronology*, and *Harris' Voyages*, II.

† Hubbard.

‡ Manuscript of Hon. D. Gookin.

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icans against his countrymen, and others in the Creek country. When gen. *Jackson* marched to attack the Indians upon the Tallapoosie, in 1814, and was encamped at Talledega, *Fife* and several other chiefs joined him, whose names are not mentioned, at the head of 200 Creek warriors. They marched with him to the bend of the Tallapoosie, where a hard battle was fought, and in which *Fife* and his warriors acted a conspicuous part. Having arrived within a short distance of the great bend, where the Indians were encamped, spies brought information that they were whooping and dancing, as if aware of the approach of the Americans. The night before the battle, *Jackson* with his 200 confederate Creeks, and about 65 Cherokees, encamped in a hollow square, and hourly expected an attack; and they were not disappointed, for before it was light, the enemy fell upon their left flank, and fought with a determined bravery, that would not discredit veterans. And it is no disparagement to the men under the American general, to say, that they were not able to repel them for more than half an hour, and until many valuable men were slain. And not until it was light, and the artillery was brought to bear upon them, and repeated charges from the cavalry, did they leave the ground; and even then they retired slowly, as men driven from their country, will always do. After they were routed on the left, *Fife* at the head of 100 of his warriors was ordered to hasten to the relief of gen. *Coffee*, whose division was contending at fearful odds with a brave band of their enemies. *Fife's* arrival at a seasonable juncture decided the battle, and the enemy commenced a retreat. Gen. *Coffee* was badly wounded in the body, and his aid-de-camp killed, and but for the promptness of *Fife* and his warriors, doubtless the Americans must have re-

treated.* There were some other engagements in the expedition, in all of which 28 Americans were killed and 75 wounded. Of the Indians, 189 were found dead.†

Fluellen, or as he was sometimes called, *Fluellen Sumptimus*, a Sachem of Maine in the first settlement of that country, and lived between Saco river, and Cape Porpoise, which tract of country he sold to William Phillips.‡

Francis, Sachem of Nauset, upon Cape Cod. He was suspected of being engaged in a treacherous design against the English, with *Philip*, in 1662, and in August that year, he appeared at Plymouth with him, and subscribed articles, which allayed their fears.

Francis, (the Prophet) or *Francis Hillshago*, was a very noted leader among the Seminole Indians in the war of their extermination, carried on by gen. *Jackson*, in 1817. He was the instigator and immediate cause, it is said, of that war; and had been to England to get assistance of that government to repossess the Creeks of the lands taken from them by the United States. The belief was imposed upon him by some abandoned English traders, that there was a provision in the treaty of Ghent for the restoration of their country. He received much attention while in England, and some encouragement, but nothing absolute. An English journal thus announces his arrival. "The sound of trumpets announced the approach of the patriot *Francis*, who fought so gloriously in our cause in America during the late war. Being drest in a most splendid suit of red and gold, and wearing a tomahawk set with gold, gave him a highly imposing appearance."

* Deduced from gen. *Jackson's* official account, in which the number of his killed is left blank.

† Niles' Register. ‡ Sullivan's Hist. District of Maine.

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About the end of November, or beginning of December, 1817, a war party of Seminoles captured an American, and conveyed him immediately to their principal village, called Mickasauky. This place is described in the account of the chief *Hornollined*. Here it appears dwelt *Francis* and his family. The American, whose name was *M'Krimmon*, was ordered to be immediately burnt to death. The stake was set, *M'Krimmon*, with his head shaved, was bound to it, and wood was piled up about him. When they had finished their dance, and the fire was about to be kindled, a daughter of the chief, who had been witnessing the preparations with a sad countenance, flew to her father, and upon her knees, begged that he would spare the prisoner's life, and it was not until, like the celebrated *Pocahontas*, she showed a determination to perish with him, that her father consented to prolong his life for the present. It was still his intention, that if he could not sell the victim for a certain sum, to have carried his former purpose into effect, but on offering him to the Spaniards, the demanded sum was paid for him, and thus his liberation was effected.

After *Francis* fell into the hands of the Americans and was hanged, as related in the account of *Hornollined*, his family, consisting of a wife and several daughters, surrendered themselves to the Americans at St. Mark's. The youngest daughter, about fourteen years of age, was treated with great attention by all the officers for having saved the life of *M'Krimmon*. She was said to have been very handsome.

Garangula, a famous Onondaga chief among the Five Nations. In the year 1684, *De la Barre*, gov. of Canada, complained to the English at Albany,

that the Senecas were infringing upon their rights of trade with some of the other more remote nations. Governor *Dongan* acquainted the Senecas with the charge made by the French governor. They admitted the fact, but justified their course, alleging that the French supplied their enemies with arms and ammunition, with whom they were then at war. About the same time the French governor raised an army of seventeen hundred men, and made other "mighty preparations" for the final destruction of the Five Nations. But before he had progressed far in his great undertaking, a mortal sickness broke out in his army, which finally caused him to give over the expedition. In the mean time the governor of New York was ordered to lay no obstacles in the way of the French expedition. Instead of regarding this order, which was from his master, the duke of York, he sent interpreters to the Five Nations to encourage them, with offers to assist them.

De la Barre, in hopes to effect something by this expensive undertaking, crossed lake Ontario and held a treaty with such of the Five Nations as would meet him. To keep up the appearance of power, he made a high toned speech to *Garangula*, in which he observed, that the nations had often infringed upon the peace; that he wished now for peace; but on the condition that they should make full satisfaction for all the injuries they had done the French, and for the future never to disturb them. That they, the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks had abused and robbed all their traders, and unless they gave satisfaction he should declare war. That they had conducted the English into their country to get away their trade heretofore, but the past he would overlook, if they would offer no more; yet if ever the

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like should happen again, he had express orders from the king, his master, to declare war.

Garangula listened to these words, and many more in the like strain, with that contempt, which a real knowledge of the situation of the French army, and the rectitude of his own course were calculated to inspire. And after walking several times round the circle, formed by his people and the French, addressing himself to the governor, seated in his elbow chair, he began as follows:

"*Yonnondio* ;* I honor you, and the warriors that are with me likewise honor you. Your interpreter has finished your speech. I now begin mine. My words make haste to reach your ears. Harken to them.

"*Yonnondio* ; You must have believed when you left Quebeck, that the sun had burnt up all the forests, which render our country inaccessible to the French, or that the lakes had so far overflown the banks, that they had surrounded our castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, surely, you must have dreamt so, and the curiosity of seeing so great a wonder, has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived, since that I and the warriors here present, are come to assure you, that the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks are yet alive. I thank you in their name, for bringing back into their country the calumet, which your predecessor received from their hands. It was happy for you, that you left under ground that murdering hatchet that has been so often dyed in the blood of the French.

"*Hear, Yonnondio* ; I do not sleep ; I have my eyes open ; and the sun, which enlightens me, discovers to me a great captain at the head of a company of sol-

* The name they gave the governors of Canada.

diers, who speaks as if he were dreaming. He says, that he only came to the lake to smoke on the great calumet with the Onondagas. But *Garangula* says, that he sees the contrary; that it was to knock them on the head, if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French. I see *Yonnondio* raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the Great Spirit has saved, by inflicting this sickness on them.

"Hear, *Yonnondio*; our women had taken their clubs, our children and old men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our warriors had not disarmed them, and kept them back, when your messenger came to our castles. It is done, and I have said it.

"Hear, *Yonnondio*; we plundered none of the French, but those that carried guns, powder and balls to the Twightwies, and Chictaghicks, because those arms might have cost us our lives. Herein we follow the example of the Jesuits, who break all the kegs of rum brought to our castles, lest the drunken Indians should knock them on the head. Our warriors have not beaver enough to pay for all those arms that they have taken, and our old men are not afraid of the war. This belt preserves my words.

"We carried the English into our lakes, to trade there with the Utawawas and Quatoghies, as the Adirondaks brought the French to our castles, to carry on a trade, which the English say is theirs. We are born free. We neither depend on *Yonnondio* nor *Corlear*.* We may go where we please, and carry with us whom we please, and buy and sell what we please. If your allies be your slaves, use them as such, command them to receive no other but your people. This belt preserves my words.

* The name they gave the governors of New York.

"We knock the Twightwies and Chictaghicks on the head, because they had cut down the trees of peace, which were the limits of our country. They have hunted beaver on our lands. They have acted contrary to the customs of all Indians, for they left none of the beavers alive, they killed both male and female. They brought the Satanas into their country, to take part with them, after they had concerted ill designs against us. We have done less than either the English or French, that have usurped the lands of so many Indian nations, and chased them from their own country. This belt preserves my words.

"*Hear, Yonnondio*; what I say is the voice of all the Five Nations. *Hear* what they answer. Open your ears to what they speak. The Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks say, that when they buried the hatchet at Cadarackui, in the presence of your predecessor, in the middle of the fort, they planted the tree of peace in the same place; to be there carefully preserved: That in the place of a retreat for soldiers, that fort might be a rendezvous for merchants: that in place of arms and ammunition of war, beavers and merchandize should only enter there.

"*Hear, Yonnondio*; take care for the future, that so great a number of soldiers as appear there do not choke the tree of peace planted in so small a fort. It will be a great loss, if, after it had so easily taken root, you should stop its growth, and prevent its covering your country and ours with its branches. I assure you, in the name of the Five Nations, that our warriors shall dance to the calumet of peace under its leaves; and shall remain quiet on their mats, and shall never dig up the hatchet, till their brother Yonnondio, or Corlear shall either jointly or separately endeavor to attack the country, which the Great Spirit has given

to our ancestors. This belt preserves my words, and this other, the authority which the Five Nations have given me."

Then addressing himself to the interpreter, said, "Take courage, you have spirit, speak, explain my words, forget nothing, tell all that your brethren and friends say to *Yonnondio*, your governor, by the mouth of *Garangula*, who loves you, and desires you to accept of this present of beaver, and take part with me in my feast, to which I invite you. This present of beaver is sent to *Yonnondio*, on the part of the Five Nations."

De la Barre was struck with surprise at the wisdom of this chief, and equal chagrin at the plain refutation of his own. He immediately returned to Montreal, and thus finished this inglorious expedition of the French against the Five Nations.†

Garangula was at this time a very old man, and from this valuable speech we became acquainted with him; a very Nestor of his nation, whose powers of mind would not suffer in comparison with those of a Roman, or a more modern Senator.

Glikhican, a chief who in the year 1754 joined the French forces in an expedition against the English settlements. At *Conegocheague* he took prisoner, among others, a female with a young babe. The child cried so incessantly as to cause such perplexity in the hurry of their flight, that to prevent falling into the hands of his pursuers, and at the request of some of his white companions, *Glikhican* put it to death. He afterwards became a convert to the Moravian Christians, and joined their congregation in 1770. He never forgave himself the crime of killing the child, although he repeatedly received the mother's forgiveness. From the

† Colden's Hist. of the Five Nations, 59—71. ed. 1747.

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time of his conversion his life was the most unexceptionable, and he died happy. He had been conspicuous as a warrior and counsellor, and in oratory, it is said he never was surpassed.*

Granganemeeo, a brother of the well known *Wingina*, Sachem of Wingandacoa, in Virginia. He was known to Amidas and Barlow in their discovery in 1585, which also was the year of his death. As soon as the arrival of the English was made known to him, he visited them with about forty of his men, who were very civil and of a remarkably robust and fine appearance. When they had left their boat and came upon the shore near the ship, *Granganemeeo* spread a mat and sat down upon it. The English went to him armed, but he discovered no fear, and invited them to sit down; after which he performed some tokens of friendship; then making a speech to them they presented him with some toys. None but four of his people spoke a word, or sat down, but maintained the most perfect silence. On being shown a pewter dish was much pleased with it, and purchased it with twenty deer skins, which were worth in England one hundred shillings sterling!! The dish he used as an ornament, making a hole through it, wore it about his neck. While here the English treated him, with his wife and children, on board their ship. His wife had in her ears bracelets of pearl which reached to her middle. Shortly after many of the people came out of the country to trade, "but when *Granganemeeo* was present, none durst trade but himself, and them that wore red copper on their heads as he did." He was remarkably exact in keeping his promise, "for oft we trusted him, and he would come within his day to keep his word." And these voyagers

* Heckawald's Hist. Account of Indian Nations.

further report, that "commonly he sent them every day a brace of bucks, conies, hares, and fish, and sometimes melons, walnuts, cucumbers, pease and divers roots." This must close our account of the excellent *Granganemo*, and would that the account of the English would balance as well, but they exhibit their own, and one item more from it, and we close the comparison. For a small kettle they took fifty skins, worth in England £12. 10s. sterling.*

Grand-sun, chief of the Natchez. Although *Sun* was a common name for all chiefs of that nation, this chief was particularly distinguished in the first war with the French, which exhibits the compass of our information concerning him, and which we purpose here to sketch.

He was brother to the great warrior, known to the French by the name of *Stung-serpent*, and like him was a friend to the whites, until the haughty overbearing disposition of one man brought destruction and ruin on their whole colony. This affair took place in the year 1729. The residence of the *Grand-sun* was near the French Post of Natchez, where he had a beautiful village called the White Apple. *M. de Chopart* had been reinstated in the command of the Post, whence he was for a time removed by reason of misconduct, and his abominable injustice to the Indians became more conspicuous than ever. To gratify his pride and avarice, he had projected the building of an elegant village, and none appeared to suit his purpose so well as the White Apple of the *Grand-sun*. Him he sent for to his fort, and unhesitatingly told him that his village must be immediately given up to him, for he had resolved to erect one a league square upon the same ground, and that he must remove elsewhere.

* Smith's Hist. Virginia.

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The great chief stifled his surprise, and modestly replied "that his ancestors had lived in that village for as many years as there were hairs in his double cue, and therefore it was good that they should continue there still." When this was interpreted to the commandant, he showed himself in a rage, and threatened the chief, that unless he moved from his village speedily, he would have cause of repentance. *Grand-sun* left the fort and said he would assemble his counselors, and hold a talk upon it.

In this council, which actually assembled, it was proposed to lay before the commandant their hard situation, if they should be obliged to abandon their corn, which then was just beginning to shoot from the ground, and many other articles on which they were to depend for subsistence. But on urging these strong reasons, they met only with abuse, and a more peremptory order to remove immediately. This the *Grand-sun* reported to the council, and they saw all was lost, unless by some stratagem they should rid themselves of the tyrant *Chopart*, which was their final decision. The secret was confided to none but the old men. To gain time, an offer was to be made to the avaricious commandant, of tribute, in case he would permit them to remain on their land until their harvest. The offer was accepted, and the Indians set about maturing their plan with the greatest avidity. Bundles of sticks were sent to the Suns of the neighboring tribes, and their import explained to them by the faithful messengers. Each bundle contained as many sticks as days which were to pass before the massacre of all the French in the Natchez. And that no mistake should arise in regard to the fixed day, every morning a stick was drawn from the bundle and broken in pieces, and the day of the last stick was that of the execution.

The security of the wicked, in the midst of their wickedness, and their deafness to repeated warnings, though a standing example before them upon the pages of all history, yet we know of but few instances where they have profited by it. I need cite no examples, our pages are full of them.

The breast of women, whether civilized or uncivilized, cannot bear the thoughts of revenge and death, to prey upon them, for so great a length of time as men. And, as in the last case, I need not produce examples, on our pages will be found many.

A female Sun, having by accident understood the secret design of her people, partly out of resentment for their keeping it from her, and partly from her attachment to the French, resolved to make it known to them. But so fatally secure was the commandant, that he would not hearken to her messengers, and threatened others of his own people with chastisement, if they continued such intimations. But the great council of so many Suns, and other motions of their wise men, justly alarmed many, and their complaints to the commandant were urged, until seven of his own people were put in irons, to dispel their fears. And that he might the more vaunt himself upon their fears, sent his interpreter to demand of the *Grand-sun*, whether he was about to fall upon the French with his warriors. To dissemble in such a case, was only to be expected from the chief, and the interpreter reported to the commandant, as he desired, which caused him to value himself upon his former contempt of his people's fears.

The 30th of November, 1729, at length came, and with it the massacre of near 700 people, being all the French of Natchez. Not a man escaped. It being upon the eve of *St. Andrew's* day, facilitated the execution of the horrid design. In such contempt was

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M. *Chopart* held, that the *Suns* would allow no warrior to kill him, but one whom they considered a mean person. He was armed only with a wooden tomahawk, and with such a contemptible weapon, wielded by as contemptible a person, was M. *Chopart* pursued from his house, into his garden, and there met his death.

The design of the *Grand-sun* and his allies, was to have followed up their success until all the French were driven out of Louisiana. But some tribes would not aid in it, and the governor of Louisiana, promptly seconded by the people of New Orleans, shortly after, nearly annihilated the whole tribe of the Natchez. The Choctaws offered themselves, to the number of 15 or 1600 men, and in the following February, advanced into the country of the Natchez, and were shortly after joined by the French, and encamped near the old fort, then in possession of the *Grand-sun*. Here flags passed between them, and terms of peace were agreed upon, which were very honorable to the Indians; but in the following night, they decamped, taking all their prisoners and baggage, leaving nothing but the cannons of the fort, and bells behind them. Some time now passed before the French could ascertain the retreat of the Natchez. At length they learned that they had crossed the Mississippi, and settled upon the west side, near 180 miles above the mouth of Red river. Here they built a fort, and remained quietly until the next year.

The weakness of the colony caused the inhabitants to resign themselves into the hands of the king, who soon sent over a sufficient force, added to those still in the country, to humble the Natchez. They were accordingly invested in their fort, and struck with consternation at the sudden approach of the French, seem

to have lost their former prudence. They made a desperate sally upon the camp of the enemy, but were repulsed with great loss. They then attempted to gain time by negotiation, as they had the year before, but could not escape from the vigilance of the French officer; yet the attempt was made and many were killed, very few escaped, and the greater number driven within their fort. Mortars were used by their enemies in this siege, and the third bomb, falling in the centre of the fort, made great havoc, but still greater consternation. Drowned by the cries of the women and children, *Grand-sun* caused the sign of capitulation to be given. Himself, with the rest of his company were carried prisoners to New Orleans, and thrown into prison. An increasing infection caused the women and children to be taken out and employed as slaves on the king's plantations; among whom was the woman who had used every endeavor to notify the commandant, *Chopart*, of the intended massacre, and from whom the particulars of the affair were learned. Her name was *Stung-arm*. These slaves were shortly after embarked for St. Domingo, entirely to rid the country of the Natchez.* The men, it is probable, were all put to death.

Great-mortar, or *Yah-yah-tustanage*, a very celebrated Muskogee chief, who before the revolutionary war, was in the French interest, and received his supplies from their garrison at Alabama, which was not far distant from his place of abode, called Okchai. There was a time when he inclined to the English, and but for the very haughty and imprudent conduct of the superintendent of Indian affairs, among them, might have been reclaimed, and the dismal period of

* Mons. du Pratz, Hist. de Louisiana, Tome I, chap. XII.

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massacres which ensued, averted. At a great council, appointed by the superintendant, for the object of regaining their favor, the pipe of peace, when passing around, was refused to *Great-mortar*, because he had favored the French. This, with much other ungenerous treatment, caused him ever after to hate the English name. As the superintendant was making a speech, which doubtless contained severe and hard sayings against his red hearers, another chief sprung upon his feet, and darting his tomahawk at him, it fortunately missed him, but stuck in a plank just above his head. Yet he would have been immediately killed, but for the interposition of a friendly warrior. Had this first blow been effectual, every Englishman present would have been immediately put to death. Soon after, *Great-mortar* caused his people to fall upon the English traders, and they murdered ten. Fourteen of the inhabitants of Longcane, a settlement near Ninety-six, next were his victims. He now received a commission from the French, and the better to enlist the Cherokees and others in his cause, removed with his family far into the heart of the country, upon a river, by which he could receive supplies, from the fort at Alabama. Neither the French nor *Great-mortar* were deceived in the advantage of their newly chosen position; for young warriors joined him there in great numbers, and it was fast becoming a general rendezvous for all the Mississippi Indians. Fortunately, however, for the English, the Chickasaws in their interest, plucked up this *Bohon upas*, before its branches were yet extended. They fell upon them by surprise, killed the brother of *Great-mortar*, and completely destroyed their design. He fled, not to his native place, but to one from whence he could best annoy the English settlements, and commenced anew the work of

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death. Augusta, in Georgia, and many scattering settlements were destroyed.* Those ravages were continued until their united forces were defeated by the Americans under gen. Grant, in 1761.† The fate of *Great-mortar*, like many others, is hidden from us.

Hankamagus, commonly in the histories called *Hogkins*, *Hawkins*, or *Hakins*. He was a Pen-nakook Sachem, and an artful, persevering, faithful man, as long as he could depend upon the English for protection. But when governor *Cranfield*, of New Hampshire used his endeavors to bring down the Mohawks to destroy the Eastern Indians, in 1684, who were constantly stirred up by the French to commit depredations upon the English, *Hankamagus*, knowing they made no distinction where they came, fled to the eastward and joined the *Androscooggins*. He had a fort upon that river, where his family and that of another Sachem, called *Worombos*, lived. But before he fled his country, he addressed several letters to the governor, which discover his fidelity as well as his fears; and from which there is no doubt but he would always gladly have lived in his own country, and on the most intimate and friendly terms with the English, to whom he had become attached, and had adopted much of their manner, and could read and write. The following letter fully explains the situation of his mind and his feeling, at the time he expected the Mohawks would ravage his country.

“May 15th, 1685. Honor governor my friend. You my friend I desire your worship and your power, because I hope you can do som great matters this one. I am poor and naked and have no men at my place because I afraid allways Mohogs he will kill me every

* Adair's Hist. N. American Indians, 254, &c.

† Wynne's Brit. Empire, II, 283.

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day and night. If your worship when please pray help me you no let Mohogs kill me at my place at Malamake river called Panukkog and Nattukkog, I will submit your worship and your power. And now I want powder and such alminishon, shatt and guns, because I have forth at my hom and I plant theare."

The above letter is signed by himself and fourteen of his principal men. Whether he were among the Pennakooks seized by major *Waldron* about ten years before, is not certain, or if he were it is not probable any resentment remained in his breast against him on that account, as the Pennakooks were all permitted to return home; but it is certain that he was the director and leader in the dreadful calamity which fell upon *Waldron* not long afterward, and which is as much chargeable upon the maltreatment they received from the English, at least, as upon any agency of the French. It may be true that many belonging to the eastward, who were seized with the Pennakooks, and sold or left in foreign countries, had found their way back among their friends again, and were glad of the first opportunity of revenging themselves upon the author of their unjust expatriation.

Major *Waldron* lived at Dover,* New Hampshire, in a strongly garrisoned house, where were also four more. *Hankamagus* had artfully contrived a stratagem to effect the surprize of the place, and had others beside the Pennakooks from different places ready in great numbers, to prosecute the undertaking. The plan was this. Two squaws were sent to each garrison house to get liberty to stay all night, and when all should be asleep, they were to open the gates to the warriors. *Masandowet*, who was next to *Hankamagus*, went to major *Waldron's*, and informed him that

* Then called by its Indian name *Quochecho*.

the Indians would come the next day and trade with him. While at supper with the major, *Masandowet* said to him, with an air of familiarity, "Brother *Waldron*, what would you do if the strange Indians should come?" To which he vauntingly replied, "that he could assemble an hundred men by lifting up his finger." In this security the gates were opened at midnight, and the work of death raged in all its fury. One garrison only escaped, who would not admit the squaws. They rushed into *Waldron's* house in great numbers, and while some guarded the door, others commenced the slaughter of all who resisted. *Waldron* was now eighty years of age, yet seizing his sword, defended himself with great resolution; and at first drove the Indians before him from room to room, until one getting behind him, knocked him down with his hatchet. They now seized upon, and dragged him into the great room, and placed him in an armed chair upon a table. While they were thus dealing with the master of the house they obliged the family to provide them a supper, which when they had eaten, they took off his clothes, and proceeded to torture him in the most dreadful manner. Some gashed his breast with knives, saying "I cross out my account," others cut off joints of his fingers, and said to him "Now will your fist weigh a pound?" After cutting off his nose and ears, and forcing them into his mouth, he became faint from loss of blood; and some holding his own sword on end upon the floor, let him fall upon it, and thus ended his misery.

The Indians had been greatly abused and wronged in their trading with the whites, and it is a tradition to this day all over that part of the country, that major *Waldron* took great advantage of them in trade, and did not cross out their accounts when they had paid

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him; and that in buying beaver, his fist was accounted to weigh a pound. Although he may have taken no more advantage of the Indians than the majority of Indian traders, yet at this distant day, extenuation will not be looked for in impartial accounts of the transactions of our ancestors with the Indians.

Several were killed at each of the garrison houses that fell into their hands. They kept the place until the next morning, when, after collecting all the plunder they could carry, took up their march with twenty-nine captives, into the wilderness towards Canada; where the chief of them were bought by the French, and in time got home to their country again. Twenty-three were killed before they left the place. This affair took place on the night of the 27th of June, 1689. Several friendly Indians informed capt. *Henchman* at Chelmsford, of the certainty of an attack upon Dover, and he despatched a letter in season to have notified the people, but on account of some delay at Newbury ferry, the benefit was lost.

Four years after, col. *Church* took *Hankamagus'* fort, which was upon the Androscoggin, about twenty or thirty miles from its mouth, but he was then absent. His wife fell into Church's hands, who left word with some which he set at liberty, that if *Hakins*, as he was then called, wished to see her he must come to the garrison at Wells; but whether he did, or what was his end we do not learn.

Harding, (Josiah) one of the principal men of those confined on Deer Island, and suffered greatly from sickness, in Philip's war.

Hawkins (Will) by birth a Narraganset, was employed by the English, in some ordinary capacity, as many of the natives were. He was living near Salem before the time of Philip's war, but about the

close of it, seems to have attached himself to the Wamesits. At this time there was a stack of hay burnt at that place by some of the enemy, but as the enemy offered no chance to gratify the ire of the English, they sought revenge upon those Christian Indians residing there. Consequently thirty-three of them were sent prisoners to Charlestown; and, after some examination, three of them, of whom *Hawkins* was one, were ordered to be sold into slavery.

As a singularity in legislative proceedings, it may be mentioned, that a *vote* passed the house of deputies, finding *all* the Wamesits guilty of burning the hay, but that the magistrates did not see fit to consent to it. And thus, after being imprisoned some time, all except thirteen, including the three before named, were permitted to return home to their wives and children. More particulars will be found under the head *Namp-hou*.

Hegon, an eastern chief. There is a tradition among many of the inhabitants of Maine, of the singular fate of an Indian, which they say was tied upon a horse with spurs upon his heels, which from the manner he was lashed to the animal, continually goaded him. When the horse was set at liberty, he ran furiously through an orchard, and the craggy limbs of the trees tore him to pieces. Mather, in his *Decennium Luctuosum*,* seems to confirm something of the kind, which took place at Casco, in 1794, where the Indians having taken some horses, made a bridle of the main and tail of one, on which, "a son of the famous *Hegon* was ambitious to mount." "But being a pitiful horseman, he ordered them, for fear of his falling, to tie his legs fast under the horses belly. No sooner was this *beggar set on horse back*, and the spark, in his own

* *Magnalia*, II, 546.

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opinion, thoroughly equipt, but the nettlesome horse furiously and presently ran with him out of sight. Neither horse nor man were ever seen any more. The astonished tawnies howled after one of their nobility, disappearing by such an unexpected accident. A few days after they found one of his legs, (and that was all,) which they buried in capt. *Bracket's* cellar, with abundance of lamentation."

Heigon (Mogg,) Sagamore of Saco river, was son of *Walter Heigon*. He sold to *William Philips*, of Saco, in 1664, "a tract of land, being bounded with Saco river on the N. E. side, and Kennebunk river on the S. W. side." To extend from the sea up Saco river to Salmon Falls, and the Kennebunk to a point opposite the former. No amount is mentioned as a consideration, but merely "a certain sum in goods."*

Hendrick, a gallant Mohawk chief, who took part with many of his men, against the French, in the war of 1755. The French were encouraged by the defeat of gen. *Braddock*, and were in high expectation of carrying all before them. *Hendrick* joined the English army at the request of gen. *Johnson*, and met the French, consisting of 200 men under gen. *Dieskau*, at lake George. While the English and Indians were encamped in a slight work, their scouts brought news of the approach of the French, with a great body of Indians upon their flanks. Gen. *Johnson* despatched col. *Williams* of Massachusetts, with 1000 men, and *Hendrick* with 200 of his warriors to give them battle; but falling in with them about 4 miles from camp, and unexpectedly, col. *Williams* and *Hendrick* were killed, with many other officers and privates of the detachment, and the rest fled to the main body with great precipitation, infusing consternation into the whole

* Manuscript documents.

army.* The French followed closely and poured in a tremendous fire, which did very little execution, from the precaution of the English in falling flat upon their faces. They were now recovered from their surprise, and fought with bravery, having advantage not only in numbers, but artillery, of which the French had none.† At length the brave *Dieskau* was wounded in the thigh, and his Indians being terrified at the havoc made by the cannon of the English, fled to the woods, and the regulars were ordered to retreat by their general, which they did in great disorder. Gen. *Dieskau* was found in the pursuit, supporting himself by the stump of a tree. Supposing plunder to be the first object of his captors, as he was attempting to draw his watch to present to them, some one supposing him to be searching for his pistol, discharged his gun into his hips. Notwithstanding he was thus twice wounded, he lived to reach England, but he died soon after. The French lost 800 men in the attack.

When gen. Johnson was about to detach col. *Williams*, he asked Hendrick's opinion, whether the force was sufficient. To which he replied, "if they are to fight, they are too few. If they are to be killed, they are too many." And when it was proposed to divide the detachment into three parts, *Hendrick* objected, and to forcibly express the impracticability of the plan, picked up three sticks, and putting them together, said to the general, "You see now that these cannot be easily broken; but take them one by one, and you may break them at once." But from this valuable council very little advantage seems to have been derived.

John *Konkapot* a Stockbridge Indian, was grandson

* The English lost about 200 in this ambush. Guthrie's Universal history, X. 94.

† Guthrie's U. Hist. Vol. X. 94.

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to *Hendrick*. And he informs us that his grandfather was son of the *Wolf*, a Mohegan chief, and that his mother was a Mohawk.*

Hiacomes, a native of Edgartown, was the first Christian among the Indians of Martha's Vineyard. He became a noted preacher among them. He soon became familiar with the English, on their first settling upon his island, in 1642, and embraced their religion with ardour. In 1646 he preached publicly, and continued to instruct his countrymen for about 40 years. He is supposed to have died about 1690, at a great age, not having been able to preach for some time previous.† Mr. Gookin says, † he was "a grave and serious Christian, and hath had a great blessing since upon his posterity; for his sons and his daughters are pious, and one if no more of his sons, a teacher." His eldest son's name was *Joel*, who was educated at Cambridge, but died young.

Hobomok, a Wampanoag, became known to the Pilgrims soon after Mr. Winslow and Hopkin's visit to *Massasoit*, as will be found in the life of that chief, for the purpose of securing more firmly his friendship, "which was much furthered, says *Morton*, by an Indian named *Hobomok*, who came to live among the English, he being a proper lusty young man, and one that was in account among the Indians in those parts for his valor." He lived with them, and was of the greatest service in learning them how to cultivate such fruits as were peculiar to the country, such as corn, beans, &c. The account of his mission to *Massasoit*, to learn the truth of a report that the Narragansets had made war upon him, and his interruption and trouble from *Corbitant* are related under that head.

* Col. Mas. Hist. Soc.

† Mayhew's Indian Converts, 1-12.

‡ In his Hist. Col. concerning the Indians.

Being a favorite of *Massasoit*, the Pilgrims found that they need not apprehend any treachery on his part, as *Hobomok* was so completely in their interest, and also in that of the great sachems, that he would advise them if anything evil were on foot against them. What strengthened them in this opinion was the following circumstance. In the spring of the year 1622, *Hobomok* set out with a company of English to conduct them in a trading expedition to the Massachusetts; going by water, as soon as they were out of sight, a false messenger came running into Plimouth town, apparently in a great fright, out of breath, and bleeding from a wound in his face. He told them that *Corbitant* with many of the Narragansets, and he believed that *Massasoit* with them, were coming to destroy the English. No one doubted of his sincerity, and the first thought of the people was to bring back their military trader, who had just gone in the boat with *Hobomok*. A piece of cannon was immediately discharged, which, to their great joy soon caused the boat to return, not having got out of hearing. They had no sooner arrived, than *Hobomok* told them there was no truth in the report, and said it was a plot of *Squanto*, who was then with them, and even one of those in the boat; that he knew *Massasoit* would not undertake such an enterprise without consulting him. *Hobomok* was confident because he was himself a great chief, and one of *Massasoit's* counsellors. *Squanto* denied all knowledge of any plot, and thus ended the affair. But to entirely satisfy the English, *Hobomok* sent his wife to Pokanoket privately to gain exact intelligence, and her return only verified what her husband had said. There is but little doubt, that *Squanto* was in the interest of *Corbitant*, and lived among the English as a spie, while *Hobomok* was honestly, as he pretended, a strong friend to them; but for some time

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it was nearly impossible for them to know which was their best friend, as each seemed emulous to outvie the other in good offices. They were, however, at this time satisfied; for *Hobomok's* wife having told *Massasoit* what had happened, and that it was one of *Squanto's* men that gave the alarm, satisfied him that that *Sagamore* had caused it, and therefore demanded him of the English, that he might put him to death, according to their law. But the English regarding the benefit resulting to them from saving his life, more than keeping inviolate the treaty, evaded the demand, and *Squanto* was preserved.

Hobomok was greatly beloved by *Massasoit*, notwithstanding he became a professed Christian, and *Massasoit* was always opposed to the English religion himself. It will be told in the life of the great *Massasoit*, how valuable was the agency of *Hobomok*, in faithfully revealing the mischievous plot of *Corbitant*, which terminated in the death of *Wittuwamet* and *Peksuot*. He was the pilot of the English when they visited *Massasoit* in his sickness, whom before their arrival they considered dead, which caused great manifestations of grief in *Hobomok*. He often exclaimed as they were on their way, "*Neen womasu Sagimus, neen womasu Sagimus, &c.*" which is "My loving Sachem, my loving Sachem! many have I known, but never any like thee."

In the division of the land at *Plimouth* among the inhabitants, *Hobomok*, received a lot as his share, on which he resided after the English manner, and died a Christian among them. The year of his death does not appear, but was previous to 1642.

Hopehood, a chief of the *Nerigwoks*, son of a chief of the name of *Robinhood*, his native name

appears to have been *Wohawa*.* The career of his warlike exploits was long and bloody. Our first notice of him is in Philip's war, at the attack of a house at Newichewannok, since Berwick, in Maine. Fifteen persons, all women and children, were in the house, and *Hopehood*, with one only beside himself, thought to surprise them, and but for the timely discovery of their approach by a young woman within, would have effected their purpose. She fastened and held the door, while all the others escaped unobserved. *Hopehood* and his companion hewed down the door, and knocked the girl on the head, and otherwise wounding her, left her for dead. They took two children, which a fence had kept from escaping. One they killed, the other they carried off alive. The young woman recovered, and was entirely well afterwards.

On the 18th of March, 1690, was the horrid massacre at Salmon falls. *Hopehood* had joined 22 Frenchmen, under *Hertel*, with 25 of his warriors. They attacked the place as soon as it was day, in three places. The people defended themselves as well as they were able, in their consternation, until about 30 of their best men were slain, when they gave themselves up to the mercy of the besiegers; 64 men were carried away captive, and much plunder. They burned all the houses, and the barns with the cattle in them. The number of buildings thus destroyed is unknown, but was perhaps about 30, and perhaps 200 head of cattle.

In the same year *Hopehood* appears again upon our records. In May, of that year, at the head of a party, he fell upon Fox point, in New Hampshire, killed about

* Harris, in his voyages, II, 302, says he was a Huron, but as he cites no authorities, we know not how he came by his information.

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fourteen persons, and carried away six, after burning several houses. This was as easily done, says Mather,* "as to have spoiled an ordinary *hen roost*." Two companies of English soon collected and pursued them; came up with them, killed some and recovered considerable plunder. In this action *Hopehood* was wounded, and lost his gun.

Many were the horrid acts of barbarity inflicted on the prisoners taken at this time, but which our limits will not admit us to record. Not long after this, *Hopehood* went to the westward "with a design, says Mather, to bewitch another crew at Aquadocta, into his assistance." The Indians of Canada, and the Five Nations, were then at war, and he being in their country, was met by some of the Canada Indians, who taking him to be of the Iroquois nation, slew him and many of his companions. He had been once a captive to the English, and served a time in Boston as a slave. There appears to have been another Nerigwok chief of the same name, who treated with gov. Dudley at Casco, in 1703.*

Hornotlimed, a chief of a clan of Creeks, commonly called Red-sticks. This name was given them, in the late Seminole campaigns, from the singular manner of their expressing themselves enemies to the United States. They were driven out from the rest of the Creek nation during the war of 1813, and established themselves at a village called Mickasauky. Here they erected poles, which they painted red, in mockery of the American liberty poles, and hence the name of Red-sticks. Their poles were *ornamented* with the scalps which they had taken from the Americans. This village of the Red-sticks was upon the

* *Magnalia Christ. Americana*, B. VII. Art. ix.

shore of a lake of the same name as their village, near the northern bounds of East Florida.

General *Gaines* had orders to drive the Creeks from the lands ceded to the United States by the council of their nation, and accordingly proceeded to Flint river, where, near its junction with the Catahoochie, he erected a fort which he named for Scott. Three vessels having arrived at the mouth of the Apalachicola on the 30th November, 1817, with military stores for the supply of the garrison, but from contrary winds was unable to ascend. Lieut. Scott was dispatched for his assistance, in a boat with forty men. The old Chief *Hornotlimed*, who had just before been driven from Foul-town, by a detachment of gen. *Gaine's* army, with a band of his warriors, had concealed themselves in the bank of the river, and when lieut. Scott and his men returned, were fired upon, and all except six soldiers, who jumped overboard and swam to the opposite shore, were killed. Twenty of the soldiers had been left for the aid of the ascending vessels, and about the same number of women and sick were in their place. These fell into the hands of *Hornotlimed* and his warriors, who dashed out their brains upon the side of the boat, took off their scalps, and carried them to Mickasauky, where they exhibited them upon their red poles, in memory of their victory. This chief was doomed short'y to expiate with his life for this massacre.

The Mickasauky town was soon after visited by the army, but the Indians had all fled, their red pole was left standing, and the scalps upon it; many of which were recognised as having been taken from lieut. *Scott's* men. A vessel cruising near the mouth of Apalachicola river to prevent the escape of the Indians in

* See Penhallows Ind. Wars, 2.

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that direction, with English colors displayed, decoyed on board the famous chiefs, *Hornollimed*, and the prophet *Francis*. These the Americans hanged without trial or delay.

Hornybrook, an interpreter at the treaty made at Pemmaquid in 1693, between the English and *Egermet*, *Madokawando*, *Bomazeen*, and ten other eastern chiefs.*

Hunter, (John) one of the Christian Indians who went against Philip in the beginning of the war and performed signal services. He is one of the three meant, in speaking before of Felix, which see.

Itansis, a Sachem of the Penobscot tribe in Maine, in 1713. We meet with his name only to the treaty concluded by the English with them in that year, as mentioned under *Bomazeen*. His mark or signature to that instrument is a rude representation of a face.†

Itopatin, a Sachem of Virginia, a second brother of *Powhatan*, whom he succeeded, on the death of that chief in April, 1618. He was a friend to the English, and on his coming into power, came with *Opekankanough* and renewed the former league.‡ His first name was *Opitchepan*.

Iyanough, Sachem of Cuminaquid and Matakies, (a tract of country between Barnstable and Yarmouth, upon Cape Cod.) Noted for his friendship to the Pilgrims on their first coming to Plymouth, and one of those whose country was passed through by them when in search of one of their number which had been lost in the woods, as related under the head *Aspinet*.

* Magnalia, II. 543.

† Penhallow's Indian Wars.

‡ Smith's Virginia, II. 37.

In the work called Mourt's Journal, we read as follows concerning him: "They brought us to their Sachem, or governor, whom they call *Iyanough*, a man not exceeding twenty-six years of age, but very personable, and gentle, courtious, and fair conditioned, indeed not like a savage, save for his attire. His entertainment was answerable to his parts, and his cheer plentiful and various. One thing was very grievous unto us at this place. There was an old women, whom we judged to be no less than an hundred years old, which came to see us, because she never saw English; yet could not behold us without breaking forth into great passion; weeping and crying excessively. We demanding the reason of it, they told us, she had three sons, who, when Master *Hunt* was in these parts, went aboard his ship to trade with him, and he carried them captives into Spain, by which means she was deprived of the comfort of her children in her old age." They expressed sorrow for her, and gave her to understand that she need apprehend nothing from them, at the same time giving her a few trifles which seemed to soothe her.

Iyanough conveyed the English to and from the country of *Aspinet*, and assisted them much in the expedition. His early and untimely death was brought about by the same melancholy circumstance as *Aspinet*.

We are inclined to believe that capt. *Harlow*, instead of *Hunt*, took away the three sons of this woman; for capt. *Smith*, in his account of New England, mentions particularly that Harlow took three natives from Cape Cod, whose names were "*Pechmo*, *Monopet*, and *Pekinimne*." And adds, "but *Pechmo* leaped overboard, and got away; and not long after, with his consorts, cut their boat from their stern, got her on shoafe, and so

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filled her with sand, and guarded her with bows and arrows, the English lost her." In his account of *Hunt's* taking away the "twenty-four Savages," Smith does not mention from what part of the coast he took them.

Jack-straw, a native, who lived some time in England with Sir Walter Raleigh,* and afterwards upon Connecticut river, with a Sagamore called *Wahgumacut*, whom, I suppose he accompanied as an interpreter. *Wahgumacut* having come to Boston to request the governor "to have some English to plant in his country, and offers to find them corn, and give them, yearly, eighty skins of beaver."† But the governor distrusting his honesty did not comply. The fear *Wahgumacut* was in of the Pequots caused him to make these overtures. This was in 1631.‡

Jackoid, a Penobscot chief, in 1713. We hear nothing of him in the eastern wars, and hence conclude that he was not conspicuous in them.

James-printer, a Christian Indian of Hassanamesit, so called, from the circumstance of his having worked at the printing business. He was one of the eleven given an account of under *Monoco*. He was a brother to *Tukapewillin* and *Araweakin*. He was brought up among the English, and was employed as a pressman in printing the celebrated *Elliot's* Indian bible.

* "The imputation of the first bringing in of tobacco into England lies on this heroic knight." *Winstanley's Worthies*, 259. "Besides the consumption of the purse, and impairing of our inward parts, the immoderate, vain and phantastical abuse of the hellish weed, corrupteth the natural sweetness of the breath, stupifieth the brain; and indeed is so prejudicial to the general esteem of our country." *Ibid.* 211. "What think ye of this verdict? tobacco eaters! If you are not satisfied, look into King James's book, which he calls, "a counterblast of tobacco."

† *Prince's Chronology*, II, 25. ‡ *Backers' New England*, 34.

James, Sagamore of Saugus, now Linn, whose native name was *Moutowampate*,* was brother of *John*, Sagamore of Winisimet. He died in 1633, of the small pox, "with most of his people. It is said that these two promised, if ever they recovered, to live with the English, and serve their God."† The histories of those times give a melancholy picture of the distresses caused by the small pox among the "wretched natives." "There are," says Mather, "some old planters surviving to this day, who helped to bury the dead Indians; even whole families of them all dead at once. In one of the wigwams they found a poor infant sucking at the breast of the dead mother."‡ The same author observes that before the disease began, the Indians had begun to quarrel with the English about the bounds of their lands, "but God ended the controversy by sending the small pox among the Indians at Saugus, who were before that time exceedingly numerous."

Janemoh, an independent Narraganset chief, who if subject to the "great Sachem" *Miantunnomoh*, seems to have been nearly independent. In 1637, the "great Sachem" complained to the government of Massachusetts that *Janemoh* and *Wequash* had done him injury, who "gave him leave to right himself,"§ but whether anything further were done we do not hear. The next year he was complained of for robberies upon the Long-islanders. On being threatened with war by the Massachusetts he made restitution for the injuries. We meet with him no more until 1640, when it was rumored that *Miantunnomoh* was trying to unite his neighboring countrymen and also the *Mohawks* against the English. Governor *Dudley* of Mas-

* Lewis' Hist. Lynn, 48. † Hist. of New England, 195.
‡ Relation, &c. 23. § Winthrop, Journal, I. 243.

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sachusetts sent messengers to him, but nothing but friendship was evinced. "Only *Janemoh*, the Niantick Sachem, carried himself proudly, and refused to come to us, or to yield to anything, only he said he would not harm us, except we invaded him."* This was no less noble than the answer of the emperor of China to Earl Macartney, when he solicited favors that that monarch considered as belonging to all nations, and none in particular, to the exclusion of others.†

Jethro, (*Old*.) or as he was called by some, John Jethro,‡ a person of considerable note, whose residence was at a place called Nobscot-hill, near Sudbury. He was not a Christian Indian, although when those were ordered to Deer Island, *Old Jethro*, with his family of about twelve persons, was found among them. He would doubtless have continued with them but for the threatening aspect of the English; and in the night, as an opportunity offered, the whole family secretly deserted. He was considered a great Powow, and being found among those who delivered themselves up at Coheco, after the war was ended, was hanged at Boston.§

Mr Hubbard adds,|| in the triumphant style of those days, that *Monoco*, "with a few more braggadocios like himself, *Sagamore-sam*, *Old Jethro*, and the *Sagamore* of *Quabaog*, were taken by the English, and were seen marching towards the gallows with halters about their necks, with which they were hanged, at the town's end, 36th September, 1676."

Jethro, (*Peter*.) son of the preceding, was one

* *Ibidum*, II, 8. † Stanton's Embassy.

‡ Cobbets Manuscript Narrative.

§ Manuscript of Hon. D. Gookin.

|| Narrative, 75, 4to edition.

of the Sagamores who subscribed the letter brought to the English by *Tom Nepanel*, which see. In that letter he is styled scribe; hence we presume that he had learned the English language, and writing.* Dr I. Mather says, "That abominable Indian, *Peter Jethro*, betrayed his own father, and other Indians of his special acquaintance, unto death."† He was a son of the preceding, and is the same mentioned by Mr. Hubbard as bringing in forty of his countrymen "at one time."‡ To this, I suppose, Mr. Mather refers.

John-with-one-eye, the same as *Monoco*, and often called *one-eyed-John*. *Monoco* was his Indian name, under which his history will be found.

John, (Sagamore) of Winisimet, now Chelsea. As early as 1631, he had cause to complain: at some of the settlers had burnt two of his wigwams. "Which wigwams," says gov. Dudley, § "were not inhabited, but stood in a place convenient for their shelter, when upon occasion, they should travel that way." The court, upon examination, found that a servant of sir *R. Saltonstall*, had been the means of the mischief, whose master was ordered to make satisfaction, "which he did by seven yards of cloth, and that his servant pay him at the end of his time, fifty shillings sterling." || *Sagamore John* died at Wamesit, in 1633, of the small pox. ¶ He desired to become acquainted with the Englishman's God, in his sickness, and requested them to take his two sons and instruct them in christianity, which they did.**

* Manuscript of Hon. Daniel Gookin.

† Prevalency of Prayer, page 6.

‡ Indian Wars 28, 4to edition.

§ Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, in Col. Mas. His. Soc.

|| Prince's Chronology.

¶ History of New England, 195. 650.

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John, (*Sagamore*) a Nipmuk Sachem, and a traitor to his country. On the 27th of July, 1676, doubtless from a conviction of the hopelessness of his cause, came to Boston, and threw himself on the mercy of the English; whom they pardoned, as he enticed along with him, about 180 others. And that he might have a stronger claim on their clemency, he seized *Matoonas*, and his son, against whom he knew the English to be greatly enraged, and delivered them up at the same time. On death's being immediately assigned as the lot of *Matoonas*, *Sagamore-john* requested that he might execute him with his own hands. To keep up the horrid story of blood, his request was granted; and he took *Matoonas* into the common, bound him to a tree, and there "shot him to death." To the above Dr. Mather adds,* "thus did the Lord retaliate upon him the innocent blood which he had shed; as he had done, so God requited him."

Although much had been alledged against *John*, before he came in, but afterwards the most favorable construction was put upon his conduct. Mr. Hubbard says, he "affirmed that he had never intended any mischief to the English at Brookfield, the last year (near which village it seems his place was) but that *Philip* coming over night amongst them he was forced, for fear of his own life, to join with them against the English." †

Kattenanit, (*Job*) a Christian Natick, who had been a preacher at Magunkog, Hopkinton, and belonged, we believe, to Massananesit; however that may be, it is certain he lived there in the beginning of *Philip's* war, when *Philip's* men made a descent upon the place, with the intention of carrying away those

* Brief History of the war, 43.

† Narrative, 101, 4to edition.

Christian Indians, prisoners. *Job* made his escape from them at this time, and came in to the English at Mendon. He had still three children in the enemy's hands, and he was willing to run any venture to release them. He therefore applied for, and obtained a pass, assuring him safety, provided that in his return he should fall into the hands of the English scouts. Besides liberating his children, considerable hopes were entertained, that he would be enabled to furnish information of the enemy. It unfortunately happened, that before he had passed the frontier, he fell in with some English soldiers, who treated him as a prisoner, and an enemy, even taking from him his clothes and gun, sent him to the governor at Boston; "who more to satisfy the clamors of the people than for any offence committed," he was assigned to the common jail, where he suffered exceedingly; himself and many others being crowded into a narrow and filthy place. After about three weeks he was taken out and sent to Deer island.

The clamors of the people were so great at this time, that many railed at major *Gookin*, who gave him the pass, as guilty of furnishing the enemy with intelligence.

After the Narraganset fight, 19th of December, 1675, the English were very anxious to gain information relative to their position, and accordingly instructed major *Gookin* to use his endeavors to employ some friendly Indian spies, who, after considerable negotiation among them at Deer island, engaged *Job* again, and *James Quannapohit*, alias *Quanapaug*. Their reward was to be five pounds a piece! They departed upon this service before day, the 30th of December, and during their mission, behaved with great prudence, and brought valuable information to the En-

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James Quannapohit returned 24th of Jan. following, nearly worn out and famished ; having travelled about eighty miles in that cold season, upon snow shoes, the snow being very deep. The information which he gave, was written down by major *Cookin*.* Among other matters he stated that the enemy had taken up their quarters in different places, probably near Scattacook, many others, including the Nipmuks, about Menumesse. The Narragansets had not yet joined *Philip* openly, but while *James* and *Job* were among the Nipmuks, messengers arrived from Narraganset which gave them much joy, for they expressed an ardent desire to join them and *Philip* in prosecuting the war. They said their loss in the great swamp fight was small. In three weeks, *James* learned, they would assault Lancaster, which accordingly came to pass, upon the very day, which he said they intended it. He learned and thus divulged their plans to a great extent. A circumstance now occurred, which obliged him to make his escape, which was this : He found a friend and protector in *Mautamp*, one of the Nipmuk chiefs, who, it seems, intended shortly to visit *Philip* ; and insisted that *Quannapohit* should accompany him, and it was with no small difficulty he was able to elude the vigilant eye of *Mautamp* and make his escape, which however, was effected, only by a cunning stratagem, as follows. He told *Mautamp* that he had fought against *Philip* in the commencement of the war, and that *Philip* knew him, and that unless he could go to him with some important trophy, *Philip* would not believe him, and would immediately kill him. And moreover *Tukapawillin* had privately told him that *Philip* had

* The same published in Col. Mas. His. Soc. 1. vi. 205-208.

given out word that certain praying Indians should be sought after, and if possible, seized and brought to him: for he wanted to put them to death in a cruel manner, with his own hands, and that *he* was one of them. He therefore told *Mautamp* that he would go, in the first place and kill some English, and take their heads along with him, and then he should consider himself safe. This being consented to, he lost no time in retracing his steps to the frontiers of the English.

He mentions *Monoco*, or *One-eyed-john* as a great captain among the enemy, who also treated him kindly, and entertained him in his wigwam during his stay there; he being an old acquaintance. They had served together in their wars against the Mohawks, ten years before.

Job was requested to come away with *Quannapohit*, but saw no way of getting away his children, which was a main object with him. He knew too that *James* could give all the information they both possessed at that period, and not considering himself in imminent danger, preferred to tarry longer.

He returned to the English in the night of the 9th of February and said, as *James* had before, that on the next day Lancaster would be attacked, for he knew, about four hundred of the enemy were already on their march. The result has already been told.

He further informed the English, that the enemy would shortly attack Medfield, Groton, Marlboro', and other places, and that the Narragansets had joined *Philip* and the Nipmucs.

Before he left the enemy he appointed a place of safety for his children, and sundry others of his friends, captured at Hassanamesit, where he would afterwards meet and conduct them to the English. He there-

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fore petitioned the council for liberty to meet them, which was granted. But he now had new difficulties to encounter, owing to "the rude temper of those times," as one of the wise men of that age expressed it.* Although both these men had acquitted themselves to the entire satisfaction of the authorities who sent them forth, yet the populace accused them of giving information to the enemy, and that they were secretly their advisers, or else they had not returned in safety; to appease which they were confined again to the Island. This so interfered with the time set by *Job* to meet his children and friends, that great sufferings ensued to them, as well as to himself; and he knew not that ever he should have an opportunity to see his children again. But it much sooner happened, no doubt, than he expected, although in an indirect way. About the time he was sent to the island, a vote passed in the general court of Massachusetts, to raise an army of six hundred men, and major *Thomas Savage* was applied to, to conduct them in the war. He refused, unless he could have some of the friendly Indians from the island for assistants. On a messenger being sent among them, six of their principal and bravest men volunteered in that service, among whom was *Job Kattenanit*. The army marched about the first of March, 1675, O. S. But when at Marlborough, *Job* got liberty of major *Savage* and major gen. *Dennison*, to attempt the finding of his friends and children, whom he had appointed to meet near *Hassanamesit*. When it was known to [capt. *Mosely*,]† he behaved

* Major Daniel Gookin, who was at least an hundred years in advance of that age.

† It may be a question with some whether the captain meant, in the original documents, were *Mosely*, but I think I conjecture rightly.

himself very unbecoming towards the commanding officer, and nothing but his popularity with the army saved his reputation. Indeed his conduct seems quite as reprehensible as that of a more modern Indian hunter in the Floridas, which all friends of humanity joined to condemn. *Mosely*, it appears would place no confidence in any Indian, and doubtless thought he was acting for the best interests of the country. He urged that it was a most impolitic measure to suffer any Indian to go away at this time, knowing their natural treacherousness; and he doubted not but *Job*, (although a tried friend,) would inform the enemy of the approach of the army, which would frustrate all their designs. The great ascendancy which this officer held in the army can best be understood by a simple statement of the fact, that major *Savage* and gen. *Denison*, were obliged to send after *Job* before the soldiery would cease their clamours. Capt. *Wadsworth* and capt. *Syll*, accompanied by *James Quannapohit*, went in pursuit with the utmost speed. But they did not overtake him, and he soon returned to the army without finding his friends; they, from fear of discovery, having changed their place, the time having been much longer than was set, and their sufferings were indescrivable.

We shall only add here concerning them, that they afterwards fell into the hands of a party of English, who treated them very ill, taking every thing from them. But when they were brought to major *Savage*, he treated them kindly, and had them sent to Boston, all except four, who ran away from Marlborough, where they stopped for the night, from the fear of being murdered; some of the people so abused them. And it was about two months after, that they were found and brought in by *Nepanet*. Finally, *Job* recov-

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ered all his children, and marrying again, lived very happily. His wife was one of those which he had managed to deliver out of the hands of the enemy at such hazard and pains. She had, during their wanderings nursed and kept alive his children, one especially which was very young.

When the Hassanamesits went off with the enemy, *James Quannapohit* was in the neighborhood with the English forces. Capt. *Syll* sent out a scout, and *James* and *Elizer Pegin* accompanied. Seven of the enemy were soon discovered, one of whom was leading an English prisoner. They discovered the English scout and fled. *James* and *Elizer* pursued them and recovered the prisoner, whose name was *Christopher Muchin*, who had been taken from Marlborough. *James* also took one of the enemies guns.*

Keewaygooshkum, a chief of the first authority among the Ottoways in 1821, when governor Cass entered into a treaty with him and the chiefs of several other tribes, at Chicago, on lake Michigan, and bought a large tract of country of them. In a speech which *Keewaygooshkum* made at the time, his remarkable knowledge of the historical events relating to the intercourse of the red and white men, is very striking. "A series of misfortunes," says Mr. Schoolcraft, has since overtaken this friendly, modest, and sensible chief. On returning from the treaty of Chicago, while off the mouth of grand river, in lake Michigan, his canoe was struck by a flaw of wind and upset. After making every exertion, he saw his wife and all his children, except one son, perish. With his son he reached the shore; but as if to crown his misfortunes, this only surviving child has since been poisoned for the part he took in the treaty."

* Gookins MS. Hist. Christian Indians

The result of this treaty was the relinquishment by the Ottaways, Chippeways, and Pottowattomys, of a tract of country in the southern part of the peninsula of Michigan, containing upwards of 5000,000 acres, and for which they received of the United States, in goods, 35000 dollars, and several other sums to the separate tribes, to some yearly forever, and to others for a limited term of years. Some of the chiefs who attended to the treaty were opposed to this sale, and hence the reason that *Keewaygooshkum's* son was poisoned.

Koange in the following speech opposed it in a manly style. He was a chief of mature age, and of a venerable aspect.

“My Father; since you heard from our brothers, the Chippewas and Ottawas, we have counselled together. It is now your wish to hear the sentiments of the Three Nations. I shall deliver them. Sometimes the Indians have acted like children. When requested they have signed away their lands without consideration. This has always made trouble in the nation, and blood has been spilt in consequence. We wish to avoid such foolish and bad conduct. The last time we sat down in council together, we had not fully consulted each other; and perhaps you drew a wrong conclusion from what we said. We did *not* consent to your request. In times past, when you have asked us for lands, we have freely sold them. At present there are a number of our people opposed to selling, and we have found it very difficult to agree in mind. One point in particular, we differ much upon; it is the extent of the grant you request. We give you one more proof of our friendship, by meeting you in this council. You know our minds—we now take you by the hand. Look down upon us

with compassion, and wish us well." This, Mr. Schoolcraft says, was rather more favorably rendered by the interpreter, than it should have been, in regard to the disposal of the land. We think it speaks in decided terms against it, but we find his name to the treaty.

Kemps, a subject of *Powhatan*, Sachem of Virginia. He was a great enemy to the English, and was taken prisoner by capt. Smith, with another called *Tassore*. He says* they were "the two most exact villains in all the country," and who "would have betrayed both king and kindred for a peece of copper." The English kept them a considerable time, "fettered prisoners, and did double task, and taught vs how to order and plant our fields: whom now for want of victuals we set at liberty, but so well they liked our companies they did not desire to goe from vs." Afterwards when some discontented Englishmen deserted their company and went to these men, they made themselves sport with them, showing them how they had been treated while prisoners, and fed them according to the work they did, saying, "those who will not work shall have nothing to eat," and then sent them by force, back to Jamestown.

Kenebis, a Sachem who conferred a name on a country or a country a name upon him. When Maine became known to the Europeans, a sagamore of this name resided upon the Sagadahok, and they afterwards, like the Virginians in the case of *Powhatan* called the river by the name of the chief Sachem upon it, and hence comes to us the name of Kennebeck. Sullivan † tells us that a Sachem of this name, who was contemporary with *Abigadeset*, granted nearly all

* Hist. Virginia, I, 224.

† Hist. District of Maine.

the land upon Kennebeck river, and much of it several times over, to their English neighbors. In 1649, *Kenebis* sold the land, up as high as Taconnet falls, to *Christopher Lawson*, and about the same time the same tract to *Spencer* and *Clark*, comprehending ten miles on each side of the river.

Ketteramogis, was one of the Nerigwok chiefs in 1693.

Kizebenuit, a Penobscot Sachem, in 1713. At which time with seven others, he subscribed articles of submission to queen Anne, at Portsmouth in New Hampshire. His mark is the first subscribed, and was made to represent a bird.

Kokopotanauh, one of the last Sachems of Connecticut. His dominions included Derby, Milford and Stamford. He lived at the first mentioned town, where he died in 1731, at which time he had under him about sixty men.*

Kutquen, a sagamore, one of those who signed the letter about the release of captives, brought from the enemy by *Tom Napanet*, in April, 1676.† (See *Napanet*.) A Narraganset of this name, in 1649, who, meeting with *Uncas* in an English vessel in Connecticut river, ran a sword into his breast, which wound, it was thought for some time would prove mortal; "which murderous act, the assailant then confessed, he was for a considerable sum of wampum, by the Narraganset and Niantick Sachems, hired to attempt. *Ninigret*, when examined, utterly denied his having a hand in that act, but affirmed that *Cuttaquin*, who accused himself, and the other Sachems, was drawn thereunto, by torture from the Mohawks."‡

Kutshamaquin, *Kutchmakin*, *Cutshamoquen*,

* Col. Mas. Hist. Soc. † Manuscript Documents.

‡ Mather's Relation.

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mean the same. He was one of the five Sachems who in 1643-4 signed articles of submission to the English, with the understanding that they should protect him. In 1636, he sold to Dorchester, the part of that town since called Milton, and is named as the Sachem of Massachusetts, but subject to *Massasoit*. He was at first opposed to the settling of the English in his country, but afterward became a Christian. When the English of Massachusetts sent to *Canonicus* to enquire into the cause of the murder of *John Oldham*, *Katshamaquin* went with them as interpreter. In this expedition he waylaid a Pequot and shot him, took off his scalp and sent it to *Canonicus*, who sent it about among his Sachem friends, and gave the English many thanks, and *Kutshamaquin* four fathom of wampum.† He seems to have been entirely devoted to the English, leagued with them against the Pequots, gave up his ammunition he had bought of them, by their promising to restore it, opposed the claims of *Miantunomoh*; in fine, he appears to have done in all things as they listed, without using his own judgment on any occasion.

He told Mr. Elliot, that the reason he was opposed to his people becoming Christians, was, that they would then pay him no tribute. A weighty matter, to be sure, thus to have his laws destroyed.

Lightfoot, a Sogkonate, so named by the English. He was one of *Awashonks* tribe, who volunteered to fight with capt. *Church* against his countrymen, at the time the great dance was held by that tribe as mentioned in the life of *Awashonks*. When the chief, called *Little-eyes*, was taken at *Cushnet* in 1676, *Lightfoot* was sent with him, to what is now called *Palmer's* island, near the mouth of that river, as

† Winthrop's Journal.

a place of safety. He soon after joined the English captain and they succeeded in capturing the Indians in multitudes.

Animated by the success some Bridgewater men had in killing *Philip's* uncle, *Atkompoin*, and taking *Philip's* wife and son, on the 30th of July, as they were attempting to cross Tehticut, now Taunton river, *Lightfoot* requested capt. *Church* to permit him to make an expedition with a company of his countrymen. Willing to encourage him, *Church* now gave him a captain's commission, and he set out. He was gone but one day, and returned with thirteen prisoners, besides having killed several. His exploits were doubtless very numerous in most of *Church's* expeditions, in and about Plimouth Colony, but we meet with nothing more recorded of him, until we come to the expeditions among the eastern Indians.

When *Church* landed at Casco, in 1689, and had a considerable fight with the Indians, *Lightfoot* is mentioned for a remarkable feat of dexterity. The Indians began the attack, before the English had got much of their ammunition on shore. The soldiers were to be supplied from the fort, where the bullets were first to be hammered before they would go into their guns. The tide-being up, made an estuary, which separated the battle ground from the town. As soon as a quantity of ball was prepared, *Church* ran with it to supply his men. On coming to the arm of the sea, he called to his men for some one to adventure across, to take it to the army. None appeared ready but *Lightfoot*. He immediately came, "taking the powder upon his head, and a kettle of bullets in each hand and got safe to his fellow soldiers."

The English forces were by this means able to continue the fight, and after some time, put the enemy to

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flight. And but for this timely arrival of *Church* at Casco, it must inevitably have fallen into the hands of the Indians. Twelve of the English forces were killed, and many wounded in this battle. Of the Indians no account could be given as they had time to take away their dead and wounded with them.

Little-carpenter, a Cherokee chief, of great note in his time, especially as he acted a very conspicuous part in the horrid wars those tribes were involved in with the English, shortly after *Braddock's* defeat. His real name was *Attakullakulla*, and that by which he ought properly to appear in history.

He had been in England, and had spent some time there previous to col. *Montgomery's* and gen. *Grant's* exterminating wars, in 1761.* In 1756, ambassadors were sent to the Cherokees, to bind them more strongly in the English interest, and to secure their aid against the French. While a council was convened and in favorable progress, messengers arrived, bringing information that the English had murdered a war party of Cherokees, while returning from an expedition against the French, and in the cause of the English. A captain of militia, in Augusta county, Virginia, a back-settler, having entertained said party as friends, in the mean time stationed a band of ruffians in the way they were to pass, who fell upon and murdered them. Their scalps were doubtless the object, as a premium was then paid for them by the government, but the monster made another pretence, which was that they had stolen his poultry. The messengers who carried the tidings to the council, were some who escaped the ambush, and their information threw the whole into tumult, and a great number of the council, and others present, were for taking revenge by murdering all the

* British Empire in America.

English ambassadors present ; but they were saved by the wisdom and magnanimity of *Attakullakulla*.

The brave chief hastened to inform the ambassadors of the imminent danger that awaited them, and advised them to conceal themselves in a strong place, and not to be seen abroad, which they speedily attended to. He then summoned his people from all directions to appear in council. When they were convened, he laid all circumstances before them, and recommended striking a deadly blow upon the English. But in regard to the ambassadors he spoke as follows: " Let us not violate our faith, or the laws of hospitality, by imbruing our hands in the blood of those who are now in our power. They came to us in the confidence of friendship, with belts of wampum to cement a perpetual alliance with us. Let us carry them back to their own settlements, conduct them safely within their confines, and then take up the hatchet, and endeavour to exterminate the whole race of them." This council was adopted, the ambassadors were conducted home, and the murderer of their friends demanded, which was not granted, and thus commenced that desolating war, to which we have just referred.*

At the commencement of their irruptions, gov. *Lyttleton*, of South Carolina, hastily marched into their country at the head of a strong force, and caused them to sue for peace, and a treaty was accordingly concluded, agreeably to the dictation of the English. Twenty-one hostages were taken, and held at fort Prince George, where the treaty was made, for its due observance. But no sooner had the governor left the country, than the Cherokees attempted to surprise it; liberate their friends and put the garrison to death. They failed in their attempt, but during the attack, some

* Burnaby, Travels in N. America, 4to. London, 1798.

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were killed and others wounded on both sides. The hostages were ordered to be put in irons, in the execution of which, a soldier was killed by them, and another wounded. This so enraged the English, that they fell upon the hostages and put them to death.

Ravages were again commenced upon the frontiers, and continued until the expeditions of gen. *Grant*, notwithstanding col. *Montgomery* destroyed many of their towns and killed a great many of their warriors.

It was known that *Little-carpenter* was opposed to his nation's breaking the late treaty, and he was therefore informed by captives, set at liberty for the purpose, that he might come in with others of his chiefs and make peace, but none would hear to him, and col. *Montgomery* resolved on another expedition. He went out in June, 1760, and returned to fort Prince George, in July, with the loss of seventy men. Although he killed many, and done the Cherokees great damage, yet it only irritated them, and they immediately blockaded fort Loudon, near the line of Virginia, and all chance of succour being cut off, the garrison was obliged to capitulate. It was agreed that they should march to their homes with their guns and necessary ammunition. They had not marched far, when they were surrounded by their enemies, twenty-five men and every officer killed, except capt. *Stewart*, whose life was saved by the exertion of *Little-carpenter*. This is the last act we are able to record of him.

In July of the next year, the Cherokees were entirely subdued by gen. *Grant*, at the head of about 2600 men.*

Little-turtle, the English of *Mishikinakwa*, the name of a great chief of the Miamis, distinguished as a great warrior, and wise counsellor. He led the

* British Empire in America, Oct. London, 1770.

united tribes which so successfully fought the American army under gen. *St. Clair*; therefore it will be proper to narrate that event in this article.

The western nations of Indians were only emboldened by the battles between them and detachments of gen. *Harmer's* army, in 1790, and under such a leader as *Mishikinakwa*, entertained sanguine hopes of bringing the Americans to their own terms. One murder followed another, in rapid succession, attended by all the horrors peculiar to their warfare.

President *Washington* took the earliest opportunity of recommending Congress to adopt prompt and efficient measures for checking those calamities, and 2000 men were immediately raised and put under the command of gen. *St. Clair*, then governor of the North West Territory. He received his appointment the 4th of March, 1791; and proceeded to Fort Washington, by way of Kentucky, with all possible dispatch, where he arrived May 15th.* There was much time lost in getting the troops embodied at this place. Gen. *Buller*, with the residue, not arriving until the middle of September. There were various circumstances to account for the delays which it is unnecessary to recount here.

Col. *Darke* proceeded immediately on his arrival, which was about the end of August, and built fort Hamilton, on the Miami, in the country of *Little-turtle*, and soon after fort Jefferson was built forty miles farther onward. These two forts being left manned, about the end of October the army advanced, being about 2000 strong, militia included, whose numbers were not inconsiderable, as will appear by the miserable manner in which they not only confused themselves, but the regular soldiers also.

* *St. Clair's Narrative*, p. 4.

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Gen. *St. Clair* had advanced but about six miles in front of fort Jefferson, when sixty of his militia, from pretended disaffection, commenced a retreat, and it was discovered that the evil had spread considerably among the rest of the army. Being fearful they would seize upon the convoy of provisions, the gen. ordered col. *Hamtramk* to pursue them with his regiment, and force them to return. The army now consisted of but 1400 effective men, and this was the number attacked by *Little-turtle* and his warriors, fifteen miles from the Miami villages.

Gen. *Butler* commanded the right wing, and col. *Darke* the left. The militia were posted a quarter of a mile in advance, and were encamped in two lines. They had not finished securing their baggage when they were attacked in their camp. It was their intention to have marched immediately to the destruction of the Miami villages. Of this their movements apprised the Indians, who acted with great wisdom and firmness. They fell upon the militia before sunrise, 4th of November, who at once fled into the main camp, in the most disorderly and tumultuous manner; many of them having thrown away their guns, were pursued and slaughtered. At the main camp the fight was sustained some time, by the great exertions of the officers, but with great inequality; the Indians under *Little-turtle* amounting to about 1500 warriors. Cols. *Darke* and *Butler*, and major *Clark* made several successful charges, which enabled them to save some of their numbers by checking the enemy, while flight was more practicable.

Five hundred and ninety-three were killed and missing, beside *thirty-eight* officers, and 242 soldiers and twenty-one officers wounded; many of whom died. Col. *Butler* was among the slain.

Gen. *St. Clair* was called to an account for the disastrous issue of this campaign; and was honorably acquitted. He published a particular narrative of the whole transaction from beginning to end, from which we collect the chief of our information. And we will add in his own words* what he says to the Secretary of war, of his retreat. "The retreat was, you may be sure, a precipitate one; it was in fact a flight. The camp and the artillery were abandoned, but that was unavoidable, for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is, that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased. I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself, and the orders I sent forward, either to halt the front, or prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to."

The remnant of the army arrived at fort Jefferson the same day, just before sunset, the place from which they fled being twenty-nine miles distant. Gen. *St. Clair* did every thing that a brave general could do. He exposed himself to every danger, having during the action eight bullets shot through his clothes. In no attack on our records, did the Indians discover greater bravery and determination. After giving the first fire they rushed forward with tomahawk in hand. Their loss was inconsiderable, but the traders afterwards learned among them that *Little-turtle* had an hundred and fifty killed and many wounded.* "They

* Penn. Gazette, of that year.

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rushed on the artillery heedless of their fire, and took two pieces in an instant. They were again retaken by our troops; and whenever the army charged them, they were seen to give way and advance again as soon as they began to retreat, doing great execution, both in the retreat and advance. They are very dextrous in covering themselves with trees; many of them however fell, both of the infantry and artillery." "Six or eight pieces of artillery fell into their hands, with about 400 horses, all the baggage, ammunition, and provisions."*

It has been generally said that had the advice of this chief been taken at the disastrous fight afterwards with gen. *Wayne*, there is but little doubt but he had met as ill success as gen. *St. Clair*.† He was not for fighting gen. *Wayne* at *Presque Isle*, and inclined rather to peace than fighting him at all. In a council held the night before the battle he argued as follows: "We have beaten the enemy twice, under separate commanders. We cannot expect the same good fortune always to attend us. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps: the night and the day are alike to him. And during all the time that he has been marching upon our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers me, it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace." For holding this language he was reproached by another chief with cowardice, which put an end to all farther discourse. Nothing wounds the feelings of a warrior like the reproach of cowardice, but he stifled his resentment, did his duty in the

* Letter from fort Hamilton, dated 6 days after the battle.

† *Little-turtle* told Mr. *Volney* circumstances, which gave him that opinion. See his *Travels in America*, ed. Lond. 1804.

battle, and its issue proved him a truer prophet than his accuser believed.*

Little-turtle lived some years after the war, in great esteem among many men of high standing. He was alike courageous and humane, possessing great wisdom. "And," says my author, "there has been few individuals among Aborigines who have done so much to abolish the rites of human sacrifice. The grave of this noted warrior is shown to visitors, near fort *Wayne*. It is frequently visited by the Indians in that part of the country, by whom his memory is cherished with the greatest respect and veneration."*

When the philosopher and famous traveller *Volney*, was in America, in the winter of 1797, *Little-turtle* came to Philadelphia where he then was, and who sought immediate acquaintance with the celebrated chief, for highly valuable purposes, which in some measure he effected. He made a vocabulary of his language, which he printed in the appendix to his travels. A copy in manuscript, more extensive than the printed one, is in the library of the Philosophical Society of Pennsylvania.

Having become convinced that all resistance to the whites was vain, he brought his nation to consent to peace, and to adopt agricultural pursuits. And it was with the view of soliciting Congress, and the benevolent society of Friends for assistance to effect this latter purpose, that he now visited Philadelphia. While here he was inoculated for the small pox, and was also afflicted with the gout and rheumatism.

At the time of *Mr. Volney's* interview with him for information, he took no notice of the conversation while the interpreter was communicating with *Mr. Volney*, for he did not understand English, but walked about, plucking out his beard and eye brows. He

* *Schoolcrafts Travels.*

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was dressed now in English clothes. His skin, where not exposed, Mr. Volney says, was as white as his; and on speaking upon the subject, *Little-turtle* said, "I have seen Spaniards in Louisiana, and found no difference of color between them and me. And why should there be any? In them, as in us, it is the work of the *Father of colors*, the *Sun* that burns us. You white people compare the color of your face with that of your bodies." Mr. Volney explained to him the notion of many, that his race were descended from the Tartars, and by a map showed him the supposed communication between Asia and America. To this, *Little-turtle* replied: "*Why should not these Tartars, who resemble us, have come from America? Are there any reasons to the contrary? Or why should we not both have been born in our own country?*" It is a fact that the Indians give themselves a name which is equivalent to our word *indigine*, that is, *one sprung from the soil*, or natural to it.*

When Mr. Volney asked *Little-turtle* what prevented him from living among the whites, and if he were not more comfortable in Philadelphia than upon the banks of the Wabash, he said, "Taking all things together you have the advantage over us; but here I am deaf and dumb. I do not talk your language; I can neither hear, nor make myself heard. When I walk through the streets, I see every person in his shop employed about something: one makes shoes, another hats, a third sells cloth, and every one lives by his labor. I say to myself, which of all these things can you do? Not one. I can make a bow or an arrow, catch fish, kill game, and go to war: but none of these is of any use here. To learn what is done here would require a long time." "Old age comes on." "I should

* See Volney's Travels, *ut Supra*.

be a piece of furniture useless to my nation, useless to the whites, and useless to myself." "I must return to my own country."

Logan, a Mingo* chief, son of *Shikellimus*, a celebrated chief of the Cayuga nation. For Magnanimity in war, and greatness of soul in peace, few, if any, in any nation, ever surpassed him. He took no part in the French wars which ended in 1760, except that of a peace maker; was always acknowledged the friend of the white people, until the year 1774, when his brother, and several others of his family were murdered. The particulars of which follow. In the spring of 1774, some Indians robbed the people upon the Ohio river, who were in that country exploring the lands, and preparing for settlements. These land jobbers were alarmed at this hostile carriage of the Indians, as they considered it, and collected themselves at a place called Wheeling creek, the site on which Wheeling is now built, and learning that there were two Indians on the river a little above, one capt. *Michael Cresap*, belonging to the exploring party, proposed to fall upon and kill them. His advice, although opposed at first, was followed, and a party led by *Cresap* proceeded and killed the two Indians. The same day, it being reported that some Indians were discovered below Wheeling upon the river, *Cresap* and his party immediately marched to the place, and at first appeared to show themselves friendly, and suffered the Indians to pass by them unmolested, to seat themselves still lower down, at the mouth of Grave creek. *Cresap* soon followed, attacked and killed several of them, having one of his own men wounded by the fire of the Indians. Here some of the family of *Logan* were slain. The circumstance of the affair was exceeding

* Mengwe, Maquas, Maqua, or Iroquois, all mean the same.

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aggravating, inasmuch as the whites *pretended no provocation*.

Soon after this, some other monsters in human shape, at whose head were *Daniel Greathouse*, and one *Tomlinson*, committed a horrid murder upon a company of Indians about thirty miles above Wheeling. *Greathouse* resided at the same place, but on the opposite side of the river from the Indian encampment. A party of thirty-two men were collected for this object, who secreted themselves, while *Greathouse*, under a pretence of friendship, crossed the river and visited them, to ascertain their strength; which, on counting them, he found too numerous for his force in an open attack. These Indians having heard of the late murder of their relations, had determined to be avenged of the whites, and *Greathouse*, did not know the danger he was in, until a squaw advised him of it, in a friendly caution, "to go home." The sad requital this poor woman met with will presently appear. This abominable fellow invited the Indians to come over the river and drink rum with him. This being a part of his plot to separate them, that they might be the easier destroyed. The opportunity soon offered; a number being collected at a tavern in the white settlement, and considerably intoxicated, were fallen upon, and all murdered except a little girl. Among the murdered was a brother of *Logan*, and his sister, whose delicate situation, greatly aggravated the horrid crime.

The remaining Indians, upon the other side of the river, on hearing the firing, set off two canoes with armed warriors, who as they approached the shore, were fired upon by the whites, who laid concealed awaiting their approach. Nothing prevented their taking deadly aim, and many were killed and wound-

ed, and the rest were obliged to return. This affair took place, May 24th, 1774.* These were the events that led to a horrid Indian war, in which many innocent families were sacrificed to satisfy the vengeance of an incensed, and injured people

The warriors now prepared themselves for open conflict, and with *Logan* at their head, were determined to meet the *Big-knives*, as the Virginians were called, from their long swords, in their own way.

The Virginia legislature was in session when the news of *Logan's* depredations was received at the seat of government. Gov. *Dunmore* immediately ordered out the militia, to the number of 3000 men, half of whom, under col. *Andrew Lewis*, were ordered towards the mouth of the Great Kanhawa, while the governor himself with the other half marched to a point on the Ohio, to fall upon the Indian towns in the absence of the warriors, drawn off by the approach of the army under col. *Lewis*.

The Indians met the division under *Lewis* at a place called Point pleasant, on the great Kanhawa, where a very bloody battle ensued. A detachment of 300 men first fell in with them, and were defeated, with great slaughter; but the other divisions coming up, the fight was maintained during the whole day. Never was ground maintained with more obstinacy. Every step was disputed, until the darkness of the night closed the scene. The Indians slowly retreated, and while the Americans were preparing to pursue and take revenge for their severe loss, an express arrived from gov. *Dunmore*, that he had concluded a treaty with the Indian chiefs. In this battle above 140 Americans were killed and wounded, nearly half of which were of the former, among whom was col.

* From facts published in Jefferson's notes.

Charles Lewis, brother of *Andrew*, and col. *Field*. These officers led the first division. Of the number of the Indians destroyed, we are ignorant; though very probably they were many, as their numbers engaged were said to have been about 1500.*

It was at the treaty held by gov. *Dunmore* before mentioned, with the principal men of the Mingoes, Shawanese and Delawares, that the far famed speech of *Logan* was delivered. Not by himself in person, for, although desiring peace, he would not meet the Americans in council, but remained in his cabin in sullen silence, until a messenger was sent to him, to know whether he would accede to the proposals. On which occasion, *Logan*, after shedding many tears for the loss of his friends, said to the messenger, who well understood his language, in substance as follows:

"I appeal to any white to say, if ever he entered *Logan's* cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat: if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not.

"During the course of the last long bloody war, *Logan*, remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, '*Logan* is the friend of white men.'

"I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Col. *Cresap*, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of *Logan*; not even sparing my women and children.

"There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought

* Campbell's Virginia.

that mine is the joy of fear. *Logan* never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for *Logan*?—Not one!"

Thus ended those times of calamity, commonly called *Cresap's war*. Not long after which, *Logan* was cruelly murdered, as he was on his way home from Detroit. For a time previous to his death, he gave himself up to intoxication, which in a short time nearly obliterated all marks of the great man!

Madokawando, a chief of the Penobscot tribe, of whom a remnant still remain. He was the adopted son of a chief by the name of *Assaminasqua*.* Some mischief had been done by the Androscoggin Indians in *Philip's war*, and the English, following the example of those whom they so much reprobated, retaliated on any Indians that fell into their way. *Madokawando* was not an enemy, nor do we learn that his people had committed any depredations, until after some English spoiled his corn, and otherwise did him damage.

At the close of the war of 1675 and 6, this *Sachem's* people had among them about 60 English captives. When it was known to him that the English desired to treat about peace, he sent *Mugg*, one of his chiefs, to *Pascataqua*, to receive proposals; and that he might meet with good acceptance, sent along with him a captive to his home. Gen. *Gendal*, of Massachusetts, being there, forced *Mug* on board his vessel, and carried him to Boston, for which treacherous act, an excuse was pleaded, that he was not vested with sufficient authority to treat with him. *Mudokawando's* ambassador being now in the power of the English, was obliged to agree to such terms as the

* Sullivan's Hist. Maine, copied, I suppose, from Hubbard, to whom he gives no credit.

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English dictated.* It is not to be wondered at therefore, if the great chief soon appears again their enemy. Still, when *Mug* was sent home, *Madokawando* agreed to the treaty, more readily, perhaps, as two armed vessels of the English conveyed him.

A son of rev. *Thomas Cobbet* had been taken, and was among the Indians at Mount Desert. It so happened that his master had at that time sent him down to *Casteen's* trading house, to buy powder for him. *Mug* took him by the hand, and told him he had been at his father's house, and had promised to send him home. *Madokawando* demanded a ransom, probably to satisfy the owner of the captive, "fearing, to be killed by him, if he yielded him up without he were there to consent; for he was, he said, a desperate man, if crossed, and had *crambd* † two or three in that way." Being on board one of the vessels, and treated to some liquor, "he walked awhile to and again on the deck, and on a sudden made a stand, and said to capt. Moore, 'well captain, since it is so, take this man: I freely give him up to you, carry him home to his friends.'" ‡ A red coat was given to *Madokawando*, which gave him great satisfaction.

The historians of the war, have all observed that the prisoners under *Madokawando* were remarkably well treated.

In February, 1677, major *Waldron*, and capt. *Frost*, with a body of men, were sent into the eastern coast to observe the motions of the Indians, who still remained hostile. At *Pemmaquid* they were invited on shore to hold a treaty, but the English finding some

* A treaty was signed 9th of Dec. 1676. *Manuscript Nar. of rev. T. Cobbet.* It may be seen in *Hubbard's Narrative*, 4th edition.

† The Indian word for killed. *Wood's N. E. Prospect.*

‡ *Manuscript Narrative*, before cited.

weapons concealed among them, thought it a sufficient umbrage to treat them as enemies, and a considerable fight ensued, in which many of the Indians were killed, and several taken prisoners; among whom was a sister of *Madokawando*. He had no knowledge of the affair, having been gone for several months at a great distance into the country, on a hunting voyage.

We hear no more of *Madokawando*, until 1691. It has been mentioned in the account of *Egeremet*, that in this year, a treaty was made with him and other eastern chiefs. This was in November of that year, and it was agreed by them, that on the first of May following, they would deliver all the captives in their possession at Wells. "But," says Dr. Mather,* "as it was not upon the *firm land*, but in their *canoes* upon the *water*, that they signed and sealed this instrument; so, reader, we will be jealous that it will prove but a fluctuating and unstable sort of business; and that the Indians will *do a lie* as they used to do."

The time for the delivery of the captives having arrived, the English met at Wells to receive them, and to renew their treaty. They took care to be provided with an armed force, and to have the place of meeting at a strong place, which was Storer's garrison-house. But, as the author just cited, observes, "The Indians being poor *musicians* for *keeping of time*, came not according to their articles." The reason of this we cannot explain, unless the warlike appearance of the English deterred them. After waiting a while, capt. *Converse* surprised some of them, and brought them in by force, and having reason to believe the Indians provoked by this time, immediately added 35 men to their force. These "were not come half an hour to *Storer's* house; on the 9th of June, 1691, nor had they

* *Magnalia*, II, 529.

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got their *Indian weed* fairly lighted, into their mouths, before fierce *Moxus*, with 200 Indians, made an attack upon the garrison,"* but were repulsed and soon drew off. *Madokawando* was not here in person, but when he knew of the disaster of his chief captain, he said, "my brother *Moxus* has missed it now, but I will go myself the next year, and have the dog *Converse* out of his hole."

The old chief was as good as his word, and appeared before the garrison the 22d of June, 1692. He was joined by *Burniff* and *Labrocre*, two French officers, with a body of their soldiers, and their united strength was estimated at about 500 men. They were so confident of success, that they agreed before the attack, how the prisoners and property should be divided. *Converse* had but 15 men, but fortunately there arrived two sloops with about as many more, and supplies, the day before the battle.

Madokawando's men had unwisely given notice of their approach, by firing upon some cattle they met in the woods, which running in wounded, gave the inhabitants time to fly to the garrison. *Madokawando* was not only seconded by the two French officers and a company of their men, as before observed, but *Moxus*, *Egeremet* and *Worombo*, were also among them.

They began the attack before day, with great fierceness, but after continuing it for some time without success, they fell upon the vessels in the river; and here, although the river was not above twenty or thirty feet broad, yet they met with no better success than at the garrison. They tried many stratagems, and succeeded in setting fire to the sloops several times, by means of fire arrows, but it was extinguished without great damage. Tired of thus exposing themselves and

* *Magnalia*, II, 529.

throwing away their ammunition, they returned again to the garrison, resolving to practice a stratagem upon that, and thus ended the first day of the attack. They at first tried to persuade the English to surrender, but finding they could not prevail, made several desperate charges, in which they lost many. Beginning now to grow discouraged, they sent a flag to the garrison to effect a capitulation, but *Converse*, being a man of great resolution, replied, "that he wanted nothing but men to come and fight him." To which the bearer of the flag said, "being you are so stout, why dont you come and fight in the open field like a man, and not fight in a garrison like a squaw." This attempt proving ineffectual, they cast out many threats, one of which was "we will cut you as small as tobacco, before to-morrow morning." The captain ordered them "to come on, for he wanted work."

Having nearly spent their ammunition, and general *Labrocce* being slain, they retired in the night, after two days siege, leaving several of their dead, among whom was the general just named, who was shot through the head. They took one Englishman, named *John Diamond*, whom they tortured in a most barbarous manner. About the time of their retreating, they fired upon the sloops and killed the only man, lost by the vessels, during the assault.

During the attack upon the vessels, among other stratagems they prepared a breast work upon wheels, and endeavored to bring it close to the edge of the river, which was within, perhaps, ten feet of them. When they had got it pretty near, one wheel sunk in the ground, and a French soldier endeavoring to lift it out with his shoulder, was shot down; a second was also killed on the same attempt, and it was abandoned. They also built a raft in the creek above them

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and placed on it an immense pile of combustibles, and setting them on fire, floated it down towards them. But when within a few rods of the sloops, the wind drove it on shore, and thus they were delivered from the most dangerous artifice of the whole. For it was said, that had it come down against them, they could not have saved themselves from the fury of its flames.

Madokawando lived several years after this, and is supposed to have died about 1698.

Some have endeavored to ground an argument upon the singularity of the name of this chief, to that of *Maddock* the Welchman, that the eastern Indians are descended from a Welch colony, who in 1170, left that country, and were never heard of after. The *story* of some white Indians speaking Welch, far up the Missouri river, is equal to this!

Magnus, called also *Quaiapen*, or *Squaw-sachem*, was contemporary with *Awashonks*, and one "of the six present [1675] Sachems of the whole Narraganset country. *Canonicus*, *Ninigret*, *Mattaloag*, *Canonchet* and *Pumham*, were the others.

In the beginning of *Philip's* war, the English army, to cause the Narragansets to fight for them, whom they had always abused and treated with contempt, since before the cutting off of *Miantunnomoh's* head, marched into their country, but could not meet with a single Sachem of the nation. They fell in with a few of their people who could not well secrete themselves, and who concluded a long treaty of mere verbosity, the import of which they could know but little, and doubtless cared less; for when the army left their country, they joined again in the war. The English caused four men to subscribe to their articles in the name, or in behalf of *Quaiapen*, and the other chiefs, and took four others as hostages for their due fulfil-

ment. Their names were *Wobequob*, *Weowchim*, *Pewkes*, and *Wenew*, who are said to have been, "near kinsmen and choice friends" to the Sachems.

We hear no more of her until the next year, when herself and a large company of her men were discovered by major *Talcot*, on the 2d of July, in Narraganset. The English scouts discovered them from a hill, having pitched their tents in a valley in the vicinity of a swamp, as was usually their custom. About 300 of the English, mounted upon fleet horses, divided into two squadrons and fell upon them before they were aware of their approach, and made a great slaughter. The Mohegans and Pequots, came upon them in the center, while the horsemen beset them on each side, and thus prevented many from escaping into the swamp. When all were killed and taken within the encampment, capt. *Newbury*, who commanded the horsemen, dismounted, and with his men rushed into the swamp, where, without resistance, they killed an hundred, and made many prisoners. In all they killed and took 171* in this swamp fight, or rather massacre. Not an Englishman was hurt in the affair, and but one Mohegan killed, and one wounded, which we can hardly suppose was done by *Magnus'* people, as they made no resistance, but rather by themselves, in their fury mistaking one another. *Ninety* of the captives were put to death! among whom was *Magnus*. † Her husband was a son of *Canonicus*, whose name was *Mriksah*, *Mezham* or *Meihammoh*. He died some time previous to 1668. ‡ This swamp is near the present town of Warwick, in Rhode Island.

* Trumbull. 200 says *Cobbet's Manuscript*; 240 Hubbard.

† Hubbard, Ind. Wars, i, 97-98. I. Mather's Brief Hist. 39. Trumbull's Hist. Connecticut, I. 347.

‡ Manuscript documents.

Magus, (John,) Sachem of a tract of country in Massachusetts, a part of which he sold to sundry inhabitants of Roxbury, in 1686, which now constitutes the town of Hardwick, in the county of Worcester.* There is an eminence in the town of Needham, called *Magus* hill, from the circumstance of its having been once owned by this chief;† His name is also to the deed of Marlborough, in 1684, as a witness.‡ He was christianized, and could read and write. In *Philip's* war he went out with the English,§ as has been mentioned under *Kattenanit*.

Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, resided at a place called Pokanoket, by the Indians, which is now included in the town of Bristol, Rhode Island. He was a chief renowned more in peace than war, and was, as long as he lived, a friend to the English, notwithstanding they committed repeated usurpations upon his lands and liberties.

His name has been written with great variation, as *Wosamequin*, *Asuhmequin*, *Oosamequen*, *Osamekin*, *Owsamequin*, &c., but the name by which he is generally known in history, is that with which we commence the article.* Mr. Prince, in his annals, says of that name, "the printed accounts generally spell him *Massasoit*; gov. *Bradford* writes him *Massascyt*, and *Massasoyet*; but I find the ancient people from their fathers in Plymouth colony, pronounced his name *Massaso-it*." Still we find no inclination to change a letter

* Whitney's Hist. Worcester county.

† Col. Mas. Hist. Soc. ‡ Worcester Hist. Journal.

§ Gookin's Manuscript Hist. Praying Indians.

* Some have derived the name of Massachusetts from this chief, but that conjecture is not to be heeded. If any man knew, we may be allowed to suppose that *Roger Williams* did. He learned from the Indians themselves, "that the *Massachusetts* were called so from the *Blue-hills*."

in the name of an old friend, which has been so long established, for if a writer suffer the spirit of innovation in himself, he knows not where to stop, and we pronounce him no *antiquary*.

It has often been thought strange, that so mild a Sachem as *Massasoit* should have possessed so great a country, which has been increased when we consider, that Indian possessions are generally obtained by prowess and great personal courage on the part of a single individual. We know of none who could boast of such extensive dominions, where all were contented to consider themselves his friends and children; *Pontiac*, *Little-turtle*, *Tecumseh*, and many more that we could name, have swayed many tribes, but theirs was a temporary union, in an emergency of war. That *Massasoit* should be able to hold so many tribes together, without constant war, required qualities, belonging only to few. That he was not a warrior no one will allow, when the testimony of *Anna-won* is so distinct. For that great chief gave capt. *Church* "an account of what mighty success he had had formerly in the wars against many nations of Indians, where he served *Asuhmequin*, *Philip's* father."

The limits of his country towards the Nipmuks or inland Indians is rather uncertain, but upon the east and west we are sure. The whole of Cape Cod, and all that part of Massachusetts and Rhode Island between Narraganset and Massachusetts bays; extending inland between Pawtucket and Charles rivers, a distance, not satisfactorily ascertained, as was said before, together with all the contiguous islands. It was filled with many tribes or nations, and all looking up to him, to sanction all their expeditions, and settle all their difficulties. And it is even said by some of good authority, that the Nipmuks were his tributaries. And

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this seems the more probable, for in *Philip's* war there was a constant intercourse between them, and when any of his men made an escape, their course was directly into the country of the Nipmuks. No such intercourse subsisted between the Narragansets and either of these. But on the contrary when a messenger from the Narragansets arrived in the country of the Nipmuks with the heads of some of the English, to show that they had joined in the war, he was at first fired upon, though afterwards, when two additional heads were brought they were received.

He had several places of residence, but the principal was Mount Hope or Pokanoket, the former name is supposed to be a corruption of the Indian words *Mon-taup*. There was a place in Middleborough, and another in Raynham where he spent some part of particular seasons, perhaps the summer. The place in Raynham was near Fowling pond.

Whether any English landed upon the territories of *Massasoit* previous to capt. *Smith* in 1614, we are unable to say, but in that year he made a survey of the coast of what is now New England, and because the country was already named New England, or which is the same, New Albion, upon its western coast, he thought it most proper to stamp it anew upon the eastern. Therefore capt. *Smith* neither takes to himself the honor of naming New England, as some writers of authority assert, nor does he give it to king *Charles*, as Dr. Robertson and many others, copying him, have stated.*

Smith landed in many places upon the shores of *Massasoit*, one of which places he named Plimouth, which happened to be the same which now bears that name.

* Look at *Smith*, (Hist. Virginia) and no more blunders need be made on this head.

We can know nothing of the early times of *Massasoit*. And our next visitor to his country was capt. *Thomas Dermer*, in May, 1619. He sailed for Monhigon, in that month for Virginia, in an open pinnace, consequently was obliged to keep close in shore. He found places which had been inhabited, but at that time contained none; and farther onward nearly all were dead, of a great sickness, which was then prevailing, but nearly abated. When he came to Plymouth, all were dead. From thence he travelled a day's journey into the country westward, and arrived at Namasket, now Middleborough. From this place he sent a messenger to visit *Massasoit*. In this expedition he redeemed two Frenchmen from *Massasoit's* people, who had been cast away three years before upon Cape Cod.

Dec. 11, O. S. 1620. The Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth, and possessed themselves of a portion of his country. With the nature of their proceedings he was at first unacquainted, and sent occasionally some of his men to observe their strange motions. Very few of these however were seen by the Pilgrims. At length he sent one of his men who had been some time with the English fishing vessels about the country of the Kennebeck, and had learned a little of their language, to observe more strictly what was progressing among the intruders at his place of Patuxet, which was now called Plymouth. This was in March 1621. This man was a chief, and known by the name of *Samoset*. He welcomed the English in their own language, at which they were greatly surprised. They entertained him kindly, and then he returned to *Massasoit*, with a promise to come again soon with others, which he did five days after. *Massasoit* now came in person, accompanied with sixty men, but stop-

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ed upon a hill just out of the village, and could not be prevailed upon to approach, until one of the English went to them with presents. The English man then made a speech to him, about his king's love and goodness to him and his people, and that he accepted of him as his friend and ally. After this he invited *Massasoit* to visit the English governor and trade with him, which he consented to, by having Mr. *Winslow* left in the custody of his brother, as a hostage, and the English took six for one.

As *Massasoit* proceeded to meet the English, they met him with six soldiers, who saluted each other. Several of his men were with him, but all left their bows and arrows behind. They were conducted to a new house which was partly finished, and spread a green rug upon the floor, and several cushions for *Massasoit* and his chiefs to sit down upon. Then came the English governor, followed by a drummer and trumpeter and a few soldiers, and after kissing one another, all sat down. Some strong water being brought, the governor drank to *Massasoit*, who in his turn "drank a great draught, which made him sweat all the time after."

They now proceeded to make a treaty, which stipulated, that neither *Massasoit* nor any of his people should do hurt to the English, and that if they did they should be given up to be punished by them; and that if the English did any harm to him or any of his people, they, the *English*, would do the like to them. That if any did unjustly war against him, the English were to aid him, and he was to do the same in his turn, and by so doing King *James* would esteem him his friend and ally.

At this time he is described as "a very lusty man, in his best years, an able body, grave of countenance,

and spare of speech ; in his attire little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only in a great chain of white bone beads about his neck ; and at it, behind his neck hangs a little bag of tobacco, which he drank and gave us to drink. His face was painted with a sad red like murrey, and oiled both head and face, that he looked greasily. All his followers likewise were in their faces, in part or in whole, painted, some black, some red, some yellow, and some white ; some with crosses and other antic works ; some had skins on them, and some naked ; all strong, tall men in appearance. The king had in his bosom, hanging in a string, a great long knife." He retired into the woods about half a mile from the English, and there encamped at night with his men, women and children. This was March 22d, 1621.

During his first visit to the English, he expressed great signs of fear, and during the treaty could not refrain from trembling. Thus it is easy to see how much hand he had in making it, but *would that there had never been worse ones made since.*

It was agreed that some of his people should come and plant near by, in a few days, and live there all summer. The next day, after an exchange of civilities, *Massasoit* returned to Pokanoket. We should here note that he ever after treated the English with kindness, and the peace now concluded was undisturbed for nearly forty years. Not that any writing or articles of a treaty, of which he never had any adequate idea, was the cause of his friendly behaviour, but it was the natural goodness of his heart.

The Pilgrims report, that at this time he was at war with the Narragansets. But if this were the case it could have been nothing more than some small skirmishing.

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The next summer, in June, or July, *Massasoit* was visited by several of the English, among whom was Mr. *Edward Winslow*, Mr. *Stephen Hopkins*, and *Squanto* as their interpreter. Their object was to learn his place of residence, in case they should have to call upon him for assistance; to keep good the friendly correspondence commenced at *Plimouth*; and especially to cause him to prevent his men from hanging about them, and living upon them, which was then considered very burdensome, as they had begun to grow short of provisions. That their visit might be acceptable, they took along for a present, a trooper's red coat, with some lace upon it, and a copper chain; with these *Massasoit* was exceedingly well pleased. The chain, they told him, he must send as a signal, when any of his men wished to visit them, so that they might not be imposed upon by strangers.

When the English arrived at *Pokanoket*, *Massasoit* was absent, but was immediately sent for. Being informed that he was coming, the English began to prepare to shoot off their guns; this so frightened the women and children, that they ran away, and would not return until the interpreter assured them that they need not fear, and when *Massasoit* arrived they saluted him by a discharge, at which he was very much elated; and "who, after their manner, says one of the company, kindly welcomed us, and took us into his house, and set us down by him, where, having delivered our message and presents, and having put the coat on his back and the chain about his neck, he was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their king so bravely attired."* A new treaty was now held with him, and he very good naturedly assented to all that was desired. He then made a

* Mourt's Relation.

speech to his men, many of them being assembled to see the English, which, as near as they could learn its meaning, acquainted them with what course they might pursue in regard to the English. Among other things, he said, "*Am I not Massasoit, commander of the country about us? Is not such and such places mine, and the people of them? They shall take their skins to the English.*" This his people applauded. In his speech "he named at least thirty places," over which he had control. "This being ended, he lighted tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England and of the king's majesty, marvelling that he should live without a wife." He seems to have been embittered against the French, and wished "us not to suffer them to come to Narraganset, for it was king *James's* country, and he was king *James's* man." He had no victuals at this time to give to the English, and night coming on they retired. He had but one bed, if so it might be called, "being only planks laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them." "He laid us on the bed with himself, and his wife, they at the one end, and we at the other. Two more of his men, for want of room, pressed by and upon us; so that we were worse weary of our lodging than of our journey." The next day, about one o'clock, *Massasoit* brought two large fishes and boiled them; but the Pilgrims still thought their chance for refreshment very small, as "there were at least forty looking for a share in them," but scanty as it was, it came very timely, as they had fasted two nights and a day. The English now left him, at which he was very sorrowful.

In 1623, *Massasoit* sent to his friends in Plimouth to inform them that he was very dangerously sick. Desiring to render him aid if possible, the governor dispatched Mr. *Winslow* again, with some medicines

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and cordials, and Hobbomok as interpreter; "having one Master *John Hamden*, a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my consort."* In their way they found many of his subjects were gone to Pokanoket, it being their custom for all friends to attend on such occasions. "When we came thither, says *Mr. Winslow*, we found the house so full of men, as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise, as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms, legs, and thighs, to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends, the English were come to see him. Having understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone, he asked, *Who was come?* They told him *Winsnow*, (for they cannot pronounce the letter *l*, but ordinarily *n* in the place thereof.) He desired to speak with me. When I came to him, and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took. Then he said twice, though very inwardly, *Keen Winsnow?* which is to say, *Art thou Winsnow?* I answered, *Ahhe*, that is, *Yes*. Then he doubled these words: *Mutta neen wonckanet namen, Winsnow!* That is to say, *O Winslow, I shall never see thee again.*" But contrary to his own expectations as well as all his friends, by the kind

* Winslow's Relation. The *Mr. Hamden* mentioned, is supposed by some to be the celebrated *John Hamden*, famous in the time of *Charles I*, and who died of a wound received in an attempt to intercept *Prince Rupert* near Oxford, while supporting the cause of the Parliament. See *Rapin's England*, II, 477, and *Kennet*, III, 137.

exertions of Mr. *Winslow*, he in a short time entirely recovered. For this attention of the English he was very grateful, and always believed that his preservation at this time was from the benefit received from Mr. *Winslow*. In his way on his visit to *Massasoit*, he broke a bottle containing some preparation, and deeming it necessary to the Sachem's recovery, wrote a letter to the governor of Plymouth for another, and and some chickens, and giving him an account of his success thus far. The intention was no sooner made known to *Massasoit*, than one of his men was set off at two o'clock at night for Plymouth, who returned again with astonishing quickness. The chickens being alive, *Massasoit* was so pleased with them, and being better, would not suffer them to be killed, and kept them, with the idea of raising more. While at *Massasoit's* residence, and just as they were about to depart, the Sachem told *Squanto* of a plot laid by some of his subordinate chiefs for the purpose of cutting off the two English plantations, which he charged him to acquaint the English with, which he did. *Massasoit* stated that he had been urged to join in it, or give his consent thereunto, but had always refused and used his endeavors to prevent it. The particulars of the evils which that plot brought upon its authors will be found under the head *Wittuwamet*.

In 1632, a short war was carried on between *Massasoit* and *Canonicus*, the Sachem of the Narragansets, but the English interfering with a force under the spirited capt. *Standish*, ended it with very little bloodshed. *Massasoit* expected a serious contest; and as usual on such occasions, changed his name, and was ever after known by the name of *Ousamequin* or *Ousamequin*. Our historical records furnish no particulars of his war with the Narragansets, further than we have stated.

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We may infer from a letter written by *Roger Williams*, that some of *Plimouth*, instigated *Massasoit* or *Ousamequin*, as we should now call him, to lay claim to *Providence*, which gave that good man some trouble, because, in that case his lands were considered as belonging to *Plimouth*, in whose jurisdiction he was not suffered to reside; and moreover he had bought and paid for all he possessed, of the *Narraganset Sachems*. It was in 1635 that *Mr. Williams* fled to that country, to avoid being seized and sent to *England*. He found that *Canonicus* and *Miantunnomoh* were at bitter enmity with *Ousamequin*, but by his great exertions he restored peace, without which he could not have been secure, in a border of the dominion of either. *Ousamequin* was well acquainted with *Mr. Williams*, whom he had often seen during his two years residence at *Plimouth*, and was a great friend to him, and therefore he listened readily to his benevolent instructions; giving up the land in dispute between himself and the *Narraganset Sachems*, which was the island now called *Rhode Island*, *Prudence Island*, and perhaps some others, together with *Providence*. "And, says *Mr. Williams*, I never denied him, nor *Meantino-my* whatever they desired of me." Hence their love and attachment for him, for this is their own mode of living.

In 1649, *Ousamequin* sold to *Miles Standish*, and the other inhabitants of *Duxbury* "a tract of land usually called *Saughtucket*," seven miles square. This was *Duxbury*. It had been before granted to them, only however, in preemption. They agreed to pay *Ousamequin* seven coats, of a yard and a half each, nine hatchets, eight hoes, twenty knives, four *Moose* skins, and ten and a half yards of cotton cloth.

In 1656, the same writer says that *Ousamequin* by



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one of his Sachems "was at daily feud with *Punham* about the title and lordship of Warwick." And that hostility was daily expected. But we are not informed that any thing serious took place.

This is the year in which it has been generally supposed that *Ousamequin* died, but it is an error of Hutchinson's transplanting from Mr. *Hubbard's* work into his own. That an error should flourish in so good a soil as that of the "History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," it is no wonder, but it is a wonder that the "accurate *Hutchinson*" should set down that date, from that passage of the Indian wars, which was evidently made without reflection. It being at that time thought a circumstance of no consequence. That the Sachem of Pokanoket should be unknown to our records between 1656 and 1661, a space of only five years, is not very surprising, when we reflect that he was entirely subservient to the English, and nearly or quite all of his lands being before disposed of, or given up to them, is a plain reason that we do not meet with his name to deeds and other instruments. And besides this consideration, another Sachem was known to be associated with him at the former period, who, seems to have acted for the whole, or as *Ousamequin's* representation.

+ He was alive in 1661, and as late in that year as the 21st of May. Little more than a month previous to this date, *Oneko*, with about seventy men fell upon a defenceless town within the dominions of *Ousamequin*, killing three and carrying away six captives. He complained to the general court of Massachusetts, which interfered in his behalf, and the matter was soon settled.*

* Original manuscript documents.

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From the "Relation" of Dr. I. Mather, it is clear that he lived until 1662. His words are, "Alexander being dead [having died in 1662] his brother Philip, of late cursed memory, rose up in his stead, and he was no sooner styled Sachem, but immediately in the year 1662, there were vehement suspicions of his bloody treachery against the English."* See head, *Alexander*.

Whether he had more than two sons is not certain, although it is confidently believed that he had. "A letter from Boston to London, dated Nov. 10th, 1675, says that a brother of Philip's, a privy counsellor and chief captain, who had been educated at Harvard college" was killed in the Swamp fight at Pocasset.† It is probable that his family was large. A company of soldiers from Bridgewater, in a skirmish with Philip took his sister, and killed a brother of Ousamequin, whose name was Unkompoen,‡ or Akkompoin.§ That he had another brother called Quadequina, has been mentioned.

Although this article be beyond the due proportion for this work, yet we cannot close it without giving the following anecdote of Ousamequin. As Mr. Edward Winslow was returning from a trading voyage southward, having left his vessel, travelled home by land, and in the way stopped with his old friend Massasoit, who agreed to accompany him the rest of the way. In the mean time Ousamequin sent one of his men forward to Plymouth, to surprise the people with the news of Mr. Winslow's death. By his manner of relating it, and the particular circumstances attending, no one doubted of its truth, and every one was grieved and mourned exceedingly at their great loss. But

* Relation, 72.

† I. Mather. 44.

‡ Hutchinson, I, 291, 1st edit.

§ Church, 38, edit. 4to.

presently they were as much surprised at seeing him coming in company with *Ousamequin*. When it was known among the people that the Sachem had sent this news to them, they demanded why he should thus deceive them. He replied that it was to make him the more welcome when he *did* return, and that this was a custom of his people.

“Once Pawkanawkut’s warriors stood,
Thick as the columns of the wood ;
On shores and isles, unconquered men
Called *Massasoit* father, then.” *Yamoyden*.

Matoonas, a Nipmuk chief, who joined with all his force in Philip’s war against the whites. A son of his was said to have murdered an Englishman in 1671, when “travelling along the road,” which Mr. Hubbard says was “out of mere malice and spite,” because he was “vexed in his mind that the design against the English, intended to begin in that year, did not take place.” This son of *Matoonas* was hanged, and afterwards beheaded, and his head set upon a pole, where it was to be seen about six years after. The name of the murdered Englishman was *Zachary Smith*, a young man, who, as he was passing through Dedham, in the month of April, put up at the house of Mr. *Caleb Church*. About half an hour after he was gone, the next morning three Indians passed the same way ; who, as they passed by *Church’s* house, behaved in a very insolent manner. They had been employed as laborers in Dorchester, and said they belonged to *Philip* ; they left their masters under a suspicious pretence. The body of the murdered man was soon after found near the Saw mill in Dedham, and these Indians were apprehended, and one put to death as is stated above.*

* Manuscript Documents, in the office of the Secretary of the State of Massachusetts.

Mr. Hubbard supposes that the father, "an old malicious villain," bore "an old grudge against them," on the account of the execution of his son. And the first mischief that was done in Massachusetts colony was charged to him; which was the killing of four or five persons at *Mendon*, a town upon Pawtucket river, which says *I. Mather* "had we amended our ways as we should have done, this misery would have been prevented."*

When *Matoonas* was brought before the council of Massachusetts, as has been related under head *Sagamore John*, "confessed that he had rightly deserved death, and could expect no other." "He had often seemed to favor the praying Indians, and the Christian religion, but like *Simon Magus*, by his after practice, discovered quickly that he had no part nor portion in that matter."†

Mattahando, an eastern chief who came to Pemmaquid with others to make a treaty with the English in 1677, and was killed in the attack which the English made upon them. The English were there in their vessels, with maj. *Waldron* on behalf of the government. Previous to going on shore, it was concerted that if any thing like hostility should be observed among the Indians, the soldiers were to follow immediately upon a given signal. *Waldron* and his suite had not been long ashore when the signal was given, and all rushing on shore fell upon the Indians, killing seven, among whom was *Mattahando*, and taking several prisoners. Mr. *Hubbard*† mentions an old powow among those killed, "to whom," he says "the devil had revealed, as sometimes he did to Saul, that on the same day he should be with him: For he had a little

* Brief Hist. 5.

† Hubbard, 101.

‡ Indian Wars, P. II. p. 70.

before told the Indians, that within two days, the English would come to kill them all, which was at the very same time verified upon himself." It was not the fashion in those days for authors to cite their authorities, but if it had been we should call loud for them in this case. Surely the historian of *Hankamagus* might say that the *devil* was truer to this powow than he was afterwards to maj. *Waldron*, for he would not have it that the Indians were coming to kill him at all.

Masconomo, Sachem of Agawam, since called Cape Ann. When the fleet which brought over the colony that settled Boston, in 1630, anchored near there, he welcomed them to his shores, and spent some time on board one of the ships.* We hear no more of him until 1643, when, at a court held in Boston, "*Cutshamekin* and *Squaw-sachem*, *Masconomo*, *Nashacowam* and *Wassamagin*, two sachems near the great hill to the west, called Wachusett, came into the court, and according to their former tender to the governor, desired to be received under our protection † and government, upon the same terms that *Pumham* and *Sacononoco* were. So we causing them to understand the articles, and all the ten commandments of God, and they freely assenting to all, ‡ they were solemnly received, and then presented the court with twenty-six fathom of wampum, and the court gave each of them a coat of two yards of cloth, and their dinner; and to them and their men every one of them a cup of sac

* Hist. N. England.

† They desired this from their great fear of the Mohawks, who were always a terror to them.

‡ The articles which they subscribed, will be seen at large when the *Manuscript Hist. of the Praying Indians*, by *Daniel Gookin* shall be published. They do not read precisely as rendered by Winthrop.

at their departure, so they took leave and went away very joyful."* Tradition says that Agawam, in Ipswich, was his place of residence, and that his bones were early found there. That his squaw for some time survived him, and had a piece of land that she could not dispose of, or that none were allowed to purchase.†

Megunnaway,* an eastern Sachem. The visit of maj. Waldron to the eastern coast at the close of *Philip's* war, has been related under *Madokawando*. How much of treachery was manifested by the Indians at that time, which terminated in the massacre of many of them, we cannot take upon us to declare, yet this we cannot but bear in mind, that we have only the account of those who performed the tragedy, and not that of those on whom it fell.

Capt. *Charles Frost*, of Oyster river, since Durham, was with *Waldron* upon that expedition, and next to him a principal actor in it. And like him was killed by the Indians afterwards. Mr. Hubbard gives this account of his taking this chief. "Capt. Frost seized an Indian called *Megunneway*, a notorious rogue, that had been in arms at Connecticut last June, at the Falls, and saw that brave and resolute capt. *Turner*, when he was slain about Green river; and helped to kill *Thomas Bracket* at Casco, August last, [1676.] And with the help of lieut. *Nutter*, according to the major's order, carried him aboard" their vessel. We are not told what became of him, but no one will be at a loss to decide.

Memecho, (George) one of the three Christian Indians who were appointed to attend capt. *Hutchinson* and *Wheeler* in their attempt to treat with the Nip-

* Winthrop's, Journal.

† MS. Hist. of Newbury, by *J. Coffin*.

muk Indians, July, 1675. He was taken by the enemy, but afterward returned, and gave some important information about the enemy, which, or a part of it may be seen in Hutchinson's history of Massachusetts.

Had it not been for those three Indians, there is no doubt but the whole party would have been cut off; for none of the English knew any other way than that by which they came, for their retreat. But these two faithful guides, by an unfrequented path, led them back to Brookfield; the one by which they went being ambushed at every strong place.

It was so unpopular at this time to lisp a word in favor of an Indian, that capt. *Wheeler* gave no credit in his narrative of this affair, to these instruments of his and Brookfield's safety; yet he gave them a writing acknowledging it, which follows: "These are to certify that *Joseph*, and *Sampson*, Indians, that were our guides in the Nipmuk country, behaved themselves courageously and faithfully, and conducted our distressed company in the best way from the swamp where we were wounded, and divers slain, unto the town of Brookfield; and all the time of our being with them in the inn, at Brookfield when the enemy attacked us, those two Indians behaved themselves as honest and stout men. Witness my hand, the 20th of August, 1675.

Thomas Wheeler."

"This certificate those Indians had, and I saw it, and took a copy of it, and spoke with capt. *Wheeler* before his death, and he owned it."*

The end of these two valuable friends of the English, it is melancholy to record, but it has been already done under the head *Sampson*.

Mesandowit, one of the principal chiefs who destroyed Dover, in 1689. See *Hankamagus*.

* Gookin's Manuscript History of the Praying Indians.

Metea, a Pottowattomie chief, whose residence is upon the Wabash, or was, in 1821. It has been mentioned under *Keewaygooshkum*, that commissioners sent by the United States met several tribes of Indians at Chicago, and treated with them for a tract of country. *Metea* was present, and the most prominent orator upon the occasion. After gov. *Cass*, had informed the Indians what was the object of his mission, *Metea* made the following speech :

"My Father,—We have listened to what you have said. We shall now retire to our camps and consult upon it. You will hear nothing more from us at present. [This is a uniform custom of all the Indians. When the council was again convened, *Metea* continued.] *We meet you here to day, because we had promised it, to tell you our minds, and what we have agreed upon among ourselves. You will listen to us with a good mind, and believe what we say. You know that we first came to this country, a long time ago, and when we sat ourselves down upon it, we met with a great many hardships and difficulties. Our country was then very large, but it has dwindled away to a small spot, and you wish to purchase that! This has caused us to reflect much upon what you have told us; and we have, therefore, brought all the chiefs and warriors, and the young men, and women and children of our tribe, that one part may not do what the others object to, and that all may be witness of what is going forward. You know your children. Since you first came among them, they have listened to your words, with an attentive ear, and have always hearkened to your counsels. Whenever you have had a proposal to make to us, whenever you have had a

* The repetition of "My Father," at the beginning of every sentence, we omit.

favor to ask of us, we have always lent a favorable ear, and our invariable answer has been, 'yes.' This you know! A long time has passed since we first came upon our lands, and our old people have all sunk into their graves. They had sense. We are all young and foolish, and do not wish to do any thing that they would not approve, were they living. We are fearful we shall offend their spirits, if we sell our lands; and we are fearful we shall offend you, if we do *not* sell them. This has caused us great perplexity of thought because we have counselled among ourselves, and do not know how we can part with the land. Our country was given to us by the Great Spirit, who gave it to us to hunt upon, to make our cornfields upon, to live upon, and to make down our beds upon when we die. And he would never forgive us, should we bargain it away. When you first spoke to us for lands at St. Mary's, we said we had a little, and agreed to sell you a piece of it; but we told you we could spare no more. Now you ask us again. You are never satisfied! We have sold you a great tract of land, already; but it is not enough! We sold it to you for the benefit of your children, to farm and to live upon. We have now but little left. We shall want it all for ourselves. We know not how long we may live, and we wish to have some lands for our children to hunt upon. You are gradually taking away our hunting grounds. Your children are driving us before them. We are growing uneasy. What lands you have, you may retain forever; but we shall sell no more. You think, perhaps, that I speak in passion; but my heart is good towards you. I speak like one of your own children. I am an Indian, a red-skin, and live by hunting and fishing, but my country is already too small; and I do not know how to bring up my chil-

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dren, if I give it all away. We sold you a fine tract of land at St. Mary's. We said to you then it was enough to satisfy your children, and the last we should sell: and we thought it would be the last you would ask for. We have now told you what we had to say. It is what was determined on, in a council among ourselves; and what I have spoken, is the voice of my nation. On this account, all our people have come here to listen to me; but do not think we have a bad opinion of you. Where should we get a bad opinion of you? We speak to you with a good heart, and the feelings of a friend. You are acquainted with this piece of land—the country we live in. Shall we give it up? Take notice, it is a small piece of land, and if we give it away, what will become of us? The Great Spirit, who has provided it for our use, allows us to keep it, to bring up our young men and support our families. We should incur his anger, if we bartered it away. If we had more land, you should get more, but our land has been wasting away ever since the white people became our neighbors, and we have now hardly enough left to cover the bones of our tribe. You are in the midst of your red children. What is due to us in money, we wish, and will receive at this place; and we want nothing more. We all shake hands with you. Behold our warriors, our women, and children. Take pity on us and on our words."

Notwithstanding the decisive language held by *Metea* in this speech, against selling land, yet his name is to the treaty of sale. And in another speech of about equal length, delivered shortly after, upon the same subject, the same determination is manifest throughout.

At this time he appeared to be about forty years of age, and of a noble and dignified appearance. He is allowed to be the most eloquent chief of his nation.

In the last war, he fought against the Americans, and in the attack on fort Wayne, was severely wounded, on which account he draws a pension from the British government.*

Miantunnomoh, † uncle of *Canonicus*, and brother, or brother-in-law to *Ninigret*, ‡ and brother of *Otash*. § In 1632 he came with his wife to Boston, being at this time known by the name of *Mecumeh* where they stayed two nights. He went to church with the English, and in the mean time some of his men, twelve of whom were with him, broke into a house and committed a theft. On complaint being made to the governor, "he told the Sachem of it, and with some difficulty caused him to make one of his sannaps || to beat them." They were immediately sent out of town, but *Miantunnomoh*, and the others he took to his house "and made much of them." ¶

The English seem always to have been more favorably inclined toward the other tribes than to the Narragansets, as appears from the stand they took in the wars of *Ascassasotick* and *Nenekunat*. And so long as other tribes succeeded against them, the voice of the English was silent, but when the scale turned in favor of their enemies they were not slow to intercede.

In the life of *Canonicus*, the part *Miantunnomoh* exercised in the government of the great nation of the Narragansets is related. Beside the country upon Narraganset bay, the Nipmucs, † Nianticks, Block-islenders, and several places were subject to them.

* Schoolcraft's Travels.

† Oftener written Myantonimo. This only shows another pronunciation. The accent is usually upon the penultimate syllable. *Callender's Cent. Discourse*, page 1.

‡ Manuscripts of Roger Williams. § Mather's Relation.

|| The chief attendants were so called.

¶ Winthrop's Journal.

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In 1634, captains *Stone* and *Norton* were killed by the Pequots, and in 1636, Mr. *John Oldham*, by the Indians "near Block island." *Miantunnomoh* did all in his power to assist in apprehending the murderers, and was at much pains and trouble in furnishing the English with facts relative thereto, from time to time. And when it was told at Boston that there was a cessation of hostilities between the Narragansets and Pequots, *Miantunnomoh* was immediately ordered to appear there, which he did without delay, and agreed to assist them in a war against the Pequots; without whose aid and concurrence, the English would hardly have dared to engage in a war against them. For, says Hubbard "being a more fierce, cruel, and warlike people than the rest of the Indians, came down from the more inland parts of the continent, and by force seized upon one of the goodliest places near the sea, and became a terror to all their neighbors."

Early in 1637, to show the governor of Massachusetts that he kept his promise, of waring against the Pequots, sent by some of his men a Pequot's hand. The war with them now commenced, and though of short duration, destroyed them to such a degree that they appeared no more as a nation. One hundred of the Narragansets joined themselves with the English in its accomplishment, and received a part of the prisoners as slaves for their services.* When the war was over *Miantunnomoh* still adhered to the English, and seized upon those of the Pequots who had made their escape from bondage, and returned them to their English masters; gave up to them his claim to Block island, and other places where the English had found Pequots, and which they considered as belonging to them by right of conquest.

* *Miantunnomoh* received eighty. Mather's Relation, 39.

Rev. *Samuel Gorton* and his associates purchased *Shamomet*, afterwards called *Warwick*, from the Earl of *Warwick*, of *Miantunnomoh*, but as *Gorton* could do nothing right in the eyes of the Puritans of Massachusetts, *Pumham* was instigated to claim said tract of country; and although a Sachem under *Miantunnomoh** did not hesitate when supported by the English, to assert his claim as chief Sachem. And the government of Massachusetts to make their interference appear spotless, which it would seem from their own vindication, there was a chance for doubts, "Send for the foresaid Sachems, [who had complained of Mr. *Gorton* and others, through the English,] and upon examination find, both by English and Indian testimony, that *Miantonomo* was only a usurper, and had no title to the foresaid lands."† This is against the testimony of every record, and could no more have been believed then, than that *Philip* was not Sachem of *Pokanoket*. In all cases of purchase in those times, the chief Sachem's grant was valid, and maintained in almost every instance by the purchaser or grantee. It was customary generally to make the inferior Sachems, and sometimes all their men presents, but it was by no means a law. The chief Sachems often permitted those under them to dispose of lands also, without being called to account.

In March 1637, *Miantunnomoh* with four other Sachems sold to *William Coddington* and others, the island now called *Rhode Island*, also most of the others

* "The law of the Indians in all America is that the inferior Sachems and subjects shall plant and remove at the pleasure of the highest and supreme Sachems." *Roger Williams*. This is authority, and we need no other commentary on the arbitrary proceedings of the court of Massachusetts.

† In Manuscript on file, at the State House, Boston.

‡ From the same Manuscript Document.

in Narraganset bay "for the full payment of forty fathom of white peag to be equally divided" between them. Hence *Miantunnomoh* received eight fathom. He was to "have ten coats and twenty hoes to give to the present inhabitants, that they shall remove themselves from the island before next winter."*

When it was reported in 1640, that *Miantunnomoh* was plotting to cut off the English, as mentioned in the account of *Janemoh*, and several English were sent to him to know the truth of the matter, he would not talk with them through a Pequot interpreter, because he was then at war with that nation. In other respects he complied with their wishes, and treated them respectfully, agreeing to come to Boston, for the gratification of the government, if they would allow Mr. *Williams* to accompany him. This they would not consent to and yet he came agreeably to their desires. We shall presently see who acted best the part of civilized men in this affair. He had refused to use a Pequot interpreter for good reasons, but now he was from home and surrounded by armed men, he was obliged to submit. "The governor being as resolute as he, refused to use any other interpreter, thinking it a dishonor to us to give so much way to them."! The great wisdom of the government now displayed itself in the person of gov. *Thomas Dudley*. It is not to be expected but that *Miantunnomoh*, should resent their proceedings; for to the above insult they added others; "would show him no countenance nor admit him to dine at our table, as formerly he had done, till he had acknowledged his failing, &c., which he readily did."† By their own folly, the English had made themselves jealous of a powerful chief, and they appear ever ready afterwards to credit evil reports of him.

* Manuscript Documents.

† Winthrop's Journal.

That an independent chief should be obliged to conform to transitory notions upon such an occasion is absolutely ridiculous; and the justness of the following remark from him was enough to shame good men into their senses. He said, "When your people come to me they are permitted to use their own fashions, and I expect the same liberty when I come to you."

In 1642, Connecticut became very suspicious of *Miantunnomoh*, and urged Massachusetts to join them in a war against him. Their fears no doubt grew out of the consideration of the probable issue of a war with *Uncas* in his favor, which was now on the point of breaking out. Even Massachusetts did not think their suspicions well founded; yet according to their request they sent to *Miantunnomoh*, who as usual gave them satisfactory answers, and agreeably to their request came again to Boston. Two days were employed by the court of Massachusetts in deliberating with him, and we are astonished at the wisdom of the great chief, even as reported by his enemies.

That a simple man of nature, who never knew courts or law, should cause such acknowledgments as follow, from the *civilized* and *wise*, will always be contemplated with intense admiration. "When he came," says Winthrop, "the court was assembled, and before his admission, we considered how to treat with him, for we knew him to be a very subtle man." When he was admitted, "he was set down at the lower end of the table, over against the governor," but would not at any time speak upon business unless some of his counsellors were present; saying "he would have them present, that they might bear witness with him, at his return home, of all his sayings." The same author further says, "In all his answers he was very

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deliberate and showed good understanding in the principles of justice and equity, and ingenuity withal."

He now asked for his accusers, urging, that if they could not establish their allegations, they ought to suffer what he expected to, if they did; meaning death; but the court said *they knew of none*, that is, they knew not whom they were, and therefore gave them no credit until they had advised him according to a former agreement. He then said, "if you did not give credit to it, why then did you disarm the Indians?" Massachusetts having just then disarmed some of the Merrimacks under some pretence. "He gave divers reasons," says gov. *Winthrop*, "why we should hold him free of any such conspiracy, and why we should conceive it was a report raised by *Uncas*, &c., and therefore offered to meet *Uncas*, and would prove to his face his treachery against the English, &c., and told us he would come to us at any time," although he said some had tried to dissuade him, saying that the English would put him to death, yet he feared nothing, as he was innocent of the charges against him.

The punishment, due to those who had raised the accusations, bore heavily upon his breast, and "he put it to our consideration what damage it had been to him, in that he was forced to keep his men at home, and not suffer them to go forth on hunting, &c. till he had given the English satisfaction." After two days spent in talk, the council issued to the satisfaction of the English.

During the council a table was set by itself for the Indians, which *Miantunnomoh*, appears not to have liked, and at first would not eat, until some food had been sent him from that of the governor's."

That wisdom seems to have dictated to Massachusetts, in her answer to Connecticut, must be acknow-

ledged; but as justice to *Miantunnomoh* abundantly demanded such decision, credit in this case is due only as to him who does a good act because it was his interest so to do. They urged Connecticut not to commence war alone, "alleging how dishonorable it would be to us all, that, while we were upon treaty with the Indians, they should make war upon them; for they would account their act as our own, seeing we had formerly professed to the Indians, that we were all as one; and in our last message to *Miantunnomoh*, had remembered him again of the same, and he had answered that he did so account us. Upon receipt of this our answer, they forbore to enter into a war, but (it seemed) unwillingly, and as not well pleased with us." The main ground which caused Massachusetts to decide against war was, "That all those informations [furnished by Connecticut] might arise from a false ground, and out of the enmity which was between the Narraganset and Monhigen" Sachems. This was no doubt the real cause, and had *Miantunnomoh* overcame *Uncas*, the English would from policy as gladly have leagued with him as with the latter. For it was constantly pleaded in those days, that their safety must depend on a union with some of the most powerful tribes.

There can be no doubt on fairly examining the case, that *Uncas*, used many ways to influence the English in his favor and against his enemy. In the progress of the war between the two great chiefs, the English acted precisely, as the Indians have been always said to do: stood aloof, and watched the scale of victory, determined to join the conquerors. From the deliberations of the Massachusetts council, there cannot a doubt remain, but that they were fully satisfied of the innocence of *Miantunnomoh*.

The war brought on between *Uncas* and *Miantun-*

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nomoh, was not within the jurisdiction of the English, nor is it to be expected that they could with certainty, determine the justice of the cause of either. The broil had long existed, but the open rupture was brought on by *Uncas*' making war upon *Sequasson*, one of the Sachems under *Miantunnomoh*. The English accounts say (and we have no other) that about a 1000 warriors were raised by *Miantunnomoh*, who came upon *Uncas* unprepared, having only about 400 men; yet after an obstinate battle, in which many were killed on both sides, the Narraganset's were put to flight, and *Miantunnomoh* taken prisoner.* He endeavored to save himself by flight, but having on a coat of mail, was known from the rest, and seized by two of his own men, who hoped by their treachery to save themselves, by delivering him to *Uncas*, but who were killed by him as soon as they came into his presence. Two of the sons of *Canonicus* fought with *Miantunnomoh*, and were wounded in this battle.

Being brought before *Uncas*, he remained without speaking a word, until *Uncas* spoke to him, and said, "If you had taken me I would have besought you for my life." He then took his prisoner to Hartford, and at his request left him a prisoner with the English, until the mind of the united colonies should be known as to what disposition should be made of him.

The sorrowful part of the tale is yet to be told. The commissioners of the united colonies having convened at Boston, "who taking into serious consideration what was safest and best to be done, were all of opinion that it would not be safe to set him at liberty, neither had we sufficient ground for us to put him to death."†

* The place where this battle was fought was in the eastern part of the town of Norwich, and the place to this day is called the Sachems Plain.

† Winthrop, II, 131,

The awful design of putting to death *their friend*, they had not yet fixed upon, but calling to their aid in council—whom?—And must it be told!!—It has been told before—“*five of the most judicious elders.*” “*They all agreed that he ought to be put to death.*” This was the final decision, and to complete the deed of darkness, secrecy was enjoined upon all. And their determination was to be made known to *Uncas* privately, with direction that he should execute him within his own jurisdiction and without torture.

When the determination of the commissioners and *elders* was made known to *Uncas*, he “readily undertook the execution, and taking *Miantunnomoh* along with him, in the way between Hartford and Windsor, (where *Uncas* hath some men dwell,) *Uncas*’ brother, following after *Miantunnomoh* clave his head with an hatchet.”* *Mather* says, they “very fairly cut off his head.”† *Dr. Trumbull*‡ records an account of cannibalism, at this time, which we ought to caution the reader against receiving as true history, as it no doubt rests on the authority of tradition, which is wont to transfer even the transactions of one continent to another. It is this. “*Uncas* cut out a large piece of his shoulder, and ate it in savage triumph;” saying, “it was the sweetest meat he ever ate, it made his heart strong.”§

* *Winthrop’s Journal*, II, 134.

† *Magnalia*. ‡ *History of Connecticut*, 1, 135.

§ That this is tradition, may be inferred from the circumstances of an *eminently* obscure writer’s publishing nearly the same story, which he says in his book, took place upon the death of *Philip Onoko*, he says, cut out a pound of *Philip’s* bleeding body and ate it. The book is by *one Henry Trumbull*, and purports to be a history of the discovery of America, the Indian Wars, &c. The reader will find it about stalls by the street side, but rarely in a respectable book store. It has been forced through many editions, but there is scarce a word of true history in it.

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The same author says, "the Mohegans, by the order of Uncas, buried him at the place of his execution, and erected a great heap, or pillar, upon his grave."

In the proceedings of the commissioners of the United Colonies,* it is said, that *Uncas* before the battle, told *Miantunnomoh* that, having many ways sought his life, he would now, if he durst, decide their difference by single combat, but that *Miantunnomoh* "presuming upon his number of men, would have nothing but a battle."

It does not appear from the records last cited, that *Uncas* at first had any idea of putting *Miantunnomoh* to death, but to extort a great price for his ransom, of his countrymen; that a large amount in wampum was collected for this purpose, appears certain, but before it was paid, *Uncas* received the decision of the English, and then pretended that he had made no such agreement, or that the quantity or quality was not as agreed upon.

M'Intosh, a southern chief, who fought with the Americans in several battles against his countrymen in the war of 1812-13 and 14. He is first mentioned by general *Jackson*,† in his account of the battle, as he called it, of Autossec, where he assisted in the brutal destruction of 200 of his nation. There was nothing like fighting on the part of the people of the place, as we can learn, being surprised in their wigwams, and hewn to pieces. "The Cowetaws," says the general, "under *M'Intosh*, and *Zookaubatchians* under *Mad-dog's* son, fell in on our flanks, and fought with an intrepidity worthy of any troops." And after relating the burning of the place, he thus proceeds: "It is difficult to determine the strength of the enemy, but

* See Hazard's Historical Collections, II, 7-10.

† Brannan's official Letters.

from the information of some of the chiefs, which it is said can be relied on, there were assembled at Autosse, warriors from eight towns, for its defence; it being their beloved ground, on which they proclaimed no white man could approach without inevitable destruction. It is difficult to give a precise account of the loss of the enemy, but from the number which were lying scattered over the field, together with those destroyed in the towns, and the many slain on the bank of the river, which respectable officers affirm that they saw lying in heaps at the waters' edge, where they had been precipitated by their surviving friends,[!] their loss in killed, independent of their wounded, must have been at least 200, (among whom were the Autossee and Tallassee kings,) and from the circumstance of their making no efforts to molest our return, probably greater. The number of buildings burnt, some of a superior order for the dwellings of savages, and filled with valuable articles, is supposed to be 400." This was on the 29th of November, 1813.

M'Intosh was also very conspicuous in the memorable battle of the Horse-shoe-bend, in the Tallapoosie river. At this place the disconsolate tribes of the south had made a last great stand, and had a tolerably regular fortified camp. It was said that they were 1000 strong. They had constructed their works with such ingenuity, that little could be effected against them but by storm. "Determined to exterminate them," says the general, "I detached general *Coffee* with the mounted, and nearly the whole of the Indian force, early on the morning of yesterday, [March 27th, 1814,] to cross the river about two miles below their encampment, and to surround the bend, in such a manner, as that none of them should escape by attempting to cross the river." "Bean's company of spies,

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who had accompanied gen. *Coffee*, crossed over in canoes to the extremity of the bend, and set fire to a few of the buildings which were there situated; they then advanced with great gallantry towards the breast work, and commenced a spirited fire upon the enemy behind it." This force not being able to effect their object, many others of the army showed great ardor to participate in the assault. "The spirit which animated them was a sure augury of the success which was to follow." "The regulars, led on by their intrepid and skilful commander, col. *Williams*, and by the gallant maj. *Montgomery*, soon gained possession of the works in the midst of a most tremendous fire from behind them, and the militia of the venerable gen. *Doherty's* brigade accompanied them in the charge with a vivacity and firmness which would have done honor to regulars. The enemy was completely routed. *Five hundred and fifty seven** were left dead on the peninsula, and a great number were killed by the horsemen in attempting to cross the river. It is believed that not more than *twenty* have escaped.

"The fighting continued with some severity about five hours; but we continued to destroy many of them, who had concealed themselves under the banks of the river, until we were prevented by the night. This morning we killed 16 who had been concealed. We took about 250 prisoners, all women and children, except two or three. Our loss is 106 wounded, and 25 killed. Major *M'Intosh*, the Cowetau, who joined my army with a part of his tribe, greatly distinguished himself"† Truly this was a war of extermination!! The philanthropist may enquire whether all those poor

* These are the general's italics; at least *Brannan* so prints his official letter.

† *Brannan, ut supra.*

wretches who had secreted themselves here and there in the "caves and reeds" had deserved death? They were first taken prisoners, then murdered!

Mioxeo, one of the chiefs of Martha's Vineyard. His place of residence was at a place called Numpang, within the limits of Edgarton. Mr. *Mayhew* writes his name *Miohqsoo*.* He was converted to Christianity through the endeavors of the celebrated *Hiacoomes*, in 1646. When in a time of great sickness among the Indians of that place, *Hiacoomes* and his family were observed by those who had opposed his doctrine to have entirely escaped the calamity; they were ready to attribute it to his being a Christian. Among others *Mioxeo* sent for him, to learn something about his God. Glad of the opportunity to disseminate religion, *Hiacoomes* repaired immediately to *Mioxeo's* residence, where he found not only a great many of the common people, but *Towanquatick*, a chief Sagamore. *Mioxeo* asked *Hiacoomes* how many Gods the English *did* worship? he answered "one." Then *Mioxeo* enumerated thirty-seven of his, and said "shall I throw away these thirty-seven for one?" *Hiacoomes* replied, "I have thrown away all these, and a great many more, some years ago, yet am I preserved, you see, this day." This was argument enough with *Mioxeo*, and he said "you speak true, therefore I will throw away all my Gods too." From that time forward he engaged zealously in the cause of *Hiacoomes*. *Towanquatick* became also engaged in the same cause,† and was the first Sagamore that became a Christian upon the island. He died about 1670. The time of the death of *Mioxeo* is unknown, but he lived to a great age. A son and daughter of his were put under the instruction of Mr.

* Indian Converts, 76.

† History of N. England.

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Mayhew. The daughter became a pious woman, and the son was sent for England, but was lost at sea with the rest of the ship's crew.*

Mishikinakwa, the same as *Little-turtle*, which see. The similarity of his name to Michilimakinak is apparent. That place was so called from its resemblance to a turtle's back, at a distance.

Mog, an old chief of the Norridgewoks, or more properly, Nerigwoks, in 1724. In the French and Indian wars of that period, the Nerigwoks were considered as the chief source of the depredations upon the frontiers, and nothing short of their extermination, it was thought, could relieve them. *Rallé*, a Roman Catholic missionary, who had been thirty-seven years among the Indians, lived there, and was supposed to have encouraged their depredations.

In August 1724, a force was dispatched, consisting of 208 men, and three Mohawk Indians, under capt. *Moullon*, *Harman* and *Bourne*, to humble the Nerigwoks. They came upon the village, while there was not a man in arms to oppose them. They had left forty of their men at Teconet falls, which is now within the town of Winslow, upon the Kennebeck, and about two miles below Waterville college, upon the opposite side of the river. The English had divided themselves into three squadrons, eighty under *Harman* proceeded by a circuitous route, thinking to surprise some in their corn fields, while *Moullon* with eighty more proceeded directly for the village, which being surrounded by trees, could not be seen until they were close upon it. All were in their wigwams, and the English advanced slowly and in perfect silence. When pretty near, an Indian came out of his wigwam, and accidentally discovering the English, ran in and

* *Mayhew's Indian Converts*, 79. 82.

seized his gun, and giving the war whoop, in a few minutes the warriors were all in arms, and advancing to meet them. *Moulton* ordered his men not to fire until the Indians had made the first discharge. This order was obeyed, and as he expected, they overshot them. His men then fired upon them in their turn, and did great execution. When the Indians had given another volley, they fled with great precipitation to the river, whither the chief of their women and children had also fled during the fight. Some of the English pursued and killed many of them in the river, and others fell to pillaging and burning the village. *Mog* disdained to fly with the rest, but kept possession of a wigwam, from which he fired upon the pillagers. In one of his discharges he killed a Mohawk, whose brother observing it, rushed upon *Mog* and killed him; and thus ended the strife. There were about sixty warriors in the place, about one half of whom were killed.

The famous *Rallé* shut himself up in his house, from which he fired upon the English, and wounding one. Lieut. *Jaques*,* of Newbury,† burst open the door and shot him through the head, although *Moulton* had given orders that none should kill him. He had an English boy with him, about fourteen years old, who had been taken sometime before from the frontiers, and whom the English reported *Rallé* was about to kill. Great brutality and ferocity are chargeable to the English in this affair, according to their own ac-

* Who I conclude was a volunteer, as I do not find his name upon the return made by *Moulton*, which is upon file in the garret, west wing of our State House.

† Manuscript History of Newbury, by *Joshua Coffin*, S. H. S., which should the world ever be so fortunate as to see in print, we will ensure them not only great gratification, but a fund of amusement.

count. Such as killing women and children, and scalping and mangling the body of father *Rallé*.*

They had here a handsome church, with a bell, on which they committed a double sacrilege, first robbing it, then setting it on fire. Herein surpassing the act of the first great English circumnavigator, in his depredations upon the Spaniards in South America; for he only took away the gold and silver vessels of a church, and its crucifix, because it was of massy gold, set about with diamonds, and that too, upon the advice of his chaplain. "This might pass," says a reverend author,† "for sea divinity, but justice is quite another thing."

Harman was the general in the expedition, and for a time had the honor of it; but *Moulton*, according to gov. *Hutchinson*, achieved the victory, and it was afterward acknowledged by the country. He was a prisoner when a small boy among the eastern Indians, being among those taken at the destruction of York, in 1692. He died about 1759. The township of Moultonborough, in New Hampshire, was named from him, and many of his posterity reside there at the present day.

Monahoe, a distinguished chief of the Creek nation, who in 1814, made a last stand against the Americans, at the great bend of the Tallapoosie, called by the Indians, *Tohopeka*, and by the whites the Horse-shoe.

In a letter, after the battle of the Great Bend, gen. *Jackson* writes,‡ "Among the dead was found their famous prophet *Monahoe*, shot in the mouth by a grape shot, as if heaven designed to chastise his impostures by

* I follow *Hutchinson* chiefly in this account.

† *Prince*, in his *Worthies of Devonshire*.

‡ *Brannan's Official Letters*, 322.

an appropriate punishment."* In the article *M Intosh* we give a history of that battle.

Monoco, (John) commonly known by the name of *One-eyed-john*; "a notable fellow," who when Philip's war began, lived near Lancaster, and consequently was acquainted with every part of the town, which knowledge he improved to his advantage, on two occasions, in that war. On Sunday, 22d August, 1675, a man, his wife and two children were killed at that place.† At this time the Hassanamesit praying Indians were placed at Marlborough by authority. No sooner was it known that a murder was committed at Lancaster, than not a few were wanting to charge it upon the Hassanamesits. Capt. *Mosely*, who it seems was in the neighborhood, sent to their quarters, and found "much suspicion against eleven of them, for singing and dancing, and having bullets and slugs, and much powder hid in their baskets." For this *offence*, these eleven were sent to Boston, on suspicion, and there to be *tried*. "But upon trial, the said prisoners were all of them acquitted from the fact, and were either released, or else were, with others of that fort, sent for better security, and for preventing future trouble in the like kind, to some of the islands below Boston, towards Nantasket."‡

It appears that there were "eleven Indians and a squaw, that were tried for their lives," on account of the Lancaster murder. And it also seems that some

* Such language might lead one to suppose that the general had just been reading a portion of the *Mo gualia*.

† The above is Mr. Hubbard's account. Mr. Willard, in his excellent history of Lancaster, gives us the names of six, and says eight were killed. But in his enumeration I count *nine*.

‡ Gookin's MS. Hist. Praying Indians.

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time elapsed after the murder was committed, before the "eleven" were sent down for trial, or that they had returned back to their homes again; for *Ephraim Turner* and *William Kent* were not sent up to find out where "they all were," and what answers they could get from those they met with, until the beginning of October; at which time, these *eleven* Indians were scattered in every direction, about their daily concerns; and all the information they appear to have handed into court, was, that they were thus scattered. *Waban* and Mr. *John Watson* seem to have been the only persons questioned. *Watson* was appointed by authority, to reside there, to look after them, and his voice was always in their favor.

After a trial of much vexation, to these innocent natives, in which *David*, the main witness against them, acknowledged his perfidy, one of the enemy was brought in a prisoner, who avowed that it was *One-eyed-john*, and that he had boasted much of the exploit; and after a short time another was taken who confirmed it.*

Notwithstanding the English had notice of the intent of the enemy, to fall upon Lancaster, yet it was so little heeded, that on the 10th February, 1676, it was almost entirely destroyed. The onset was made by a great body, of perhaps 5 or 600 Indians, who divided themselves into several strong companies, and made the attack in different places. *Monoco* led one of these bodies.

On the 13th March, following, Groton was surprised. In this affair, too, *John Monoco* was principal; and, on his own word, we set him down as the destroyer of Medfield.

When *James Quannapohit* was out as a spy, *Monoco*

* Gookin's MS. History.

kindly entertained him, on account of former acquaintance, not knowing his character. Even this, in a less barbarous war, would have saved him from the gallows. Whatever were his intentions, the deed was good, but met with a sad requital. He was pleased to see his old friend again, with whom he had served in their wars against the Mohawks. He was one of those who delivered themselves up at Cocheco, and was executed at Boston.

After he had burned Groton, except one garrison house, he called to the captain in it, and told him he would burn in succession, Chelmsford, Concord, Watertown, Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, and Boston; and added, "What me will, me do." He boasted he had 480 warriors.*

Mononotto, a famous Pequot chief in the war which terminated in their destruction, in 1637. *Hubbard* calls him a "noted Indian," whose wife and children fell into the hands of the English, and as "it was known to be by her mediation that two English maids (that were taken away from Weathersfield, upon Connecticut river) were saved from death, in requital of whose pity and humanity, the life of herself and children was not only granted her, but she was in special recommended to the care of gov. *Winthrop*, of Massachusetts." *Mononotto* fled with *Sassacus* to the Mohawks, for protection, with several more chiefs. He was not killed by them as *Sassacus* was, but escaped from them wounded, and probably died by the hands of his English enemies. He is thus mentioned by Gov. *Walcott*, in his poem upon *Winthrop's* agency, &c.

"Prince *Mononotto* sees his squadrons fly,
And on our general having fixed his eye,
Rage and revenge his spirits quickening,
He set a mortal arrow in the string."

* Hubbard's Narrative, 75, 4to. edition.

Morus, or, as he was sometimes called, *Agamagus*, a noted Penobscot chief, and one of *Madokawando's* principal Sagamores. We can add little concerning him, to what has already been said in the life of that chief. After that great Sachem was dead, and the war between the French and English nations ceased, the eastern chiefs were ready to submit to terms.

Morus seems the successor of *Madokawando*, and when delegates were sent into the eastern country to make peace with the Indians, in 1699, his name stood first among the signers of the treaty.* He concluded another treaty with gov. *Dudley*, in 1702. The next year, in company with *Wanungonet*, *Assacombuit*, and a number of French, he invested capt. *March* in the fort at *Casco*, now Portland. After using every endeavor to take it by assault, they had recourse to the following stratagem. They began at the water's edge to undermine it by digging, but were prevented by the timely arrival of an armed vessel under capt. *Southack*. They had taken a vessel and a great quantity of plunder. About 200 canoes were destroyed, and the vessel retaken. From which circumstance it may be inferred that their number was great.

We last shall notice *Morus* in 1713, in which year he is again making peace with the English, at *Casco*.†

Mug, a chief among the Androscoggins, and very conspicuous in the eastern war of 1676-7, into which he seems to have been brought by the same cause as *Madokawando*, already stated. He had been very friendly to the English, and had lived some time with them.

On the 12th Oct. 1676, he made an assault upon

* *Magnalia*, II. 543.

† *Penhallow*.

Black Point, now in Scarborough, with about 100 warriors. "All the inhabitants being gathered into one fortified place upon that point, which a few hands might have defended against all the Indians on that side of the country."* While the captain of the garrison was gone out to hold a talk with *Mug*, the people fled from the garrison, and took all their effects along with them. A few of his own servants, however, remained, who fell into the hands of the chief, who treated them kindly.

His being seized and sent to Boston, when attempting to effect a treaty, has been related in the life of the chief before named. When *Francis Card* was a prisoner among his men, he told him "that he had found out the way to burn Boston," and laughed much about the English, saying he would have all their vessels, fishing islands, and whole country, and bragged much about his great numbers. He was killed at Black Point, the same place, where the year before he had had such good success, on May 16th. He had besieged the garrison three days, killed three men and took one captive. The celebrated *Symon*, who had done so much mischief in many places, was with him here. Lieutenant *Tippin*, who commanded the garrison, "made a successful shot upon an Indian, that was observed to be very busy and bold in the assault, who at that time was deemed to be *Symon*, the arch villain and incendiary of all the eastward Indians, but proved to be one almost as good as himself, who was called *Mog*."†

Nahaton, (William) a Christian of Massachusetts, was the first who gave information to the English, that *John Sassamon* had been murdered by order

* Hubbard, Ind. Wars, ii, 46.

† History New England.

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of *Philip*.* Early in 1676, the general court voted to raise an army of 600 men, to be sent forth against *Philip*, and requested major *Savage* to take the command of them. He objected, unless some of the Christian Indians upon Deer Island should accompany him as guides. The court being well aware of the sound judgment of major *Savage*, granted his request. Accordingly, six, "all principal men," volunteered and set forth with the army! *William Nahaton* was one of them.† No more particulars are found of him, but *Savage's* successes must be shared with *Nahaton* and his companions. I conclude this person to be the same as *Ahaton*, which see.

Nanuntenoo. See *Canonchet*, which was the last name he bore.

Naoas, one of those Christian Indians who were forcibly taken away from Hassanamesit, as will be mentioned in an account of *Tuckappawillin*, who was his son. *Naoas* was at this time about eighty years old, and somewhat accustomed to a stationary life, which made his situation among the enemy very distressing. He was deacon of the church, and included in the number which *Job Kattenanit* made such extraordinary exertions to deliver from bondage, which has already been mentioned under that head. The party of English who took him, with the rest of *Job's* friends, robbed them of every thing, even of a pewter cup which they used at their sacraments. Nothing was ever returned to them again.

Nathaniel, a Sagamore who lived about Groton. He was the leader in the mischief when the hay was burned at Chelmsford, as related under *Hawkins*. His end was in a measure answered by this en-

* Mather's Brief History Philip's War, 2.

† Manuscript History Christian Indians.

terprise, which was to effect a breach between the Christian Indians and the English. He was among those executed at Boston, after delivering himself up at Cocheco, at the close of Philip's war. One of this name attended capt. Church in his successful enterprise in Philip's war.

Nawashawsuck, a Wampanoag, and a chief under *Massasoit*. His name appears in the Warwick controversy as disputing the claims of *Pumham* to that place. And is mentioned by *Roger Williams* as one of the Sachems who must be brought out, for that he was at daily feud with *Pumham*, and the quiet of the inhabitants was much disturbed by a constant fear of war between the two Sachems.*

Nenckunat, a principal chief among the Narragansets, a contemporary with *Massasoit*. The amount of our information concerning him is included under *Potok*. We are of opinion that he is the same as *Ninigret*, which see.

Nepanet, (Tom) a faithful and valuable man to the English in *Philip's* war. Although unjustly suffering with many of his brethren upon a bleak island in Boston harbor, consented to go into the enemy's country, for the benefit of the English, whose sad condition at this period of the great Indian war, is we should apprehend, known to every one. That they might gain time during the winter this expedition of *Nepanet* was set on foot. Scarcely anything of importance had as yet been done against the enemy, and the council, after repeated solicitations from captain *Henchman*, who had charge of them upon the island, and many others, consented that some of them should be employed. The hatred of the populace was so excited against all Indians, that the enlightened few

* Hazard.

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who composed the government were often over awed into a compliance with their views.

Nepanet set out, April the 12th, 1676, to make overtures to the enemy for the release of prisoners, especially the family of Mr. *Rowlandson*, which was taken at Lancaster. He soon returned with a written answer from the enemy saying, "We no give answer by this one man, but if you like my answer sent one more man besides this one *Tom Nepanet*, and send with all true heart and with all your mind by two men; because you know and we know your heart great sorrowful with crying for your lost many many hundred man and all your house and all your land and woman child and cattle as all your thing that you have lost."

At the same time, and I conclude in the same letter, they wrote a few words to others as follows: "Mr. *Rowlandson* your wife and all your child is well but one dye. Your sister is well and her 3 child.—*John Kittell* your wife and all your child is all well and all them prisoners taken at Nashua is all well.—Mr. *Rowlandson* se your loving sister his hand Hanah. And old *Kettel* wif his hand O Brother *Rowlandson* pray send three pound of Tobacco for me, if you can my loving husband pray send three pound of tobacco for me.

"This writing by your enemies—*Samuel Uskattuhgun*, and *Gunrashil*, two Indian Sagamores."

Nepanet learned by the enemy that they lost in the fight when capt. *Pierce* was killed, "scores of their men that Sabbath day."*

As they refused to treat with *Tom Nepanet* alone, *Peter Conway* was joined with him on a second expedition, which led to several others, to which some

* Manuscripts of Rev. J. Cotton.

English ventured to add themselves, which resulted in the redemption of Mrs. Rowlandson and several others.

It is now certain that this negotiation was the immediate cause of their final overthrow. For before this time the Pokanokets and Narragansets went hand in hand against their common enemy, and they were the most powerful tribes. This parleying with the English was so detestable to *Philip*, that a separation took place among these tribes, and he and the Narragansets separated themselves from the Nipmucs and other inland tribes and went off to their own country. Hence the reason that they were so easily subdued after this took place.

It was through *Nepanet's* means that a party of English, under capt. *Henchman*, were enabled to surprise a body of his countrymen at Weshakom ponds near Lancaster, in May, 1676. Following in a track pointed out by *Nepanet*, the Indians were fallen upon while fishing, and being entirely unprepared, seven were killed and twenty-nine taken, chiefly women and children.

Nesutan, (Job) a Christian, killed in the first expedition to Mount Hope, in *Philip's* war. He was a valiant soldier, understood well the English language, and was of great assistance to Rev. *John Elliott* in making his version of the Bible into Indian.

Nickotawance, a Sachem of Virginia. See the last paragraph of the life of *Opekankanough*.

Nimrod, a Pokanokit. When *Philip* fled out of the swamp at Pocasset, August 1675, he was pursued by several companies of English, a company of Mohegans and a company of Naticks. They overtook him, and a smart fight ensued, in which fourteen of his chiefs were slain. One of these was *Nimrod*. See

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Onko. He was with *Philip* at Taunton, in 1671, and with him signed articles of submission to the English, as will be found mentioned under that article.

Ninigret, often called *Ninicraft*, and sometimes *Nenekunat** and *Niniglud*; was generally styled Sachem of the Nianticks, a tribe of the Narragansets; whose principal residence was at Wekapaug, now Westerly, in Rhode Island. He was a brother, or brother-in-law, to *Miantunnomoh*,† and contemporary with *Janemoh*, whom he succeeded. He is commonly mentioned in history as the chief Sachem of the Nianticks, which always made a part of the great nation of the Narragansets. The relation in which the Nianticks stood to them is plain, from the representation given by *Miantunnomoh* to the government of Massachusetts, in 1642. In treating with that chief at that time, gov. *Winthrop* says, "Some difficulty we had, to bring him to desert the Nianticks, if we had just cause of war with them. They were," he said, "as his own flesh, being allied by continual intermarriages, &c. But at last he condescended, that if they should do us wrong, as he could not draw them to give us satisfaction for, nor himself could satisfy, as if it were for blood, &c. then he would leave them to us."

We hear little of *Ninigret*, until after the death of *Miantunnomoh*. In 1644, the Narragansets and Nianticks united against the Mohegans, and for some time obliged *Uncas* to confine himself and men to his fort. "The English thought it their concern," says Dr. *I. Mather*,‡ "not to suffer him to be swallowed up by those adversaries, since he had, (though for his own

* So written, by *Roger Williams*. See *Ascassassotick*.

† Prince says he was uncle to *Miantunnomoh*, but that could not have been. *Chronology*, II. 59.

‡ Relation, 58.

ends,) approved himself faithful to the English from time to time." An army was accordingly raised for the relief of *Uncas*. "But as they were just marching out of Boston, many of the principal Narraganset Indians, viz. *Pesseucus*, *Mexano*,* and *Witawash*, Sagamores, and *Awasequin*, deputy for the Nianticks; these with a large train, came to Boston, suing for peace, being willing to submit to what terms the English should see cause to impose upon them. It was demanded of them that they should defray the charges they had put the English to,† and that the Sachems should send their sons to be kept as hostages in the hands of the English, until such time as the money should be paid." After remarking that from this time the Narragansets harbored venom in their hearts against the English, Mr. Mather proceeds: "In the first place they endeavored to play *legerdemain* in their sending hostages; for instead of Sachem's children, they thought to send some other, and to make the English believe that those base *papooses*, were of a royal progeny; but they had those to deal with, who were too wise to be so eluded. After the expected hostages were in the hands of the English, the Narragansets, notwithstanding that, were slow in the performance of what they stood engaged for. And when upon an impartial discharge of the debt, their hostages were restored to them, they became more backward than formerly, until they were by hostile preparations again and again terrified into better obedience. At last capt. *Atherton* of Dorches-

* The editor of Johnson's Wonder-working Providence, in Col. Mass. His. Soc. makes a great mistake in noting this chief as *Miantunnomoh*.

† A yearly tribute in wampum was agreed upon. *Manuscript Narrative* of the Rev. T. Cobbet, which places the affair in 1645.

ter, was sent with a small party* of English soldiers to demand what was due. He at first entered into the wigwam, where old *Ninigret* resided, with only two or three soldiers, appointing the rest by degrees to follow him, two or three dropping in at once; when his small company were come about him, the Indians in the mean time supposing that there had been many more behind, he caught the Sachem by the hair of his head, and setting a pistol to his breast, protesting whoever escaped he should surely die, if he did not forthwith comply with what was required. Hereupon a great trembling and consternation surprised the Indians; albeit, multitudes of them were then present, with spiked arrows at their bow-strings ready to let fly. The event was, the Indians submitted, and not one drop of blood was shed."† This, it must be confessed, was a high handed proceeding. The poor natives were in the first place overawed to promise what they were not able to perform. How was it to be expected that those people, who lived one day upon what they procured the preceding, should be able to pay a yearly tribute?

"Some space after that, *Ninigret* was raising new trouble against us, amongst his Nianticks and other Indians; but upon the speedy sending up of capt. *Davis*, with a party of horse to reduce him to the former peace, who upon the news of the captain's approach, was put into such a panic fear, that he durst not come out of his wigwam to treat with the captain, till secured of his life by him, which he was, if he quietly yielded to his message, about which he was sent from the Bay. To which he freely consenting, that storm was graciously blown over."*

* Twenty, says a MS. document among our *State Papers*.

† Relation of the Troubles, &c. 4to, 1677.

‡ *Cobbet's MS. Narrative*.

Like *Miantunnomoh*, *Ninigret* was often ordered to appear at Boston, the occasion of which was nearly as often, no doubt, upon some false rumor of his evil designs against the English. Being there in 1647, according to a summons, one charge laid against him and his people, was, that they had said that "nothing but the head of *Uncas* should satisfy them; and that if the English did not withdraw their garrison from the defence of *Uncas*, they would heap up their cattle as high as their wigwams; and that he was the man that had given out that an Englishman should not step out of his doors, [—] lest they would kill him.* *Ninigret* not being able to deny these charges, and somewhat appalled thereat, began to comply with the reasonable demands of the English. A day's time was allowed to him for consideration and advice with the rest of the Indian deputies that were then at Boston." When the time was expired, he reported, that if he might return home, the tribute which he had formerly agreed to pay, should be paid the next spring, and he was permitted to return to his country.

In 1653, he passed the winter among the Dutch of New York. This caused the English great suspicion, especially as they were enemies to them at that time; and several Sagamores who resided near the Dutch, had reported that the Dutch governor was trying to hire them to cut off the English. Nothing of the kind, however, transpired to corroborate the rumor.

In 1654, the government of Rhode Island, communicated to Massachusetts, that the last summer *Ninigret*, without any cause, "that he doth so much as allege, fell upon the Long Island Indians, our friends

* This *Ninigret* had said to the English messengers who were sent to him. The reason which he gave for saying it, was, that they "provoked him." *Hazard's Hist.* Col. II, 79.

and tributaries," and killed many of them, and took others prisoners, and will not restore them. "This summer he hath made two assaults upon them; in one whereof he killed a man and woman that lived upon the land of the English, and within one of their townships; and another Indian that kept the cows of the English." He had drawn many of the foreign Indians down from Connecticut and Hudson rivers, who rendezvoused upon Winthrop's Island, where they killed some of his cattle.* This war began in 1653, and continued "several years."[†]

The commissioners of the United Colonies seemed blind to all complaints against *Uncas*; but the Narragansets were watched and harassed without ceasing. Wherever we meet with an unpublished document of those times, the fact is very apparent. The chief of the writers of the history of that period, copy from the records of the United Colonies, which accounts for their making out a good case for the English and Mohegans. The spirit which actuated the grave commissioners is easily discovered, and I need only refer my readers to the case of *Miantunnomoh*. Desperate errors require others, often times, still more desperate, until the first appear small compared with the magnitude of the last! It is all along discoverable that those venerable records are made up from one kind of evidence, and that when a Narraganset appeared in his own defence, so many of his enemies stood ready to give him the lie, that his indignant spirit could not stoop to contradict, or parley with them; and thus his assumed guilt passed on for history. The long silenced and borne down friend of the Indians, of Moosehausic,[‡] no longer sleeps. Amidst his toils and perils,

* Manuscript documents. † Wood's Hist. Long Island.
‡ Providence.

he found time to raise his pen in their defence; and though his letters for a season slept with him, they are now daily awaking at the voice of day.

The great Indian apostle looked not so much into these particulars, being entirely engaged in the cause of the praying Indians; but yet we occasionally meet with him, and will here introduce him, as an evidence against the proceeding of *Uncas*, and his friends the commissioners.

“The case of the Nipmuk Indians, so far as by the best and most credible intelligence, I have understood, presented to the honored general court [of Massachusetts]. 1. *Uncas* his men, at unawares, set upon an unarmed poor people, and slew eight persons, and carried captive twenty-four, women and children. 2. Some of these were subjects of Massachusetts government, by being the subjects of *Josias*.* 3. They sued for relief to the worshipful governor and magistrates. 4. They were pleased to send, (by some Indians,) a commission to capt. *Denison*, [of Stonington,] to demand these captives. 5. *Uncas*, his answer was (as I heard,) insolent. 6. They did not only abuse the women by filthiness, but have since this demand, sold away (as I hear) some or all of those captives. 7. The poor bereaved Indians wait to see what you please to do. 8. You were pleased to tell them, you would present it to the free court, and they should expect their answer from them which they now wait for. 9. *Nenecroft*, yea, all the Indians of the country wait to see the issue of this matter.”†

This memorial is dated 12th May, 1659, and signed by *John Eliot*. From which it is evident there had been great delay in relieving those distressed by the

* Grandson of *Chickataubut*. † Manuscript State Paper.

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haughty *Uncas*. And yet, whether he was caused to make remuneration in any way we do not find.

In 1660, "the general court of Connecticut, did by their letters directed to the commissioners of the other colonies, this last summer, represent an intolerable affront done by the Narraganset Indians, and the same was now complained of by the English living at a new plantation at Mohegan, viz: that some Indians did in the dead time of the night, shoot eight bullets into an English house, and fired the same; wherein five Englishmen were asleep. Of which insolency the Narraganset Sachems have so far taken notice, as to send a slight excuse by maj. *Atherton* that they did neither consent to nor allow of such practices, but make no tender of satisfaction."* But they asked the privilege to meet the commissioners at their next session, at which time they gave them to understand that satisfaction should be made. This could not have been other than a reasonable request, but it was not granted; and messengers were forthwith ordered to "repair to *Ninigret*, *Pessicus*, *Woquacanoose*, and the rest of the Narraganset Sachems," to demand "at least four of the chief of them that shot into the English house." And in case they should not be delivered, to demand five hundred fathoms of wampum. They were directed in particular, to "charge *Ninigret* with breach of covenant, and high neglect of their order, sent them by maj. *Willard*, six years since, not to invade the Long Island Indians; and [that they] do account the surprising the Long Island Indians at Gull Island, and murdering of them to be an insolent carriage to the English, and a barbarous and inhuman act." These are only a few of the most prominent

* Record of the United Colonies, in Hazard.

charges, and five hundred and ninety-five* fathoms of wampum was the *price* demanded for them; and "the general court of Connecticut, is desired and empowered to send a convenient company of men, under some discreet leader, to force satisfaction of the same above said, and the charges of recovering the same; and in case the persons be delivered, they shall be sent to Barbadoes,"† and sold for slaves.

It appears that the force sent by Connecticut, could not collect the wampum, nor secure the offenders; but for the payment, *condescended* to take a mortgage of all the Narraganset country, with the provision that it should be void, if it were paid in four months. *Quissoquus*,‡ *Neneglud*, and *Scutlup*, signed the deed.

Ninigret did not engage with the other Narraganset chiefs, in *Philip's* war. Dr. *Mather*§ calls him an "old crafty Sachem, who had with some of his men withdrawn himself from the rest." He must at this time have been an "an old Sachem," for we meet with him as a chief, as early as 1632. He was opposed to Christianity; not perhaps so much from a disbelief of it, as from a dislike of the practices of those who professed it. When Mr. *Mayhew* desired *Ninigret* to allow him to preach to his people, the sagacious chief "bid him go and make the English good first, and chid Mr. *Mayhew* for hindering him from his business and labor."|| There must have been another Niantick Sachem of this name, who succeeded him, if the anecdote be true, related by the author of the "Memoir of the Mohegans," published in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society; for he

* The additional ninety-five was for another offence.

† Records of the United Colonies, in Hazard.

‡ Passacus. It may be seen on file among our *State Papers*.

§ Brief History, 20.

|| Douglas' Summary, II, 118.

can hardly be supposed to have been alive in 1716. He is mentioned by *Mason* in his history of the Pequot war, as having received a part of the goods taken from capt. *Stone*, at the time he was killed by the Pequots, in 1634. The time of his death has not been ascertained.

On a division of the captive Pequots, in 1637, *Ninigret* was to have twenty, "when he should satisfy for a mare of *Edward Pomroye's*, killed by his men." This remained unsettled in 1659, a space of twenty-two years. This debt *certainly was outlawed! Poquin* was the name of the man who killed the mare.*

Noah, a distinguished preacher at Nantucket, in 1698, mentioned here to show that Indians, as well as white people, are capable of abstaining from ardent spirits. In this year a general "visitation" of the praying Indians took place, by persons appointed by the government. In their report it is mentioned that *Noah* is "a person never known to be overtaken with drink, but a zealous preacher against it."

Noel, (Josiah,) a Christian Indian, murdered by the Maquas, in the summer of 1677. He was brother-in-law to *James Speen*, with whom he was in company in or near Sudbury. They had been separated about half an hour, but under an appointment to meet again at a certain place. *James* came according to appointment, but could find nothing of his friend. Immediately after, a Mohawk or Maquas passed through Hadley, where he showed the scalp of this man. He had with him some prisoners, squaws and children, which the people of Hadley tried to ransom, but could not. They sent an armed force after him, but it was too late. This murdered man left a wife and four small children. Several parties of the Mohawks, about this time,

* Hazard.

caused great trouble and consternation to the Christian Indians.*

Numphow,† a Wamesit, and one of their principal men, and "one of the blood of their chief Sachems," Some account of the burning of a barn or stack of hay at Chelmsford is given under the head *Hawkin's*. This was a cause of great sufferings to them and doubtless contributed to further them in the present case. Many of the Wamesits having been sent down to Boston on suspicion of being the perpetrators of that act, and acquitted, perhaps added to the rage of the English living at Chelmsford, and fixed their resolution for taking revenge for a barn also which appears to have been burnt by some of the enemy about Groton. To this end about twelve or fifteen armed men under pretence of scouting for the enemy, went to the wigwams of the Wamesits for the purpose of killing them all. Having paraded themselves before the wigwams, ordered out all within them. They immediately obeyed, men women and children, without apprehending what was their real design. Two of the English, whose guns were loaded with pistol shot, fired upon them; severely wounding five women and children, and killing a boy of about twelve years old. Whether the horror of the spectacle now before them, caused them to stay the work, or whether the leaders in it dreaded condign punishment, which they knew if justice took place they must suffer, cannot be told, but no more violence was at this time offered. When the authorities of Massachusetts heard of the murder, they issued war-

* MS. of Hon. Daniel Gookin.

† The same perhaps called *Nob How*, in *History Chelmsford*, who, June 8th, 1656, with *John Lane*, and *George Mistic*, on the part of the "Indian court" were employed to run the line from Chelmsford to Wamesit.

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rants for the apprehension of *Lorgin* and *Robins*, the two who fired, who were forthwith secured; but who upon trial were cleared, to the amazement of all judicious persons. The jury pretended want of clear evidence, but it is presumed that no one even then doubted as to their guilt, any more than of the juror's fear to pronounce them guilty.

Immediately after this massacre they fled from their place of residence into the woods towards Pennakook. They took nothing with them for a journey, and consequently their sufferings in that cold season must have been distressingly severe. No sooner was it known to the authorities, than messengers were dispatched to overtake them and urge their return, but they could not be prevailed upon. And in the following letter gave their reasons. "I Numphow and John Line we send the messenger to you again (*Mecoposit*) with this answer. We cannot come again we go towards the French we go where *Wonnalansit* is, the reason is we went away from our home we had help from the council but that did not do us good, but we had wrong by the English. Secondly, the reason is we went away from the English for when there was any harm done in Chelmsford they laid it to us and said we did it but we know ourselves we never did harm to the English but we go away peaceably, and quietly. Thirdly, as for the island we say there is no safety for us because many English be not good and may be they come to us and kill us as in the other case, we are not sorry for what we leave behind, but we are sorry the English have driven us from our praying to God, and from our teacher, we did begin to understand a little of praying to God, we thank humbly the council, remember our love to Mr. *Henchman* and *James Richardson*."

Notwithstanding their determination to go out of hearing of the English, yet about the 10th of December the most of them ventured to return to their wigwams again at Wamesit. The council now took measures to make their situation more easy, and things for some time wore a more favorable aspect. Clamors at length began to be raised against them, and they were all sent to Deer Island.*

There was a *Sam Numphow*, a Natick Christian, brother to *Jonathan George*, who barely escaped the gallows at Boston, being among those who came in to Coheco.

Obtakiest, one of the Sachems of the Massachusetts when the Pilgrims came to Plimouth, and brother of *Wassapinewat*. Some account of him will be given under *Wittuwamet*.

Occum, (Sampson,) a famous and celebrated Mohegan preacher, was of the family of *Benoni Ocum*, near New London, in Connecticut. He was educated by Rev. Mr. *Wheelock*, "and the first Indian preacher of the gospel in Great Britain," which was about 1765. He went there for the purpose of soliciting aid in support of a school among his brethren at Lebanon. He kept school for a time on Long Island, and preached to the Montauks. Many flocked to hear him preach in Boston and New York. The Oneida tribe having given these Indians a tract of land, he emigrated with many others to that country in or about 1686. The place where they settled was called New Stockbridge, and was in the state of New York. Here the rev. Mr. *Occum* died in July, 1792, and rev. Mr. *Kirkland* preached his funeral sermon.

Onkas, see *Uncas*. Sometimes written *Okase*.

* Gookin's Manuscript History of the Praying Indians.

Oneko, son of *Uncas*, chief of the Mohegans. Although the Mohegans were opposed to having any thing to do with Christianity, yet they were the friends of the English, and rendered important services in *Philip's* war.

Sometime in July, 1675, *Oneko*, with two other brothers, and about fifty men, came to Boston, by direction of *Uncas*, and declared their desire to assist the English against the Wampanoogs. A few English and three Naticks were added to their company, and immediately dispatched, by way of Plimouth to the enemy's country. This circuitous route was taken, perhaps, that they might have their instructions immediately from the governor of that colony; Massachusetts at that time, probably supposing the war might be ended without their direct interference. This measure, as it proved, was very detrimental to the end in view; for if they had proceeded directly to Seekonk, they would have been there in season to have met *Philip* and his warriors in their flight from Pocasset. And this force being joined with the other English forces, then in the vicinity, in all probability might have finished the war by a single fight with him. At least, his chance of escape would have been small, as he had to cross a large extent of clear and open country, where they must have been cut down in flight, or fought man to man. Whereas *Oneko* was encamped at some distance, having arrived late the night before, and sometime was lost in rallying.*

They overtook them about 10 o'clock in the morning, of the 1st of August, and a smart fight ensued. *Philip* having brought his best men into the rear, many of them were slain; among these, was *Nimrod*,

* Gookin's MS. Hist. Praying Indians.

a great captain and counsellor, who had signed the treaty at Taunton, four years before.

From what cause the fight was suspended, is unknown, though it would seem from some relations that it was owing to *Oneko's* men, who seeing themselves in possession of considerable plunder, fell to loading themselves with it, and thus gave *Philip* time to escape. From this view of the case, it would appear that the Mohegans were the chief actors in the offensive. It is said that the Naticks urged immediate and further pursuit, which did not take place, in consequence of the extreme heat of the weather; and thus the main body were permitted to escape. He had a son called *Mahomet*.

Oonamog, one of the principal Sagamores of Wamesit, who died before 1675. His widow occupies a considerable space on the page of suffering, being among the wounded, when the Christian Indians were fired upon, as has been told under the account of *Numphow*.

Opekankanough, a distinguished chief in Virginia, who flourished during the first years of its settlement by the whites. He was brother of the great *Powhatan*; and to the account of that chief, we will refer the reader for much concerning him, which we must defer, as intimately connected with his history. He was not the immediate successor of *Powhatan*, although in some passages in capt. *Smith's* history, he is so called. *Opitchepan* came first in the order of succession. *Opekankanough* was Sachem of the Pamunkies, and it was by his men that capt. *Smith* was taken, as related in the account of *Powhatan*.

In 1608, the Indians had become universally at variance with the English, and insulted them whenever they appeared abroad; knowing their miserable,

half-starved condition. Insult followed insult, upon both sides, and but for the never-tiring perseverance of *Smith*, this colony, like the first, would have been soon destroyed. The Indians would promise to trade with them, but when they went to them for that purpose, they only "laughed at their calamities;" sometimes putting jokes upon them, at others, running away into the woods.

In this extremity of their circumstances, though in the depth of winter, *Smith* resolved to make himself master of some of the Indians' store of provisions, by some means or other. He therefore proceeded to *Pamunkey*, the residence of *Opekankanough*, with fifteen men, where he tried to trade with him for corn; but not succeeding, he in a desperate manner, siezed upon the chief by his hair, in the midst of his men, "with his pistoll readie bent against his breast. Thus he led the trembling king, neare dead with fear, amongst all his people."* *Smith* told him that he had attempted to murder him, which was the cause of his treating him thus. No one can doubt, on reading the history of those affairs, that the Indians all wished *Smith* dead, but whether they all wanted to kill him, is not quite so plain.

One great end of *Smith's* design was now answered; for *Opekankanough's* people came in loaded with presents to ransom their chief, until his boats were loaded. News being brought, of a disaster at *James-town*, he was set at liberty.

This chief was never well pleased with the English settling in his country, and their frequent turmoils would fill a volume.

How long *Opekankanough* had been secretly plotting

* Perhaps the New Englanders followed *Smith's* example afterwards, in the case of *Alexander*, *Ninigret*, and others.

to cut off the intruders of his soil, cannot be known ; but in 1644, all the Indians, over a space of country of 600 miles in extent, were leagued in the enterprise. The old chief at this time was supposed to be near one hundred years of age, and though unable to walk, would be present in the execution of his beloved project. It was upon the 18th of April, borne in a litter, that he led his warriors forward, and commenced the bloody work. They began at the frontiers, with a determination to slay all before them, to the sea. After continuing the massacre two days, in which time about five hundred persons were murdered, Sir *William Berkeley*, at the head of an armed force, checked their progress. The destruction of the inhabitants was the greatest upon York and Pamunky rivers, where *Opekankanough* commanded in person. The Indians now in their turn, were driven to great extremity, and their old chief was taken prisoner, and carried in triumph to Jamestown. How long after the massacre this happened, we are not informed ; but it is said that the fatigues he had previously undergone, had wasted away his flesh, and destroyed the elasticity of his muscles, to that degree, that he was no longer able to raise the eye-lids from his eyes ; and it was in this forlorn condition, that he fell into the hands of his enemies. A soldier who had been appointed to guard him, barbarously fired upon him, and inflicted a mortal wound. He was supposed to have been prompted to the bloody deed, from a recollection of the old chief's agency in the massacre. Just before he expired, hearing a great bustle and crowd about him, he ordered an attendant to lift up his eye-lids, when he discovered a multitude pressing around, to gratify the untimely curiosity of beholding a dying Sachem. Undaunted in death, and roused as it were, from sleep,

at the conduct of the confused multitude, he deigned not to observe them; and raising himself from the ground, with the expiring breath of authority, commanded that the governor should be called to him. When the governor came, *Opekankanough* said, with indignation, "Had it been my fortune to have taken Sir *Wm. Berkeley* prisoner, I would not meanly have exposed him as a show to my people;" and soon after, expired.

Nickotawance succeeded *Opekankanough*, as a tributary to the English. In 1648, he came to Jamestown, with five other chiefs, and brought twenty beaver skins to be sent to king *Charles*. He made a long oration, which he concluded with the protestation, "that the sun and moon should first loose their glorious lights, and shining, before he, or his people should evermore hereafter wrong the English."

Otash, a Narraganset chief, and brother to *Miantunnomoh*, whose name is conspicuous from his taking part with the English in the Pequot war; and his humanity in preventing a massacre of that unhappy people. After their great disaster, the Pequots, many of them, erected wigwams and dwelt in remote places in their former country, which was not allowed by the English. Capt. *Mason*, with forty men, and *Uncas*, with a hundred and twenty Mohegans, were sent to "supplant them, by burning their wigwams, and bring away their corn." Though on the approach of the English the Pequots fled, but as an opportunity presented, they sallied from their hiding-places, about sixty in number, and fell upon the Mohegans, who "ran and met them, and fell on, pell-mell, striking and cutting, with bows, hatchets, knives, &c., after their feeble manner; indeed it did hardly deserve the name of fighting." When the Pequots discovered that the

English were manœuvring to cut off their retreat, made their escape, except seven of them, who were *Ninigret's* men; "whom we intended to have made shorter by the head—and being about to put it into execution, one *Olash*, a Sachem of Narraganset, brother to *Myantonimo*, stepping forth, told the captain they were his brother's men, and that he was a friend to the English; and if he would spare their lives, we should have as many murderer's heads in lieu of them, which should be delivered to the English. We considering that there was no blood shed as yet, and that it tended to peace and mercy, granted his desire."*

Panoquin, a Narraganset Sachem, called sometimes by the early writers, *Quenopin*. His place of residence was said to have been near *Philip*. In the winter of 1676, when the Narragansets were at such "great straits," from the loss of their provisions, in the great swamp fight, ("corn being two shillings a pint with them,") the English tried to bring about a peace with them; but their terms were too hard, or some other cause prevented. "*Canonchet* and *Panoquin* said they would fight it out, to the last man, rather than they would become servants to the English."† A truly noble resolution, and well worthy of the character we have of *Canonchet*.

Passaconaway, the great Sachem of the country upon the Merrimack river, to the extent of whose dominions it is impossible, at this distant day, to fix bounds. Nashua and Pennakook were included in them; although there might have been many subordinate Sagamores within the same limits. There was, in *Philip's* war, a Sagamore *Sam*, of Nashua, and many others might be named, in different parts.

* Col. Mas. Hist. Soc.

† Hubbard.

Wonnalansit was his eldest son, who succeeded him about the year 1660. *Passaconaway* "lived to a very great age; for," says my manuscript, "I saw him alive at Pawtucket, when he was about a hundred and twenty years old."* Before his death, he delivered the following speech to his children and friends: "I am now going the way of all flesh, or ready to die, and not likely to see you ever meet together any more. I will now leave this word of counsel with you, that you may take heed how you quarrel with the English, for though you may do them much mischief, yet assuredly you will all be destroyed, and rooted off the earth if you do; for, said he, I was as much an enemy to the English, at their first coming into these parts, as any one whatsoever, and did try all ways and means possible, to have destroyed them, at least to have prevented them settling down here, but I could no way effect it; therefore, I advise you never to contend with the English, nor make war with them." And Mr. *Hubbard* adds, "it is to be noted that this *Passaconawa* was the most noted powow and sorcerer of all the country."

A story of the marriage of a daughter of *Passaconaway*, in 1662, is thus related. *Manataqua*, Sachem of Saugus, made known his wishes to the chief of Pannakook, that he desired to marry his daughter, which being agreeable to all parties, was soon consummated, at the residence of *Passaconaway*, and the hilarity was closed with a great feast. According to the usages of the chiefs, *Passaconaway* ordered a select number of his men to accompany the new married couple to the dwelling of the husband. When they had arrived there, several days of feasting followed, for the entertainment of his friends, who could not be present at

† Gookin's Hist. Praying Indians.

the consummation at the bride's father's, as well as for the escort; who, when this was ended returned to Pennakook.

Some time after, the wife of *Manataqua* expressed a desire to visit her father's house and friends, was permitted to go, and a choice company conducted her. When she wished to return to her husband, her father, instead of conveying her as before, sent to the young Sachem to come and take her away. He took this in high dudgeon, and sent his father-in-law this answer: "When she departed from me, I caused my men to escort her to your dwelling, as became a chief. She now having an intention to return to me, I did expect the same." The elder Sachem was now in his turn angry, and returned an answer, which only increased the difference; and it is believed that thus terminated the connection of the new husband and wife."*

Passaquo, Sachem of Pentucket, now Haverhill, in Massachusetts, was a subject of *Passaconaway*. He and *Saggaheew*, sold to the English a tract of land, containing about forty-eight square miles, in 1642, for £3:10s. This was Haverhill.

Patuckson, a principal evidence, when those suspected of murdering *John Sassamon* were tried and executed. What we know of him is related in the account of *Philip*.

Paugus, chief of the Pequawkets, slain in the celebrated battle with the English, under capt. *Love-well*, in 1725. Fryeburg, in Maine, now includes the principal place of their former residence, and the place where the battle was fought. It was near a considerable body of water, called Saco pond, which is a source of that river. The cruel and barbarous mur-

* Manuscript documents.

ders, almost daily committed by the Indians upon the defenceless frontier inhabitants, caused the general court of Massachusetts to offer a bounty of £100 for every Indian's scalp. Among the various excursions performed by *Lovewell*, previous to that in which he was killed, the most important was that to the head of Salmon-fall river, now Wakefield, in New Hampshire. With 40 men, he came upon a small company of ten Indians, who were asleep by their fires, and by stationing his men advantageously, killed all of them. This bloody deed was performed near the shore of a pond, which has ever since borne the name of *Lovewell's* pond. After taking off their scalps, these forty warriors marched to Boston in great triumph, with the ten scalps extended upon hoops, displayed in a formal manner, and for which they received £1000. This exploit was the more lauded, as it was supposed that these ten Indians were upon an expedition against the English upon the frontiers; having new guns, much ammunition, and spare blankets, and moccasins, to accommodate captives. This however, was mere conjecture, and whether they had killed friends or enemies was not quite so certain as that they had killed *Indians*.

It is said that *Paugus* was well known to many of the English, and personally to many of *Lovewell's* men; and that his name was a terror to the frontiers. In a song, composed after the Pequawket fight, he is thus mentioned, as appearing in that battle :

" 'Twas *Paugus* led the Pequ'k't tribe;—
As runs the fox would *Paugus* run;
As howls the wild wolf, would he howl,
A huge bear-skin had *Paugus* on."

Capt. *Lovewell* marched upon this expedition against *Paugus*, with forty-six men, from Dunstable, about the

middle of April, 1725. Their setting out is thus poetically set forth in meter :

“ What time the noble *Lovewell* came,
With fifty men from *Dunstable*,
The cruel *Pequ’k’t* tribe to tame,
With arms and blood-shed terrible.”

They arrived near the place where they expected to find Indians, on the 7th of May ; and early the next morning, while at prayers, heard a gun, which they rightly suspected to be fired by some of *Paugus’* men, and immediately prepared for an encounter. Divesting themselves of their packs, marched forward to discover the enemy. But not knowing in what direction to proceed, they marched in an opposite direction from the Indians. This gave *Paugus* great advantage ; who following their tracks, soon fell in with their packs, from which he learned their strength. Being encouraged by his superior numbers, *Paugus* courted the conflict, and pursued the English with ardor. His number of men was said to have been eighty, while that of the English consisted of no more than thirty-four, having left ten in a fort at *Ossapee* ; and one, an Indian, had before returned home, on account of sickness. The fort at *Ossapee* was for a retreat in case of emergency, and to serve as a deposite of part of their provisions, of which they disencumbered themselves before leaving it.

After marching a considerable distance from the place of their encampment, on the morning of the 8th of May, ensign *Wyman* discovered an Indian, who was out hunting ; having in one hand, some fowls he had just killed, and in the other, two guns. There can be no probability that he thought of meeting an enemy, but no sooner was he discovered by the English, than

several guns were fired at him, but missed him. Seeing that sure death was his lot, this valiant Indian resolved to defend himself to his last breath; and the action was as speedy as the thought, his gun was levelled at the English, and *Lovewell* was mortally wounded by the fire. Ensign *Wyman*, taking deliberate aim, killed the poor hunter; which action our poet describes in glowing terms—

“*Seth Wyman*, who in *Winn* lived,
A marksman he of course was,
Shot the first Indian whom they saw;
Sheer through his heart the bullet flew.

The savage had been seeking game,
Two guns, and eke, a knife he bore,
And two black ducks were in his hand;
He shrieked, and fell to rise no more.”

He was scalped by the chaplain and another; and then they marched again by the way they came, for their packs. This was expected by the wary *Paugus*, and he lay in ambush to cut them off. When they had got completely within the ambush,

“Anon, their eighty Indians rose,
Who'd hid themselves in ambush dread;
Their knives they shook, their guns they aimed,
The famous *Paugus* at their head.”

When the Indians rose from their coverts, they nearly encircled the English, but seemed loth to begin the fight; and were, no doubt, in hopes, that the English, seeing their numbers, would yield without a battle; and therefore made towards them with their guns presented, and threw away their first fire. This only encouraged the English, and they rushed toward the Indians, fired as they pressed on, and killing many,

drove the Indians for several rods. But they soon rallied and fired vigorously in their turn, and obliged the English to retreat, leaving nine dead and three wounded, where the battle began. *Lovewell*, though mortally wounded before, had led his men until this time, but fell before the retreat.

“ *John Lovewell*, captain of the band,
His sword he wav'd, that glitter'd bright,
For the last time he cheer'd his men,
And led them onward to the fight.

‘ Fight on, fight on, ’ brave *Lovewell* said ;
‘ Fight on, while heaven shall give you breath ! ’
An Indian ball then pierc'd him through,
And *Lovewell* clos'd his eyes in death.”

Being near the shore of Saco pond, the English made good their retreat to it, which prevented their being surrounded ; and but for this motion, none could possibly have escaped. The bank of the pond afforded a kind of breast-work,* behind which the English maintained the fight until night. The Indians drew off about dark, and they saw no more of them. Nine only of the English escaped unhurt, though several that were wounded lived to return home. *Paugus* was killed by one *John Chamberlain*, and is thus mentioned by the poet :

“ But *Chamberlain*, of *Dunstable*,
One whom a savage ne'er shall slay,
Met *Paugus* by the water-side,
And shot him dead upon that day.”

A son of *Paugus*, after peace was restored, came to *Dunstable* to revenge his father's death by killing

* Penhallow's Indian Wars, 113.

Chamberlain ; but not going directly to him, his design was mistrusted and communicated to him, and he kept himself upon guard, and had a hole cut through the door of his house, from which early one morning he discovered an Indian behind a pile of wood, with his gun pointed towards the door, to shoot *Chamberlain*, it was supposed, as he came out ; but making use of his advantage, fired upon and killed this son of *Paugus*.

The English chaplain, *Jonathan Frye*, was mortally wounded during the battle.

“ A man was he of comely form,
Polish'd and brave, well learnt and kind.
Old Harvard's learned halls he left,
Far in the wilds a grave to find.”

He was of Andover, in Massachusetts, and had but a short time before, graduated at Harvard College.

“ Lieutenant *Farwell* took his hand,
His arm around his neck he threw,
And said, ' brave chaplain, I could wish
That heaven had made me die for you.' ”

The chaplain on kind *Farwell's* breast,
Bloody, and languishing, he fell ;
Nor after that, said more but this,
' I love thee, soldier, fare thee well ! ' ”

If miracles had not then ceased in the land, we should be induced to pass to their credit the extraordinary escape of several of the wounded Englishmen. *Solomon Keyes*, having received three wounds, said he would hide himself, and die in a secret place, where the Indians could not find him to get his scalp. As he crawled upon the shore of the pond, at some distance from the scene of action, he found a canoe, into which he rolled himself, and was drifted away by the

wind. To his great astonishment, he was cast ashore at no great distance from the fort at Ossapee, to which he crawled, and there met several of his companions; and gaining strength, returned home with them.

Those who escaped did not leave the battle ground until near midnight. When they arrived at the fort, they expected to have found refreshment, and those they had left as a reserve; but a fellow whose name is not mentioned, who deserted the rest when the battle began, so frightened them that they fled in great confusion and dismay, to their homes.

The place where this fight took place, was fifty miles from any white inhabitants; and that any should have survived the famine which now stared them in the face, is almost as miraculous, as that they should have escaped death at the hands of the courageous warriors of *Paugus*; yet fourteen lived to return to their friends.

Fifty men from New Hampshire, afterwards marched to the scene of action, where they found and buried the dead. They found but three Indians, one of whom was *Paugus*. The rest were supposed to have been taken away when they retreated from the battle.* We will let the poet close the account.

“ Ah! many a wife shall rend her hair,
And many a child cry, ‘ woe is me,’
When messengers, the news shall bear,
Of *Lovevell’s* dear bought victory.

With footsteps slow shall travellers go,
Where *Lovevell’s* pond shines clear and bright,

* For the principal facts in this account, we are indebted to *Symmes’* narrative of the fight, published the same year in which it happened, and lately republished in *Farmer and Moore’s* Historical Collections, Vol. I. The poetry is from Vol. III, of the same work.

And mark the place, where those are laid,
Who fell in *Lovewell's* bloody fight.

Old men shall shake their heads, and say,
Sad was the hour, and terrible,
When *Lovewell*, brave, 'gainst *Paugus* went,
With fifty men from *Dunstable*."

Peksuot, a chief who dwelt near *Plimouth*, in 1620; conspicuous for his connection in the conspiracy, as the English termed it, against them. And mentioned in the account of *Massasoit*, who discovered it to *Hobomok*, whom he instructed to communicate it to the English. If he were a "barbarian," he was certainly barbarously murdered by captain *Standish*, in 1623, as we shall show in the life of *Wittuwamet*, which see.

Pessacus, a chief of the *Narragansets** after the death of his brother, *Miantunnomoh*. He was born about 1623, and consequently was about twenty years old when his brother was killed.† The same arbitrary course was pursued towards him by the English, as had been towards the unfortunate *Miantunnomoh*. The same year, 1643, to secure peace, he sent valuable presents to Boston, but the government treated him with haughtiness, and distrusted all his pacific pretensions; especially as he requested that they would not interfere between him and *Uncas*, with whom he was determined to make war, in revenge of his brother's death.

The turmoils involving the *Narragansets*, *Mohegans* and English, are related under *Miantunnomoh*, *Nini-*

* He was called *Sachem* of the *Nianticks* before the *Pequot* war, and from a love of the English, told his people he was resolved to give his country to the son of gov. *Winthrop*, of *Connecticut*.—*Hazard*.

† MS. Letter, subscribed with the mark of *Pumham*.

gret, Janemoh, and others, in which *Pessacus* was often a prominent character. Mr. *Cobbet** makes this record of him: "In the year 1645, proud *Pessacus* with his Narragansets, with whom *Ninigret* and his Niantigs join; so as to provoke the English to a just war against them. And accordingly forces were sent from all the towns to meet at Boston, and did so, and had a party of fifty horse to go with them under Mr. *Leveret*, as the captain of the horse." *Edward Gibbons* was commander in chief, and Mr. *Thompson*, pastor of the church in Brantree, "was to sound the silver trumpet along with his army."† But they were met by deputies from *Pessacus* and the other chiefs, and an accommodation took place, as mentioned in the account of *Ninigret*. In 1647, the commissioners of the United Colonies were called together before their usual time, occasioned by a report that the Narragansets were about to begin hostilities. They dispatched messengers to him "and other Sacheins there, that the English commissioners expected their appearance at Boston, and that if they did refuse or delay, they should no more be sent unto." *Pessacus* excused himself for not meeting them the year before, from mistaking the time, and that he could not go to Boston now, as he was sick; yet the messengers could not discover "any such disablement." He however gave *Ninigret* power to act for him.

To avoid hostilities from his English enemies in 1645, before remarked, he had agreed to pay a large amount in wampum, which had not been paid. He urged in extenuation of this neglect, that he was awed into a compliance of their demand by the presence of the army "which was then ready to invade the Narraganset country, and he thought they would follow him

* MS. Narrative. † Mather's Relation, and Hazard.

home, and there kill him if he did not promise to do as the English would have him.* These are among the last notices we find of "Proud *Pessacus*." His time for the payment of the tribute was extended, and the next year he is mentioned as being "behind near a 1000 fathom of wampum." There were some military movements of the English this year, 1648, towards his country, occasioned by the nonpayment of the tribute, and some other less important matters. *Pessacus* having knowledge of their approach fled to R. Island. "*Ninicroft* entertained them courteously, (there they staid the Lord's day,) and came back with them to Mr. *Williams*'s, and then *Pessacus* and *Canonicus*' son, being delivered of their fear, came to them; and being demanded about hiring the Mohawks against *Uncas*, they solemnly denied it; only they confessed, that the Mohawks, being a great Sachem, and their ancient friend, and being come so near them, they sent some 20 fathom of wampum for him to tread upon, as the manner of Indians is."† The matter seems to have rested here; *Pessacus* having as usual promised what was desired. His mortgaging his country, as related in the account of *Ninigret*, in 1660, is our last notice of him. He seems to have possessed a character much like that of *Ninigret*, and greatly inferior to that of *Miantunnomoh*, *Canonchet* and *Pumham*.

Philip, alias *Metacomet*, of Pokanoket, chief of the Wampanoags, was second son of *Massasoit*, and the immediate successor of *Alexander*, in 1662, as has been already mentioned. Whether the conduct of the people of Plimouth towards *Alexander* made them suspicious of *Philip*, as it had before of *Miantunnomoh*, or whether he were in reality "contriving mischief," the same year of his coming in chief Sachem, remains

* Ibid. † Winthrop's Journal.

a problem. But the year 1662 is the first in which we find him mentioned as chief, and what were his acts previous to that period, must, in all probability, remain forever unknown. "He was no sooner styled Sachem," says Dr. *I. Mather*,* "but immediately in the year 1662, there were vehement suspicions of his bloody treachery against the English." This author wrote at the close of *Philip's* war, when very few could speak of Indians, but with bitterness. Mr. *Morton*† is the first who mentions *Metacomet*, (for this was his Indian name,) which being before any difficulty with him, is noticed in a more becoming way. "This year," he observes, "upon occasion of some suspicion of some plot intended by the Indians against the English, *Philip*, the Sachem of Pokanoket, otherwise called *Metacom*, made his appearance at the court held at Plymouth, August 6, did earnestly desire the continuance of that amity and friendship that hath formerly been between the governor of Plymouth and his deceased father and brother."

The court expressing their willingness to remain his friends, he signed articles, subjecting himself to the King of England. To that instrument *Francis*, of Nauset, was also a subscriber, and *John Sassamon* a witness.

For about nine years, succeeding 1662, very little is recorded concerning *Philip*. During this time he became more intimately acquainted with his English neighbors, learned their weakness and his own strength, which rather increased than diminished, until his fatal war of 1675. For during this period, not only their additional numbers gained them strength, but their arms were greatly strengthened by the English instruments of war put into their hands. *Roger Williams* had early brought the Narragansets into

* Relation, 72. † In his N. England's Memorial.

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friendship with *Massasoit*, which alliance gained additional strength on the accession of the young *Metacomet*. And here we may look for a main cause of that war, although the death of *Alexander* is generally looked upon by the early historians, as almost the only one. The continual broils between the English and Narragansets, (we name the English first, as they were generally the aggressors,) could not be unknown to *Philip*; and if his countrymen were abused he knew it. And, what friend will see another abused, without feeling a glow of resentment in his breast? And who will wonder, if when these abuses had followed each other, repetition upon repetition, for a series of years, that they should at last break out into open war. The Narraganset chiefs were not conspicuous at the period of which we speak; there were several of them, but none appears to have had a general command or ascendancy over the rest; and there can be little doubt but that they unanimously reposed their cause in the hands of *Philip*. *Ninigret* was at this time grown old, and though for a series of years after the murder of *Miantunnomoh*, he seems to have had the chief ascendancy, yet pusillanimity, was always rather a predominant trait in his character. His age had probably caused his withdrawal from the others, on their resolution to second *Philip*. *Canonchet* was at this period the most conspicuous, *Pumham* next, *Potok*, *Magnus*, the squaw Sachem, whose husband* had been dead several years, and lastly *Muttatoag*.

What grounds the English had in the spring of the year 1671, for suspecting that a plot was going forward for their destruction, cannot satisfactorily be as-

* *Mezam*, the son of *Canonicus*. In several manuscripts in my possession, written by *Roger Williams*, his name is very variously spelt. See Art. *Magnus*.

certained ; but there can be no doubt that there were some warlike preparations made by the great chief, which very much alarmed the English. Their suspicions were farther confirmed when they sent to him to come to Taunton and make known his causes for his operations ; as he discovered "shyness," and a reluctance to comply. At length on the 10th of April, this year, he came to a place about four miles from Taunton, accompanied with a band of his warriors, attired, armed and painted as for a warlike expedition. From this place he sent messengers to Taunton to invite the English to come and treat with him. The governor either was afraid to meet the chief, or thought it beneath his dignity to comply with his request, and therefore sent several persons, among whom was *Roger Williams*, to inform him of their determination, and their good disposition towards him, and to urge his attendance at Taunton. He agreed to go, and hostages were left in the hands of his warriors to warrant his safe return. On coming near the village with a few of his warriors, he made a stop, which appears to have been occasioned by the warlike parade of the English, many of whom were for immediately attacking him. These were the Plymouth people that recommended this rashness, and were prevented by the commissioners from Massachusetts, who met here with the governor of Plymouth to confer with *Philip*.

In the end it was agreed that a council should be held in the meeting house, one side of which should be occupied by the Indians and the other by the English. *Philip* had alledged that the English injured the planted lands of his people, but which, the English say, was in no wise sustained. He said his warlike preparations were not against the English, but the Narragansets, which the English also say was proved

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to his face to be false ; and that this so confounded him that he confessed the whole plot, and " that it was the naughtiness of his own heart that put him upon that rebellion, and nothing of any provocation from the English."* Therefore, with four of his counsellors, whose names were *Tavoser*, capt. *Wispoke*, *Woonkaponehunt*, and *Nimrod*, he signed a submission, and an engagement of friendship, which also stipulated that he should give up all the arms among his people, into the hands of the governor of Plymouth, to be kept as long as the government should " see reason."

The English of Massachusetts having acted as umpires in this affair, were looked to by both parties, on the next cause of complaint. *Philip* having delivered the arms which himself and men had with them at Taunton,† promised to deliver the rest at Plymouth by a certain time. They not being delivered according to agreement, and some other differences occurring, both parties sent messengers to Boston, who met there at the same time,‡ to make their complaints. It was agreed that commissioners from all the United Colonies should meet *Philip* at Plymouth, where all difficulties were expected to be settled. What time this meeting took place, whether the same year or not, we are unable to state, though probably about September, 1671, but the parties met according to agreement, where the issue of the meeting was very nearly the same as that at Taunton. " The conclusion was," says Mr. Mather,‡ " *Philip* acknowledged his offence, and was appointed to give a sum of money to defray the charges which his insolent clamors had put the colony unto."

* Hubbard, Indian Wars, 11, 1st edition.

† Mather's Relation, 73.

‡ Baylies' N. Plymouth, iii, 22,

As usual, several articles were drawn up by the English; of what *Philip* was to submit to, to which we find the names of three only of his captains or counsellors, *Uncompaen*, who was his uncle,* *Wotokom*, and *Samkama*.

A general disarming of the neighboring Indians was undertaken during the spring and summer of 1671, as has been mentioned in our history of *Awashonks*, and nothing but trouble could have been expected to follow. The English had, by nearly forty years intercourse, rendered their arms far more necessary to the existence of the Indians than to their own, and many depended upon nothing else whereby to gain a sustenance; hence their unwillingness to part with them.

We meet with nothing of importance until the death of *Sassamon*, in 1674, the occasion of which was charged upon *Philip*, and was the cause of bringing about the war with him a year sooner than he had expected. This event prematurely discovered his intentions, which occasioned the partial recantation of the *Narragansets*, who, it is reported, were to furnish 4000 men, to be ready to fall upon the English in 1676. Concert therefore was wanting, and although nearly all the *Narragansets* ultimately joined against the English, yet the powerful effect of a general simultaneous movement was lost to the Indians. *Philip's* own people, many of them were so disconcerted at the unexpected beginning of the war, that they continued some time to waver, doubting which side to show themselves in favor of, and it was only from their being without the vicinity of the English, or unprotected by them, that determined their course, which was in almost all cases in favor of *Philip*. Even the *Praying Indians*, had they been left to themselves, would no

* Called by Church, *Akkompoin*.

doubt, many of them have declared in his favor also, as some of them did.

John Sassamon was a subject of *Philip*, an unstable minded fellow; and living in the neighborhood* of the English, became a convert to Christianity, learned their language, and was able to read and write, and had translated some of the bible into Indian. Being rather insinuating and artful, was employed to teach his countrymen at Natick, in the capacity of a schoolmaster. How long before the war this was, is not mentioned; but must have been about 1660, as he was *Philip's* secretary, or interpreter, in 1662, and this was after he had become a Christian. He left the English from some dislike, and went to reside with *Alexander*, and afterwards with *Philip*, who it appears improved him on account of his learning. Always restless, *Sassamon* did not remain long with *Philip*, before he returned again to the English; "and he manifested such evident signs of repentance, as that he was, after his return from Pagan *Philip*, reconciled to the Praying Indians and baptized, and received as a member into one of the Indian churches; yea, and employed as an instructor amongst them every Lord's day."†

Just before the war, we presume in the summer of 1674, *Sassamon* was sent to preach to the Nemaskets,‡ a small community of *Philip's* people upon Tehticut river, which is now included in Middleborough, Massachusetts. While here he learned that the Wampanoags, Narragansets; and some others were conspiring to destroy the English, and immediately communicated his discovery to the governor of Plimouth. "Nev-

* "This *Sassamon* was by birth a Massachusett, his father and mother living in Dorchester, and they both died Christians."—*I. Mather*.

† *Mather's Relation*, 74.

‡ The inhabitants of the place call it *Namasket*.

ertheless, his information, (because it had an Indian original, and one can hardly believe them when they do speak the truth,) was not at first much regarded.*

In the mean time some circumstances happened that gave further grounds of suspicion, and it was intended that messengers should be sent to *Philip*, to gain, if possible, the real state of the case. But before this was effected, much of the winter of 1674 had passed away, and the rev. *Sassamon* still resided with the N-maskets, and others of his countrymen in that neighborhood. And notwithstanding he had enjoined the strictest secrecy upon his English friends at *Plimouth*, of what he had revealed, assuring them that if it came to *Philip's* knowledge he should be immediately murdered by him, yet, it by some means got to the chief's knowledge, and *Sassamon* was considered a traitor and an outlaw; and by the laws of the Indians, he had forfeited his life, and was doomed to suffer death. The manner of effecting it was of no consequence with them so long as it was brought about, and it is probable that *Philip* had ordered any of his subjects who might meet with him, to kill him.

Early in the spring of 1675, *Sassamon* was missing, and on search being made, his body was found in *Assawomset* pond, in *Middleborough*. Those that killed him not caring to be known to the English, left his hat and gun upon the ice, that it might be supposed that he had drowned himself; but from several marks upon his body, and the fact that his neck was broken, it was evident he had been murdered.† Several persons

* *Mather's Relation*, 74.

† *Gookin's MS. Hist. of Christian Indians*. This author says "*Sasamon* was the first Christian Martyr," and that "it is evident he suffered death upon the account of his Christian profession, and fidelity to the English."

were suspected, and upon the information of one called *Patuckson, Tobias*, one of *Philip's* counsellors, his son, and *Mattashinnamy* were apprehended, tried by a jury, consisting of half Indians,* and in June, 1675, were all executed at Plimouth. "One of them before his execution confessing the murder," but the other two denied all knowledge of the act, to their last breath. The truth of their guilt may reasonably be called in question, if the circumstance of the bleeding of the dead body at the approach of the murderer, had any influence upon the jury. And we are fearful it was the case, for if the most learned were misled by such hallucinations in those days, we are not to suppose that the more ignorant were free from it. Dr. *Increase Mather* wrote within two years of the affair, and he has this passage. "When *Tobias* (the suspected murderer) came near the dead body, it fell a bleeding on fresh, as if it had been newly slain; albeit, it was buried a considerable time before that."†

Until the execution of the three Indians, supposed to be the murderers of *Sassamon*, no hostility was committed by *Philip* or his warriors. About the time of their trial, he was said to be marching his men "up and down the country in arms," but when it was known that they were executed, he could no longer restrain his young men, who upon the 24th of June, provoked the people of *Swanzey* by killing their cattle and other injuries, until they were fired upon, which was a signal to commence the war, and what they had desired. For the superstitious notion prevailed among the Indians, that the party who fired the first gun would be conquered.‡ They had probably been made to believe this by the English.

* *Mather's Relation*, 74. † *Ibid.* 75.

‡ *Callendar*.

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It was upon a fast day that this great drama was opened. As the people were returning from meeting, they were fired upon, by the Indians, one was killed and two wounded. Two others going for a surgeon, were killed on their way. In another part of the town six others were killed the same day. Swanzey was the next town to *Philip's* country, and his men were as well acquainted with all the walks of the English as they were themselves.

It is not supposed that *Philip* directed this attack, but on the other hand it has been said that it was against his wishes. But there can be no doubt of his hostility and great desire to rid his country of the white intruders; for had he not reason to say?

“ Exarsere ignes animo; subit ira, cadentem
Ulcisci patriam, et sceleratas sumere poenas.”

The die was cast. No other alternative appeared, but to ravage, burn and destroy as fast as was in his power. There had been no war for a long time, either among themselves or with the English, and therefore, numerous young warriors from the neighboring tribes, entered into his cause with great ardor; eager to perform exploits, such as had been recounted to them by their sires, and such as they had long waited an opportunity to engage in. The time they conceived had now arrived, and their souls expanded in proportion to the greatness of the undertaking. To conquer the English! to lead captive their haughty lords! must have been thoughts to them of vast magnitude, and exhilarating to a great degree.

Town after town fell before them, and when the English forces marched in one direction, they were burning and laying waste in another. A part of Taunton, Middleborough and Dartmouth, in the vicinity of Po-

casset, upon Narraganset bay, soon followed the destruction of Swanzey, which was burnt immediately after the 24th of June, on being abandoned by the inhabitants.

Philip commanded in person upon Pocasset, where upon the 18th of July, he was discovered in a "dismal swamp." He had retired to this place, which is adjacent to Taunton river, with the most of his Wampanoags, and such others as had joined him, to avoid falling in with the English army, which was now pursuing him. From their numbers, the English were nearly able to encompass the swamp, and the fate of *Philip* they now thought sealed. On arriving at the edge of the swamp, a few of *Philip's* warriors showed themselves, and the English soldiers rushed upon them with ardor, and by this feint were drawn far into an ambush, and "about fifteen were slain." The leaves upon the trees were so thick, and the hour of the day so late, that a friend could not be distinguished from a foe, "whereby 'tis verily feared, that [the English themselves] did sometimes unhappily shoot Englishmen instead of Indians."* A retreat now was ordered, and considering *Philip's* escape impassible, the most of the forces left the place, a few only remaining, "to starve out the enemy." That *Philip's* force was great at this time is certain, from the fact that a hundred wigwams were found near the edge of the swamp newly constructed of green bark. In one of those the English found an old man who informed them that *Philip* was there. He lost but few men in the encounter, though it is said, that he had a brother killed at this time, "a privy counsellor and chief captain, who had been educated at Harvard College."†

* Mather's Brief Hist. War. 5.

† In a Note to Hutchinson's Hist. I, 291.

The idle notion of building a fort here to starve out *Philip*, was sufficiently censured by the historians of that day. For as capt. *Church* expresses it, *to build a fort for nothing to cover the people from nobody*,* was rather a ridiculous idea. This observation he made upon a fort's being built upon Mount Hope neck, some time after every Indian had left that side of the country, and who in fact were laying waste the towns before mentioned.

The swamp where *Philip* was now confined was upon a piece of country which projected into Taunton river, and was nearly seven miles in extent. After being guarded here thirteen days, which in the end was greatly to his advantage, and afforded him sufficient time, to provide canoes in which to make his escape; he passed the river with most of his men, and made good his retreat into the country upon Connecticut river, as will be found mentioned in our account of *Oneko*.

Having now taken a position to annoy the back settlements of Massachusetts, his warriors fell vigorously to the work; one town after another, and one company of soldiers after another were swept off by them. A garrison being established at Northfield, capt. *Richard Beers*, of Watertown,* with 36 men, were attacked while on their way to reinforce them, and 20 of the 36 were killed. *Robert Pepper*, of Roxbury, was taken captive, and the others effected their escape. *Philip's* men had the advantage of attacking them in a place of their own choosing, and their first fire was very destructive. *Beers* retreated to a small eminence, and maintained the unequal fight until their ammunition was spent, at which time a cart containing am-

* Hist. Philip's War, p. 6, ed. 4to.

† Manuscript Documents.

munition fell into the hands of the Indians, and the captain being killed, all who were able took to flight. The hill to which the English retreated at the beginning of the fight, was known afterwards by the name of *Beers* mountain.

About this time some English found a single Indian, an old man, near Quabaog, whom they captured. As he would not give them any information respecting his countrymen, or perhaps such as they desired, they pronounced him worthy of death; so "they laid him down, *Cornelius*, the Dutchman lifting up his sword to cut off his head, the Indian lifted up his hand between, so that his hand was first cut off, and partly his head, and the second blow finished the execution."* ♦

On the 18th of Sept., captain *Lothrop* of Salem, was sent from Hadley with about eighty-eight men, to bring away the corn, grain, and other valuable articles, from Deerfield. Having loaded their teams, and commenced their march homeward, they were attacked at a place called Sugarloaf-hill, where almost every man was slain. This company consisted of choice young men, the flower of Essex county. Eighteen of the men belonged to Deerfield.‡ Capt. *Mosely* being not far off, upon a scout, was drawn to the scene of action by the report of the guns, and having with him seventy men, charged the Indians with great resolution, although he computed their numbers at 1000. He had two of his men killed and eleven wounded. The Indians dared him to begin the fight, and exultingly said to him, "*Come, Mosely, come, you seek Indians, you want Indians, here is Indians enough for you.*" After continuing a fight with them, from eleven o'clock

* Manuscript in Library of Mas. Hist. Soc.

† Hubbard's Narratives.

‡ These were the teamsters.

until almost night, he was obliged to retreat. The Indians cut open the bags of wheat and feather-beds, and scattered their contents to the winds.* After *Mosely* had commenced a retreat, major *Treat* with one hundred English, and sixty Mohegans, came to his assistance. Their united forces obliged the Indians to retreat in their turn.† The Indians were said to have lost in the various encounters, ninety-six men. It was a great oversight, that captain *Lothrop* should have suffered his men to stroll about, while passing a dangerous defile. "Many of the soldiers having been so foolish and secure, as to put their arms in the carts, and step aside to gather grapes, which proved dear and deadly grapes to them:‡" The same author observes, "this was a black and fatal day, wherein there were eight persons made widows, and six and twenty children made fatherless, all in one little plantation and in one day; and above sixty persons buried in one dreadful grave!"

The Narragansets had not yet heartily engaged in the war, though there is no doubt that they stood pledged so to do. Therefore, having done all that could be expected upon the western frontier of Massachusetts, and concluding that his presence among his allies, the Narragansets, was necessary, to keep them from abandoning his cause, *Philip* was next known to be in their country.

An army of 1500 English, was raised by the three colonies, Massachusetts, Plimouth and Connecticut, for the purpose of breaking down the power of *Philip* among the Narragansets. They determined upon this course, as they had been assured that in the spring they would come with all their force upon them. It

* Manuscript Letter, written at the time.

† *J. Mather's History of the War.*

‡ *Ibid.* 12.

was not known that *Philip* was amongst them when this resolution was taken, and it was but a rumor that they had taken part with him. It was true, that they had promised to deliver up all the Wampanoags, who should flee to them, either alive or dead; but it is also true, that those who made this promise, had it not in their power; being persons, chiefly in subordinate circumstances, who had no right or authority to bind any but themselves. And, therefore, as doubtless was foreseen by many, none of *Philip's* people were delivered, although many were known to have been among them. Thus in few words have we exhibited the main grounds of the mighty expedition against the Narragansets in the winter of 1675.

Upon a small island, in an immense swamp, in South Kingston, Rhode Island, *Philip* had fortified himself, in a manner superior to what was common among his countrymen. Here he intended to pass the winter, with the chief of his friends. They had erected about five hundred wigwams of a superior construction, in which was deposited a great store of provisions. Baskets and tubs of corn, were piled one upon another, about the inside of them, which rendered them bullet proof. It was supposed that about three thousand persons had here taken up their residence.

After nearly a month from their setting out, the English army arrived in the Narraganset country, and made their head quarters about eighteen miles from *Philip's* fort. They had been so long upon their march, that the Indians were long enough apprized of their approach, and had made the best arrangements in their power to withstand them. They had already suffered much from the severity of the season, being obliged to encamp in the open field, and without tents to cover them!

The 19th of December, 1675, is a memorable day in the annals of New England. Cold, in the extreme—the air filled with snow—the army were obliged, from the low state of their provisions, to march to attack *Philip* in his fort. And but for the treachery of one of his men, who, from his having an English name, is supposed to have lived among the English—and by hope of reward, betrayed his countrymen into their hands. His name was *Peter*, and it was by accident that himself, with thirty-five others, had just before fallen into the hands of the fortunate captain *Mosely*. No Englishman was acquainted with the situation of *Philip's* fort; and but for their pilot, *Peter*, there is very little probability that they could have effected anything against it. For it was one o'clock on that short day of the year, before they arrived within the vicinity of the swamp. There was but one point where it could be assailed with the least probability of success; and this was fortified by a kind of block-house, directly in front, and having flankers to cover a cross fire. Besides high palisades, an immense hedge of fallen trees, of nearly a rod in thickness, surrounded it upon the outside, encompassing an area of about five acres. Between the fort and the main land, was a body of water, over which a great tree had been felled, on which all must pass and repass, to and from it. On coming to this place, the English soldiers, as many as could pass upon the tree, which would not admit two abreast, rushed forward, but were swept from it in a moment, by the fire of *Philip's* men. Still, the English soldiers, led by their captains, supplied the places of the slain. But again and again, were they swept from the fatal avenue. Six captains and a great many men had fallen, and a partial, but momentary recoil from the face of death took place :

and but a handful had got within the fort. These were contending hand to hand with the Indians, and at fearful odds, when the cry of "they run! they run!" brought to their assistance a considerable body of their fellow-soldiers. They were now enabled to drive the Indians from their main breast-work, and their slaughter became immense. Flying from wigwam to wigwam—men, women, and children, indiscriminately, were hewn down and lay in heaps upon the ground. Being now masters of the fort, at the recommendation of Mr. Church,* general Winslow was about to quarter the army in it for the present, which offered comfortable habitations to the sick and wounded, besides a plentiful supply of provisions. But one of the captains and a surgeon opposed the measure; probably from the apprehension that the woods was full of Indians, who would continue their attacks upon them, and drive them out in their turn. There was, doubtless, some reason for this, which was strengthened from the fact that many English were killed after they had possessed themselves of the fort, by those whom they had just dispossessed of it. Still, had Church's advice been followed, perhaps many of the lives of the wounded would have been saved; for he was seldom out in his judgment, as his long successes proved afterwards. After fighting three hours, they were to march eighteen miles; before the wounded could be dressed, and in a most horrid and boisterous night. Eighty English were killed in the fight, and one hundred and fifty wounded; many of whom died afterwards. The English left the ground in considerable haste, leaving eight of their dead in the fort. Philip, and such of his war-

* Afterwards the famous colonel Church. He led the second party that entered the fort, and was badly wounded, after fighting some time.

riors as escaped unhurt, fled into a place of safety, until the enemy had retired; when they returned again to the fort. The English, no doubt, apprehended a pursuit, but *Philip* not knowing their distressed situation, and perhaps judging of their loss from the few dead which they left, made no attempt to harrass them. Before the fight was over, many of the wigwams were set on fire. Into these, hundreds of innocent women and children had crowded, and perished in the general conflagration! and as a writer of that day expresses himself, "no man knoweth how many." The English learned afterwards from some that fell into their hands, that in all about 700 perished.*

Soon after this, *Philip*, with many of his followers, left that part of the country, and resided in different places upon Connecticut river. Some report that he took up his residence near Albany, and that he solicited the Mohawks to aid him against the English, but without success. The various attacks and encounters

* There is printed in *Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. I, 300*, a letter which gives the particulars of the Narraganset fight. I have compared it with the original, and find it correct in the main particulars. He mistakes in ascribing it to major *Bradford*, for it is signed by *James Oliver*, one of the Plymouth captains *Hutchinson* copied from a copy, which was without signature. He omits a passage concerning *Tift* or *Tife*—who, *Oliver* says, confirmed his narrative. That he had "married an Indian, a *Woinpanoag*—he shot twenty times at us in the swamp—was taken at Providence [by captain *Fenner*,] Jan. 14th, brought to us the 16th—executed the 18th; a sad wretch. He never heard a sermon but once this fourteen years; he never heard of the name of *Jesus Christ*. His father going to recall him, lost his head, and lies unburied." *Hubbard* says, Narrative 59, that "he was condemned to die the death of a traitor, and traitors of those days were quartered. As to his religion, he was found as ignorant as an heathen, which no doubt caused the fewer tears to be shed at his funeral." A sorrowful record this!!!

he had with the English, from February to August, 1676, are so minutely recorded, and in so many works, that we will not enlarge upon them in this place.

When success no longer attended him, in the western parts of Massachusetts, those of his allies whom he had seduced into the war, upbraided, and accused him of bringing all their misfortunes upon them; that they had no cause of war against the English, and had not engaged in it but for his solicitations; and many of the tribes scattered themselves in different directions. With all that would follow him, as a last retreat, *Philip* returned to Pokanoket.

On the 11th of July, he attempted to surprise Taunton, but was repulsed. His camp was now at Matapoiset; and the English came upon him under captain *Church*, who captured many of his people, but he escaped over Taunton river, as he had done a year before, but in the opposite direction, and secreted himself once more upon Pocasset. He used many stratagems to cut off capt. *Church*, and seems to have watched and followed him from place to place, until the end of this month; but continually losing one company after another. Some scouts ascertained that he, with many of his men, were at a place upon Taunton river, and from appearances were about to repossess it. His camp was now at this place, and the chief of his warriors with him. Some soldiers from Bridgewater fell upon them here, July 31st, killed ten warriors; but *Philip* having disguised himself, escaped. His uncle, *Akkompoin*, was among the slain, and his own sister taken prisoner.

The next day, August 1st, the intrepid *Church* came upon his head-quarters, killed and took about one hundred and thirty of his people, and himself very narrowly escaping. Such was his precipitation that he

left all his wampum behind, and his wife and son fell into the hands of *Church*. Some of *Philip's* Indians, who now served under *Church*, said to him, "You have now made *Philip* ready to die; for you have made him as poor and miserable as he used to make the English. You have now killed or taken all his relations—that they believed he would soon have his head, and that this bout had almost broken his heart."

Philip having now but few followers left, was driven from place to place, and lastly to his ancient seat, near Pokanoket. The English for a long time had endeavored to kill him, but could not find him off his guard; for he was always the first who was apprized of their approach. Having put to death one of his men for advising him to make peace with them, his brother deserted him, and gave captain *Church* an account of his situation, and offered to lead him to the place. Early on Saturday morning, Aug. 12th, *Church* came to the swamp where *Philip* was encamped. And before he was discovered, had placed a guard about it, so as to encompass it, except a small place. He then ordered captain *Golding* to rush into the swamp, and fall upon *Philip* in his camp; which he immediately did—but was discovered as he approached, and as usual, *Philip* was the first to fly. Having but just awaked from sleep, had on but a part of his clothes, he fled with all his might. Coming directly upon an Englishman and an Indian, who composed a part of the ambush at the edge of the swamp, the Englishman's gun missed fire, but *Alderman*, the Indian, whose gun was loaded with two balls, "sent one 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."

"Cold with the beast he slew, he sleeps,
O'er him no filial spirit weeps ;

* * * * *

Even that he liv'd, is for his conqueror's tongue,
By foes alone his death-song must be sung ;
No chronicles but theirs shall tell
His mournful doom, to future times ;
May these upon his virtues dwell,
And in his fate forget his crimes."

With the great chief, fell five of his most trusty followers, one of whom was his chief captain's son ; and the very Indian who fired the first gun at the commencement of the war.

The barbarous usage of beheading and quartering traitors, was now executed upon the fallen *Philip*. His head was sent to Plymouth, where it was exposed upon a gibbet for twenty years, and his hands to Boston, where they were exhibited in savage triumph, and his mangled body was denied the right of sepulture.*

During the bloody contest, the pious fathers wrestled long and often with their God, in prayer, that he would prosper their arms and deliver their enemies into their hands ; and when upon stated days of prayer the Indians gained advantage, it was looked upon as a rebuke of Providence, and animated them to greater sincerity and fervor ; and on the contrary, when their arms prevailed upon such days, it was viewed as an immediate interposition in their favor. The philosophic mind will be shocked at the expressions of some, very eminent in that day, for piety and excellence of moral life. Dr. *Increase Mather*,† in speaking of the efficacy of prayer, in bringing about the destruction of the Indians, says, "Not could they cease crying to the

* Authorities as heretofore.

† In his "Prevalence of Prayer,"—page 10.

Lord against *Philip*, until they had prayed the bullet into his heart." And in speaking of the slaughter of *Philip's* people, at Narraganset, he says, "We have heard of two and twenty Indian captains, slain all of them, and brought down to hell in one day."* Again, in speaking of a chief who had sneered at the English religion, and who had, "withal, added a most hideous blasphemy, immediately upon which a bullet took him in the head, and dashed out his brains, sending his cursed soul in a moment amongst the devils, and blasphemers in hell for ever."†

These extracts are made for no other purpose than to show the habits of thinking, in those times.

Like *Massasoit*, *Philip* always opposed the introduction of Christianity among his people. When Mr. *Elkot* urged upon him its great importance, he said he cared no more for the gospel than he did for a button upon his coat.‡ And Dr. *Mather* adds, "I was not long, before the hand which now writes, [1700] upon a certain occasion took off the jaw from the exposed skull of that blasphemous *leviathan*; and the renowned *Samuel Lee* hath since been a pastor to an English congregation, sounding and showing the praises of heaven, upon that very spot of ground, where *Philip* and his Indians were lately worshipping of the devil."§

The error that *Philip* was grand-son to *Massasoit*, is so well known to be such, that it would hardly seem to have required notice, but to inform the reader of

* *I. Mather's* Prevalence of Prayer. † *Ibid.* 7.

‡ *Magnolia.*

§ Mr. *Lee* was taken by the French in a voyage to England, and carried into that country where he died, in 1691. This event, it was thought, hastened his end. Perhaps the surviving natives did not attribute the disaster, to his usurping their territory, and teaching a religion they could not believe; but might they not with equal propriety?

its origin. The following passage from Mr. *Josselyn's* work,* will, besides proving him to be the author of the error, at least the first writer that so denominates him, furnish some valuable information. Speaking of the Indians in general, he says, "Their beads are their money; of these, there are two sorts, blue beads and white beads; the first is their gold, the last their silver. These they work out of certain shells, so cunningly, that neither *Jew* nor *devil* can counterfeit. They drill them and string them. and make many curious works with them, to adorn the persons of their Sagamores and principal men, and young women, as belts, girdles, tablets, borders for their women's hair, bracelets, necklaces, and links to hang in their ears. Prince *Philip*, a little before I came for England, [1671,] coming to Boston, had a coat on and buskins set thick with these beads, in pleasant wild works, and a broad belt of the same; his accoutrements were valued at £20. The English merchant giveth them 10s. a fathom for their white, and as much more, or near upon, for their blue beads." "The roytelet now of the Pocanaketts is prince *Philip*, alias *Melucan*, the grand-son of *Massasoit*." †

In November, 1669, *Philip* sold to the selectmen of Dedham, the tract of land called *Woolloomnuppogue* "within the town bounds, [of Dedham,] not yet purchased." What the full consideration paid to him was, we do not learn. In an order which he sent to them afterwards, he requests them "to pay to this bearer, for the use of king *Philip*, £5 5s. money—and £5 in trucking cloth, at money price." In a receipt

* Account of two Voyages to New England, 142-3.

† Ibid, 146. He is also called grand-son of *Massasoit* in the work entitled *Present State of New England, in respect to the Indian War*. Fol. London: 1676.

signed by *Peter*, the following amount is named: "In reference to the payment of king *Philip* of Mount Hope, the full and just sum of £5 5s. in money, and twelve yards of trucking cloth—three pounds of powder, and as much lead as to make it up; which is in full satisfaction with £10 that he is to receive of *Nathaniel Pane*."*

If Indian tradition do not err, some of the blood of the immortal *Philip*, now circulates in this city. The *Rev. Wm. Apes*, of the Independent Methodist order; a Pequot, is preaching occasionally among us. He has seen a chequered and various life, as appears by a book which he has published, entitled, "A Son of the Forest." He contemplates giving the traditionary, as well as the real history and antiquities, of the Pequots; which must be a work desired by every one. *Mr. Apes* is thirty-four years of age, very active and intelligent. He makes a wide mistake in his life, by calling *Philip* king of the Pequots; for *Philip* was not born when that tribe was destroyed. And there is no tradition that the Wampanoag chiefs ever claimed dominion over the Pequots, but on the contrary the latter were "a terror to all their neighbors."

We will close this life with a few additions from a curious work.† *Philip* having resolved to war against the English, "in order thereunto, his first errand is to Squaw Sachem, [*Awashonks* ?] who is the widow of a brother, [*Alexander*,] to king *Philip*, deceased; he promising her great rewards if she would join with him in his conspiracy, (for she is as potent a prince as any round about her, and hath as much corn, land, and men, at her command,) she willingly consented, and

* MS. Documents among our State Papers.

† Present State of New England, by a Merchant of Boston. Fol. London: 1676.

was much more forward in the design, and had greater success than king *Philip* himself.* "Thus after king *Philip* had secured his interest in Squaw Sachem, (whom he perswaded that the English had poisoned her husband, and thereupon she was the more willing to join with him,) he privately sent messengers," to the other Sachems.† The same author in relating the commencement of the war, says, "About the 20th of June last, [1675,] seven or eight of king *Philip's* men came to Swanzey, on the Lord's day, and would grind a hatchet at an inhabitant's house there. The master told them it was the Sabbath day, and their God would be very angry if he should let them do it. They returned this answer; "They knew not who his God was, and that they would do it for all him or his God either." They then went to another house, and after taking some victuals, went away peaceably; but meeting a man in the road, took him and kept him a short time, telling him he should not work on his God's day, and when they dismissed him charged him not to tell lies.

Piambow, a Natick, next to *Waban*, in the government and religious affairs of that tribe. When a church was established at Natick, in 1671, he was made ruling elder. He was the father of *Tuckapewilkin*, who at this time was the minister. "He brought many Indians with him, to the second meeting, at *Waban's* house, on Nonantum," since Newton.

Pitimee, (*Andrew*), one of the six Christian Indians who volunteered to go out with the English army, under major *Savage*, in March, 1676, and was their captain. He is chiefly to be remembered, from that horrid affair, the murder of his wife and another woman, and three children, at a place called Whortle-

* Present State of New England, p. 3. † Ibid, p. 4.

berry-hill, in Watertown, by some Englishmen.* The particulars of which will be found under the account of *Thomas Speen*. He is mentioned but once by our best historian of those times, who in a single line sums up the whole business. After mentioning that those of the enemy who had thought to have sheltered themselves under *Uncas*, were "stabbed," off by him; and that "they were in the beginning of the winter [of 1676,] brought into Boston, many of them, by *Peter Ephraim* and *Andrew Pityme*, with their fellows."†

Pocahontas, daughter of one of the most celebrated chiefs recorded in history; whose name will always occupy one of the most conspicuous places in the annals of Virginia. It is impossible to say, what would have been the conduct of the great *Powhatan*, her father, towards the English, if he had been treated by the first English as he ought to have been. The uncommonly amiable, virtuous, and feeling disposition of his daughter, will always be brought to mind in reading his history; and notwithstanding he is described by the historians as possessing a sour, morose, and savage disposition, full of treachery, deceit, and cunning—and whose word was never to be depended upon, yet on the very page that thus represents him, we shall find the very example set him by the English.

The first and most memorable events in the life of *Pocahontas*, must necessarily be detailed in the account of her father; therefore, we shall, under her own name, give those which are more disconnected with his.

Pocahontas was born about the year 1594 or 5, and hence was no more than twelve or thirteen years old,

* Gookin's MS. Hist. Praying Indians.

† Hubbard History of the War. •

when she saved the life of the celebrated capt. *Smith*, in 1607. Every particular of that most extraordinary scene will be exhibited, when we come to the life of *Powhatan*, where it more properly belongs. It will also be mentioned under that head, that at the suggestion of capt. *Newport*, *Smith* went with a few men to *Werowocomoco*, to invite *Powhatan* to *Jamestown* to receive presents, hoping thereby to influence him to trade his corn with him.

When he arrived at that place, *Powhatan* was not at home, but was at the distance of thirty miles off. *Pocahontas* and her women received him, and while he waited for her father, they thus entertained him; which we will give in his own words. "In a fayre plaine field they made a fire, before which, he sitting upon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hydeous noise and shreeking, that the English betooke themselves to their arms, and siezed on two or three old men by them, supposing *Powhatan* with all his power, was come to surprise them. But presently *Pocahontas* came, willing him to kill her if any hurt were intended; and the beholders, which were men, women, and children, satisfied the captain there was no such matter. Then presently they were presented with this anticke; thirty young women came naked out of the woods, onely covered behind and before with a few greene leaues, their bodies all painted, some of one color, some of another, but ail differing. Their leader had a fayre payre of bucks hornes on her head, and an otter-skinne at her girdle, and another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, a bow and arrows in her hand. The next had in her hand a sword, and another a club, another a pot-sticke, all horned alike; the rest every one with their seuerall devises. These fiends, with most hellish shouts and

cryed, rushing from among the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing with most excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and solemnly again to sing and daunce. Having spent neare an houre in this mascarado, as they entred, in like manner they departed." After a short time they came and took the English to their wigwams. Here they were more tormented than before, "with crowding, pressing, hanging about them, most tediously crying, 'Love you not me? love you not?'" When they had finished their caresses, they set before them the best victuals their country afforded, and then showed them to their lodgings.

In captain *Smith's* excursion into the country to surprise *Powhatan*, a melancholy accident happened to a boat's crew, which had been sent out in very severe weather, by one who was impatient to have the direction of matters. In the boat were captain *Waldo*, master *Scrivener*, the projector of the expedition, Mr. *Anthony Gosnold*, brother of the well known *Bartholomew Gosnold*, and eight others. By the sinking of the boat these all perished, and none knew what had become of them, until their bodies were found by the Indians. The very men on whom *Smith* depended to remain at the fort for his succor, if in case he sent for them, were among the number. Therefore, to prevent the failure of his project, some must be sent to apprise him of the catastrophe. None volunteered for the hazardous service, but Mr. *Richard Wyffin*, who was obliged to undertake it alone. This being a time when *Powhatan* was very insolent, and urged the killing of *Smith*. Nevertheless, after many difficulties, he arrived at *Werowocomoco*. Here he found himself amidst preparations for war, and in still greater danger than he had yet been. But *Pocahontas* appeared as his savior.

Knowing the intention of the warriors to kill him, she first secreted him in the woods, and then directed those who sought him, in an opposite direction; and by this means he escaped, and got safe to *Smith* at Pamunkey. This was in the winter of 1609.

We next hear of her saving the life of *Henry Spilman*, who being one of thirty that went to trade, upon the confidence of *Powhatan*, and who were, all except *Spilman*, killed by his people.

From 1609, the time *Smith* left the country, until 1611, *Pocahontas* was not seen at Jamestown. At this time she was treacherously taken prisoner by captain *Argal*, and kept by the English to prevent *Powhatan* from doing them injury, and to extort a great ransom from him, and such terms of peace as they should dictate. At the time she was betrayed into the hands of captain *Argal*, she was in the neighborhood of the chief of Potomack, whose name was *Japazaws*, a particular friend of the English, and an old acquaintance of captain *Smith*. Whether she had taken up her residence here, or whether she was here only upon a visit, we are not informed. But some have conjectured, that she retired here soon after *Smith's* departure, that she might not witness the frequent murders of the ill-governed English, at Jamestown. Captain *Argal* was in the Potomack river, for the purpose of trade, with his ship, when he learned that *Pocahontas* was in the neighborhood. Whether *Japazaws* had acquired his treachery from his intercourse among the English, or whether it were natural to his disposition, we will not undertake to decide here; but certain it is, that he was ready to practice it, at the instigation of *Argal*. And for a copper kettle for himself and a few toys for his squaw, did he deliver the innocent girl on board *Argal's* ship. It was effected, however, without

compulsion, by the aid of his squaw. The captain had previously promised that no hurt should befall her, and that she should be treated with all tenderness; which should go as far as it may, to excuse *Japazaws*. The plot to get her on board, was well contrived. Knowing that she had no curiosity to see a ship, having before seen many, *Japazaws* wife pretended great anxiety to see one, but would not go unless *Pocahontas* would go on board with her. To this she consented after some hesitation. The attention with which they were received on board, soon dissipated all fears, and *Pocahontas* soon strayed from her betrayers into the gun-room. The captain, watching his opportunity, told her she was a prisoner. When it was known to *Japazaws* and his wife, they feigned more lamentation than she did, to keep her in ignorance of the plot; and after receiving the price of their perfidy, were sent ashore, and *Argal* with his pearl of great price, to Jamestown. On being informed of the reason why she was thus captivated, her grief, by degrees, subsided.

The first step of the English was to inform *Powhatan* of the captivity of his daughter, and to demand of him their men, guns and tools, which he and his people had from time to time taken and stolen from them. This unexpected news threw the old stern, calculating chief into a great dilemma, and what course to take he knew not; and it was three months before he returned any answer. At the end of this time, by the advice of his council, he sent back seven Englishmen, with each a gun which had been spoiled, and this answer: that when they should return his daughter, he would make full satisfaction, and give them five hundred bushels of corn, and be their friend forever; that he had no more guns to return, the rest being

The captain should befall with all tender-ness to excuse Ja- was well con- riosity to see a wife pretend. not go unless To this she attention with soon dissipated from her be- ain, watching oner. When they feigned her in ignor- price of their h his pearl of formed of the r grief, by de-

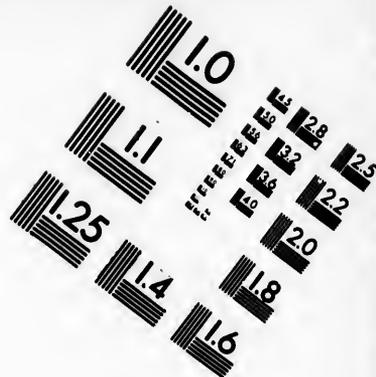
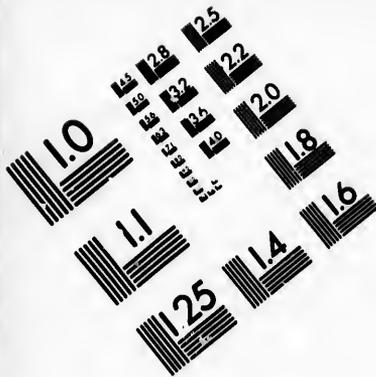
inform Powha- to demand of and his peo- en from them. rn, calculating re to take he ore he return- e, by the ad- Englishmen, led, and this his daughter, ve them five iend forever ; e rest being

lost. They sent him word, that they would not restore her, until he had complied with their demand ; and that as for the guns, they did not believe they were lost. Seeing the determination of the English, or his inability to satisfy them, was, we apprehend, why they "heard no more from him for a long time after."

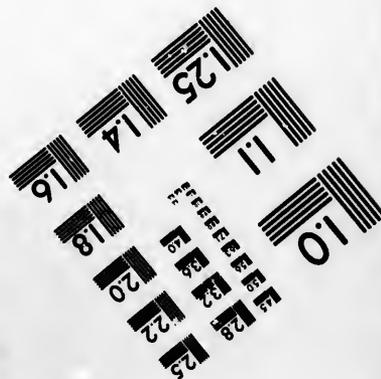
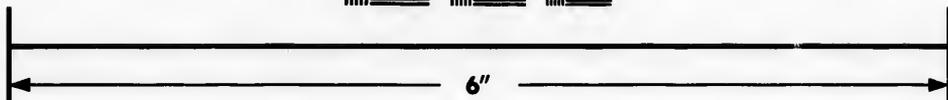
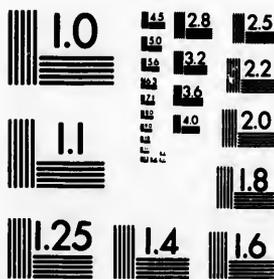
In the spring of the year, 1613, Sir *Thomas Dale* took *Pocahontas*, and went with a ship, up *Powhatan's* river, to *Werowocomoco*, the residence of her father, in hopes to effect an exchange, and bring about a peace. *Powhatan* was not at home, and they met with nothing but bravadoes and a disposition to fight, from all the Indians they met with. After burning many of their habitations, and giving out threats, some of them came and made peace, as they called it, which opened the way for two of *Pocahontas'* brothers to come on board the ship, where they expressed great joy at seeing their sister.

A particular friendship had sometime existed between *Pocahontas* and a worthy young Englishman, by the name of *John Rolfe* ; which at length growing into a sincere attachment, and being mutual between them, he made known his desire to take her for his companion. This being highly approved of by Sir *Thomas Dale*, and other gentlemen of high standing and authority, was soon to take place. Acquainting her brother with her determination, it soon came to the knowledge of her father also ; who as highly approving of it as the English, immediately sent *Opachisco*, her uncle, and two of his sons, to witness the performance, and to act as her servants upon the occasion : and in the beginning of April, 1613, the marriage was solemnized according to appointment. *Powhatan* was now their friend in reality ; and a friendly intercourse commen-





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ced, which was without much interruption, continued until his death.

Pocahontas lived happily with her husband, and became a believer in the English religion, and expressed no desire to live again among those of her own nation. When Sir *Thomas Dale* returned to England, in 1616, *Pocahontas* accompanied him, with her husband, and several other young natives. They arrived at *Plimouth* on the 12th of June of that year. She met with much attention in that country, being taken to court by the lord and lady *Delaware*, and others of distinction. She was at this time called the lady *Rebecca*. Her meeting with captain *Smith*, was affecting; and at which time she thought herself, and very justly no doubt, too slightly noticed by him, which caused her much grief. Owing to the barbarous nonsense of the times, *Smith* did not wish her to call him father, as it would affect his standing among his countrymen; being afraid of giving offence to royalty, by assuming to be the father of a king's daughter. Yet he did not intend any cause of offence, and did all in his power to make her happy. At their first interview, after remaining silent some time, she said to him, "You promised my father, that what was yours should be his; and that you and he would be all one. Being a stranger in our country, you called *Powhatan* father; and I for the same reason, will now call you so. You were not afraid to come into my father's country, and strike fear into every body, but myself; and are you here afraid, to let me call you father? I tell you then, I will call you father, and you shall call me child; and so I will for ever be of your kindred and country. They always told us, that you were dead, and I knew not otherwise till I came to *Plimouth*. But *Powhatan* commanded *Tomocomo* to seek you out, and know the

truth, because your countrymen are much given to lying."

Tomocomo is the same person mentioned by *Smith*, but he called him *Uttamaccomack*. He had married a sister of *Pocahontas*, and was one of *Powhatan's* principal counsellors. And as will be mentioned in the life of that chief, was sent to England as a spy, with orders to number the people, &c.; and who, when he returned, it is said, was asked by his chief how many people there were? and that he replied, "*Count the stars in the sky, the leaves on the trees, and the sand upon the sea shore—for such is the number of the people of England.*"

The useful and worthy young *Pocahontas*, being about to embark for her native country, in the beginning of the year 1617, fell sick at Gravesend, and died; having attained only the age of twenty-two years. She left one son, whose name was *Thomas Rolfe*, very young; and whom sir *Lewis Steukly*, of Plymouth, desired to be left with him, to get his education. But from the unmanly part this gentleman took against the unfortunate *Raleigh*, he was brought into such merited disrepute, that he found himself obliged to turn all his attention to his own preservation; and the son of *Pocahontas* was taken to London, and there educated by his uncle, Mr. *Henry Rolfe*. He afterwards came to America, to the native country of his mother, where he was a gentleman of great distinction, possessing an ample fortune. He left an only daughter, who married colonel *Robert Bolling*, and died, leaving an only son, major *John Bolling*, who was the father of colonel *John Bolling*, and several daughters. One of whom married col. *Richard Randolph*, from whom are descended those bearing that name, in Virginia, at this day.*

* *Smith's Virginia*, with additions from *Stith*.

Barlow thus notices *Pocahontas* :—

“Blest *Pocahontas*! fear no lurking guile;
Thy hero's love shall well reward thy smile,
Ah, sooth the wanderer in his desperate plight,
Hide him by day, and calm his cares by night;
Tho' savage nations with thy vengeful sire,
Pursue their victim with unceasing ire—
And tho' their threats, thy startled ear assail,
Let virtue's voice o'er filial fears prevail.”—*Columb.*

Potok, a famous Narraganset chief, notorious for the stand he took against the promulgation of religion among that nation. When the war began with *Philip*, the Narragansets were thought to be inclining to him, and the army was ordered to *Pettyquamscot* to fight or treat with them according as they were disposed. After some parleying, a treaty was concluded, at great length; to which no attention seems to have been paid, and as we may suppose, no great sagacity was required to foresee. At this negotiation, *Potok* was a conspicuous chief, although little or nothing is said of him in the printed accounts; nor does it appear that he acquiesced in it, from the fact that his name is not to the treaty. Indeed, we now find the best authority for such conclusion. It has been said, that at this treaty, *Potok* “urged that the English should not send any among them to preach the gospel, or call upon them to pray to God. But the English refusing to concede to such an article, it was withdrawn.” Yet no such article is printed in said treaty. If it really were the case, that the English refused to treat without such an article, even in this enlightened day, we need no better comment upon it than we find in a manuscript letter of *Roger Williams*,* as follows: “At

* Dated Providence, 5: 8: 1654. It was written to the governor of Massachusetts, urging a spirit of forbearance towards the offending Nianticks.

my last departure for England, I was importuned by y^e Narraganset Sachems, and especially by *Nenecunat*, to present their petition to the high Sachems of England, that they might not be forced from their religion; and for not changing their religion be invaded by war. For they said they were daily visited with threatenings by Indians, that came from about the Massachusetts; that if they would not pray, they should be destroyed by war." And again, in the same letter: "Are not all the English of this land, (generally) a persecuted people from their native soil? and hath not the God of peace and father of mercies made the natives more friendly in this than [in] our native countrymen in our own land to us? have they not entred leagues of love, and to this day continued peaceable commerce with us? are not our families grown up in peace amongst them? Upon which I humbly ask how it can suit with Christian ingenuity, to take hold of some seeming occasions for their destruction."

We are able to fix the place of his residence in the vicinity of Point Judith. Our earliest notice of him is in 1661. In this year *Potok* with several other chiefs, complained to the court of Massachusetts, that "*Samuel Wildbow* and others of his companie," claimed jurisdiction at Point Judith, in their country, and lands adjacent. They came on and possessed themselves forcibly, bringing their cattle and other effects with them. What order the court took upon it does not appear. About the close of *Philip's* war, *Potok* came voluntarily to Rhode Island, no doubt with the view of making friends again with his enemies; but was sent to Boston, where, after answering all their inquiries, he was put to death without ceremony.

Pontiac, a chief of the Ottawa nation, as noted in his time, as either *Philip* or *Tecumseh*. The princi-

pal scenes of his prowess, were at Michilimakinak and Detroit. The French finally gave up possession in Canada, in 1760; but many of the Indian nations who had become attached to them, were taught at the same time to hate the English. *Pontiac* was most conspicuous in his enmity, although, until he had united the strength of many tribes to his, he showed great kindness and friendship towards them. The *Miamis*, *Ottawas*, *Chippewas*, *Wyandots*, *Pottawatomies*, *Mississagas*, *Shawanese*, *Ottagamies*, and *Winnebagos*, constituted his power, as in after time they did that of *Tecumseh*.

Major *Gladwin* held possession of Detroit, in 1763, having been dispatched thither by general *Amherst*, he had been informed by commissioners who had been exploring the country, that hostile feelings were manifested among the Indians, and he sent men on purpose to ascertain the fact, who on their return dissipated all fears.

Major *Roberts* was a messenger to him, and took with him for a present, what he thought would be most agreeable to him, which was a quantity of *leau-de-vie*. When it was presented, his men thinking it to be a stratagem to poison him, entreated him not to taste of it. But that the English should not in the least apprehend fear or disaffection in him, he said to his people present, "*It is not possible that this man, who knows my love for him, who is also sensible of the great favors I have done him, can think of taking away my life.*" And taking the spirit, drank it with as much confidence of its purity and good effect, as did *Socrates* his fatal cup. And adds the historian, "*Cent traits d'une élévation parielle avoient fixé sur Pontheack les yeux des nations sauvages. Il vouloit les réunir toutes sous les memes drapeaux, pour faire respecter leur*

*territoire et leur indépendance. Des circonstances malheureuses firent avorter ce grand projet.***

In the mean time several traders brought news to the fort at Michilimakinak, that the Indians were hostile to the English. Major *Etherington* commanded the garrison, and would believe nothing of it. A Mr. *Ducharme* communicated the information to the major, who was much displeased at it, "and threatened to send the next person who should bring a story of the same kind, a prisoner to Detroit."†

The garrison at this time, consisted of 90 men, besides two subalterns and the commander in chief. There were also at the fort four English merchants.

Little regard was paid to the assembling of sundry bands of Indians as they appeared friendly; but when nearly 400 of them were scattered up and down throughout the place, "I took the liberty," says Mr. *Henry*, "of observing to major *Etherington*, that in my judgment, no confidence ought to be placed in them; in return the major only rallied me, on my timidity."

On the fourth of June, the king's birth day, the Indians began as if to amuse themselves to play at a favorite game of ball, which they called *baggiaway*, which is thus described by Mr. *Henry*. "It is played with a bat and ball, the bat being about four feet in length, curved and terminated in a sort of racket. Two posts are placed in the ground, at a considerable distance from each other, as a mile or more. Each party has its post, and the game consists in throwing the ball up to the post of the adversary. The ball, at the beginning, is placed in the middle of the course, and each party endeavors as well to throw the ball out of

* Raynal, Hist. Philos. et. Politique, &c. ix. 89, ed. Geneva, 1781.

† Travels in Canada by *Alexander Henry*, Esq. from which this account of the destruction of Michilimakinak is taken.

the direction of its own post, as into that of the adversary." This farce drew many off their guard, and some of the garrison went out to witness the sport.

"The game of baggatiway, (he continues,) as from the description above will have been perceived, is necessarily attended with much noise and violence. In the ardor of contest, the ball, as has been suggested, if it cannot be thrown to the goal desired, is struck in any direction by which it can be diverted from that designed by the adversary. At such a moment, therefore, nothing could be less liable to excite premature alarm, than that the ball should be tossed over the pickets of the fort, nor that having fallen there, it should be followed, on the instant, by all engaged in the game, as well the one party as the other, all eager, all striving, all shouting, all in the unrestrained pursuit of a rude athletic exercise." And this was their plan, while in the height of their game to throw their ball within the pickets of the fort, and then all to rush in, and in the midst of their hubbub, to murder the garrison, and the stratagem succeeded to their wishes. They struck the ball over the stockade, as if by accident, and repeating it several times, running in and out of the fort with all freedom; "to make the deception more complete,"* and then rushing in in every direction, took possession of the place without the least resistance. They murdered the soldiers until their numbers were so diminished that they apprehended nothing from their resistance. Many of whom were ransomed at Montreal afterwards, at a great price. Seventy were put to death, and the other twenty reserved for slaves. A few days after a boat from Montreal, without knowing what had happened, came ashore with English passengers, who all fell into the

* Carver's Travels, 19, 20; edit. 8 vo, Lond. 1784.

hands of the Indians. *Pontiac* was not personally concerned in this affair, but it was a part of his design, and therefore is very properly here related.

A chief named *Menchwehna*, was the commander in chief.* When *Pontiac* was obliged to make peace afterwards at Detroit, he surrendered Michilimakinak again into the hands of the English.

The garrison at Detroit was closely besieged by *Pontiac* in person, before the news of the massacre of fort Michilimakinak arrived there. It was garrisoned by about 300 men, and when *Pontiac* came with his warriors, although in great numbers, they were so intermixed with women and children, and brought so many commodities for trade, that no suspicion was excited, either in the mind of major *Gladwin*, or the inhabitants. He encamped a little distance from the fort, and sent to the major to inform him that he was come to trade, and preparatory thereto, wished to hold a council with him for the purpose of "brightening the chain of peace" between the English and his people. No suspicion was yet entertained, and the major readily consented, and the next morning was fixed upon for the council.

The same evening a circumstance transpired which saved the garrison from a dreadful massacre. An Indian woman who had made a pair of moccasins for major *Gladwin*, out of a curious Elk skin, brought them home, and returned the remainder of the skin. Being much pleased with them, the major wished her to take the skin and make another pair, as he had concluded to give the others to a friend, and what was left to make into shoes for herself. She was then paid for her work and dismissed. But when those whose duty it was to see that the fort was clear of strangers,

* *Henry's Travels.*

and to close the gates for the night, went upon their duty, this woman was found loitering in the area, and being asked what she wanted, made no reply. The major being informed of her singular demeanor, directed her to be conducted into his presence, which being done, he asked her why she did not depart before the gates were shut. She replied, with some hesitation, that she did not wish to take away the skin, as he set so great a value upon it. This answer was delivered in such a manner, that the major was rather dissatisfied with it, and asked her why she had not made the same objection on taking it in the first place. This rather confused her, and she said that if she took it away now, she never should be able to return it.

It was now evident that she withheld something which she wished to communicate, but was restrained through fear. But on being assured by major *Gladwin* that she should not be betrayed, but should be protected and rewarded, if the information was valuable. She then said that the chiefs who were to meet him in council the next day, had contrived to murder him and take the garrison and put all the inhabitants to death. Each chief she said would come to the council, with so much cut off of his gun, that he could conceal it under his blanket. That *Pontiac* was to give the signal, while delivering his speech, which was, when he should draw his peace belt of wompum, and present it to him in a certain manner. And that while the council was sitting, as many of the warriors as could, should assemble within the fort armed in the same manner, under the pretence of trading with the garrison.

Having got all the information necessary, the woman was discharged, and major *Gladwin* had every precaution taken to put the garrison into the best possible

state for defence. He imparted it to his men, and instructed them how to act, at the approaching council; at the same time sending to all the traders in different directions to be upon their guard.

The next morning having arrived, every countenance wore a different aspect, the hour of the council was fast approaching, and the quick step and nervous exercise in every evolution of the soldiers, was expressive of an approaching event, big with their destiny. It was heightened in the past night, when a cry was heard in the Indian encampment, different from what was usual on peace occasions. The garrison fires were extinguished and every man repaired to his post. But the cry being heard no more, the remainder of the night was passed in silence.

The appointed hour of ten o'clock arrived, and also as punctual arrived *Pontiac* and his thirty-six chiefs, followed by a train of warriors, which when the stipulated number had entered the garrison, the gates were closed. The chiefs observed attentively the troops under arms, and marching from place to place; two columns nearly enclosing the council house, and both facing towards it. On *Pontiac's* entering the council house, he demanded of major *Gludwin* the cause of so much parade, and why his men were under arms; said it was an odd manner of holding a council. The major told him it was only to exercise them. Being seated upon the skins prepared for them, *Pontiac* commenced his speech, and when he came to the signal of presenting the belt, the governor and his attendants drawing their swords half out of their scabbards, and the soldiers clenching their guns with firmness, discovered to the chiefs by their peculiar attitudes, that their plot was discovered. *Pontiac*, with all his bravery, turned pale, and every chief showed signs of astonish-

ment. To avoid an open detection, the signal in passing the belt was not given, and *Pontiac* closed his speech, which contained many professions of respect and affection to the English. But when major *Gladwin* commenced his, he did not fail directly to reproach *Pontiac* with treachery; told him he could not do any thing to ensnare the English, and that he knew his whole diabolical plan. *Pontiac* tried to excuse himself, and to make major *Gladwin* believe that he had laid no plot; upon which the major stepped to the chief nearest him, and drawing aside his blanket, exposed his short gun, which completed their confusion.

The governor, for such was major *Gladwin*, ordered *Pontiac* to leave the fort immediately, for it would be with difficulty he could restrain his men from cutting him in pieces, should they know the circumstances. The governor was afterwards blamed for thus suffering them to withdraw, without retaining several of them hostages for the quiet behaviour of the rest, but he having passed his word that they should come and go without hindrance or restraint, perhaps merited less censure for keeping and respecting his own honor, than his reproachers for their censures.

A furious attack was the next day made upon the fort. Every stratagem was resorted to. At one time filling a cart with combustibles, and running it against the pickets to set them on fire. At another, he was about to set fire to the church, by shooting fiery arrows into it; but religious scruples averted its execution: the priest telling him, that it would call down the anger of God upon him. They had frequently during the siege, endeavored to cut down the pickets so as to make a breach. Major *Gladwin* ordered his men, at last, to cut on the inside at the same time, and assist them. This was done, and when a breach was made

there was a rush upon the outside towards the breach, and at the same instant, a brass four pounder, which had been levelled for the purpose, was shot off, which made a dreadful slaughter among them. After this they merely blockaded the fort, and cut off its supplies, and the English were reduced to the greatest distress, and for some time subsisted upon half rations.

A bloody scene was now to follow. Capt. *Delzel* with 200 men, went out of the fort before break of day, on the 9th of August, 1763, to fight *Pontiac* in his camp; but the wary chief had runners out, who gave him timely notice, and he met them in an advantageous place, and being vastly superior in numbers, and concealed behind a picket fence, near a bridge where the English were to pass, poured in upon them a dreadful fire. Many fell at the first onset, but they kept their order, and exerted themselves to regain the bridge they had just passed. They effected their purpose, but many fell in the attempt, among whom was capt. *Delzel*. The famous major *Rogers*, the second in command, and lieut. *Braham* with about 200 others recovered the fort. This bridge, where so many brave men were slain, is called to this day *bloody bridge*. *Pontiac* ordered the head of capt. *Delzel* to be cut off and set upon a post. Between eighty and a hundred dead bodies were counted upon the bridge the next morning, which entirely blocked up its passage.

About this time several small vessels fell into the hands of *Pontiac*, which were destined to supply the garrison, and the men were cruelly treated. The garrison was in great straits both from the heavy loss of men, as well as from want of provisions and continual watching. In this time of despondency, there now arrived near the fort a schooner, which brought them supplies of provisions, but nothing of this kind could

be landed without *Pontiac's* knowledge, and he determined, if possible, to seize the schooner; a detachment made the attempt, and to save herself, the vessel was obliged to tack short about and proceed in an opposite direction. The Indians followed her, and by continually firing into her, killed almost every man, and at length boarded her. As they were climbing up the sides and shrouds in every quarter, the captain, determined not to fall into their hands alive, ordered the gunner to set fire to the magazine, and blow all up together. This was heard by a Huron chief, who understood enough of English to know what was going forward, and instantly communicating it to his followers, they disengaged themselves from the vessel as fast as possible, and while they fled from her in a fright, at considerable distance, they took the advantage of a wind and arrived safe back to the fort. In the pursuit of the vessel, the Indians discovered extreme temerity, often coming so close to the schooner as to be severely burned by the discharge of her guns.

Many other circumstances are related of this famous siege, but it is believed the preceding are all that are well authenticated.

Pontiac having invested Detroit now for about twelve months, and the news having been carried to various parts of the British empire, extensive preparations were made to put down the Indian power. *Pontiac*, aware of the movements of gen. *Bradstreet*, who was proceeding for Detroit with an army of 3000 men, sued for peace, which was granted him, and his warriors retired to their hunting grounds. He seems now to have laid aside all resentment against the English, and became their friend; and to reward his attachment, the government granted him a liberal pension. But it is reported that he became suspected afterward,

and as he was going to hold a council among the Indians in Illinois, upon the part of the English, a spy attended him to observe his conduct. In his speech he betrayed the English and discovered his former enmity against them. When he had finished, the Indians who had accompanied him plunged a knife into his breast, and thus ended the days of a chief whose name has been renowned for the greatest exploits.*

Powhatan, the most famous chief known to the English in Virginia. They at first supposed that his was the name of the country, as indeed was the case, though not to the extent that they at first apprehended. A great river and bay also bore his name. He had three brothers *Opitchepan*, *Opekankanough* and *Cataugh*; and two sisters. His principal residence was at a place called Werowocomoco, when the English came into the country; which was upon the north side of what is now York river, in the county of Gloucester, nearly opposite the mouth of Queen's creek, and about twenty-five miles below the fork of the river.† He lived here until the English began to intrude themselves into his vicinity, when he took up his residence at Orakakes.

Powhatan was not his Indian name, or rather original name; that was *Wahunsonacock*. He is described as tall and well proportioned—bearing an aspect of sadness—exceedingly vigorous, and possessing a body capable of sustaining great hardships. He was in 1607, about sixty years of age, and his hair considerably grey, which gave him a majestic appearance. At

* For some of the facts in this account we are indebted to Mr. *McKennie's Tour to the Lakes*.

† About two miles below where Richmond now stands. The farm of a gentleman of the name of *Mayo*, included the site of a part of his town, in 1813.—*Campbell's Virginia*.

his residence, he had a kind of wooden form, to sit upon, and his ornamental robe was of raccoon skins, and his head dress was composed of many feathers wrought into a kind of crown. He swayed many nations upon the great rivers and bays, the chief of whom he had conquered. He originally claimed only the places called Powhatan, (since named Haddihaddocks,) Arrohattock, (now Appomattox,) Youghtanund, Pamunky, Mattapony, Werowocomoco, and Kiskiak; at which time, his chief seat was at Powhatan, near the falls of James' river. But when he had extended his conquest a great way north, he removed to Werowocomoco, as a more commodious situation.

At the termination of his warlike career, the country upon James' river, from its mouth to the falls, and all its branches, was the boundary of his country, southerly—and so across the country, "nearly as high as the falls of all the great rivers, over Potowmack, even to Patuxent, in Maryland," and some of the nations on the north shore of the Chesapeak. His dominions, according to his law of succession, did not fall to his children, but to his brothers, and then to his sisters, (the oldest first,) thence to the heirs of the oldest: but never to the heirs of the males.

He usually kept a guard of forty or fifty of the most resolute and well formed men about him, especially when he slept; but after the English came into his country, he increased them to about two hundred. He had as many and such women as he pleased; and when he slept, one sat at his head and another at his feet. When he was tired of any of his wives, he bestowed them upon such of his men as most pleased him. Like the New England chiefs, he had many places where he passed certain seasons of the year; at some of which he had very spacious wigwams, thirty

or forty yards in extent, where he had victuals provided against his coming.

In 1608, he surprised the people of Payankatank, who were his neighbors and subjects. Captain *Smith*, in the account, "writ with his own hand," says, "the occasion was to vs vnknowne, but the manner was thus." He sent several of his men to lodge with them the night on which he meant to fall upon them, then secretly surrounding them in their wigwams, commenced a horrid slaughter. They killed twenty-four men, took off their scalps, and with the women and children prisoners, returned to his village. The scalps they exhibited upon a line between two trees, as a trophy, and the Werowance (their name of a chief,) and his wife, *Powhatan* made his servants.

From 1585 to 1607, every attempt to settle a colony in Virginia, had failed; and at this time would have failed also, but for the unexampled perseverance of one man. I need but pronounce the name of *capt. John Smith*. The colony with which he came did not arrive until the planting season was over; and in a short time they found themselves in a suffering condition, from want of suitable provisions. *Smith* therefore, undertook to gain a supply by trafficking with the Indians back in the country. They being acquainted with their hard situation, insulted him and his men wherever they came; offering them but a handful of corn, or a piece of bread, for a gun or a sword. "But seeing by trade and courtesie there was nothing to be had, he made bold to try such conclusions as necessitie inforced, though contrary to his commission." So fired upon them, and drove them into the woods. He then marched to their village. There they found corn in abundance, which, after some manœuvring, he suc-

ceeded in trading for, and returned with a supply to Jamestown.

He soon after proceeded to discover the source of the Chikahamania. When he had passed up as far as it was navigable for his barge, he left it in a wide place, at a safe distance from the shore, and ordered his men not to go on shore on any condition. Taking two of his own men and two Indians, he proceeded to complete his discovery. As soon as he was gone, his men went on shore, one was killed and the rest hardly escaped. *Smith* was now twenty miles into the wilderness. *Opekankanough* with 300 warriors, having learned from the men they had just taken, which way he was gone, followed after him, and came upon the two Englishmen belonging to his company; he being absent to shoot some fowls for provisions, they killed them both while asleep, and continued their pursuit after him. He was not far from his canoe, and endeavored to retreat to it, but being hard pressed, made a shield of one of his Indians, and in this manner fought upon the retreat, until he had killed three and wounded divers others. Being obliged to give all his attention to his pursuers, accidentally fell into a creek, where the mud was so deep that he could not extricate himself. Even now, none dare to lay hands upon him; and those whom their own numbers forced nearest to him, were observed to tremble with fear. The Indian he had bound to his arm with his garters, doubtless saved him from being killed by their arrows, from which he received but very little hurt, except a wound in his thigh, though his clothes were shot full of them.

When he could stand no longer in the mire, without perishing with cold, he threw away his arms, and suffered them to come and take him. After pulling him

out of the mire, they took him to the place where his men had just been killed, where there was a fire. They now showed him kindness, rubbing his benumbed limbs, and warming him by the fire. He asked for their chief, and *Opekankanough* appeared, to whom *Smith* gave a small compass. This amused them exceedingly. "Much they marvelled at the playing of the fly and needle, which they could see so plainly, and yet not touch it, because of the glass that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that globe-like Iewell, the roundnesse of the earth, and skies, the spheare of the sunne, and moone, and starres, and how the sunne did chase the night round about the world, continually—the greatnesse of the land and sea, the diversity of the nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them antipodes, and many other such-like matters, they all stood as amazed with admiration!" Yet, notwithstanding he had such success in explaining to them his knowledge of geography and astronomy, (how much of it they understood we will not undertake to say,) within an hour after, they tied him to a tree, and a multitude of them seemed prepared to shoot him. But when their bows were bent, *Opekankanough* held up his compass, and they all laid down their weapons. They now led him to *Orapakas*, a temporary seat of *Powhatan*, on the north side of *Chikahominy* swamp. Here they feasted him, and treated him well.

When they marched him, they drew themselves up in a row with their chief in the midst, before whom the guns and swords they had taken from the English were borne. *Smith* came next, led by three great men hold of each arm, and on each side six more, with their arrows notched, and ready, if he should attempt to escape. At the town they danced and sung about

him, and then put him into a large house or wigwam ; here they kept him so well, that he thought they were fattening him to kill and eat. They took him to a sick man to cure him, but he told them he could not, unless they would let him go to Jamestown and get something with which he could do it ; this they would not consent to.

The taking of Jamestown was now resolved upon, and they made great preparations for it. For which end they endeavored to get *Smith's* assistance, by making large promises of land and women ; but he told them it could not be done, and described to them the great difficulty of the undertaking, in such a manner that they were greatly terrified. With the idea of procuring something curious, *Smith* prevailed upon some of them to go to Jamestown ; which journey they performed in the most severe, frosty and snowy weather. By this means, he gave the people there to understand what his situation was, and what was intended against them, by sending a leaf from his pocket-book, with a few words written upon it. He wrote also for a few articles to be sent, which were duly brought by the messengers. Nothing had caused such astonishment, as their bringing the very articles *Smith* had promised them. That he could talk to his friends at so great a distance, was utterly incomprehensible to them.

Being obliged to give up the idea of destroying Jamestown, they amused themselves by taking their captive from place to place in great pomp and triumph, to show him to the different nations of the dominions of *Powhatan*. Being taken to Youghtannund, since called Pamunkey river, the country over which *Opëkankanough* was chief, whose principal residence was where the town of Pamunkey since was ; thence to

the Mattaponies, Piankatanks, the Nautaugtacunds, on Rappahanock, the Nominies, on the Patowmack river; thence in a circuitous course through several other nations, back again to the residence of *Opekanough*. Here they practiced conjurations upon him for three successive days; to ascertain, as they said, whether he intended them good or evil. This proves they viewed him a kind of god. A bag of gun powder having fallen into their hands, they preserved it with great care, thinking it to be a grain, intending in the spring to plant it, as they did corn. He was here again feasted, and none could eat until he had done.

Being now satisfied, having gone through all the manoeuvres with him that they could think of, they proceeded to *Powhatan*. "Here more than 200 of those grim courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had been a monster, till *Powhatan* and his trayne had put themselves in their greatest braveries." He was seated before a fire, upon a seat like a bedstead, having on a robe of raccoon skins, "and all the tayles hanging by." On each side of him sat a young woman—and upon each side of the house two rows of men, and with as many women behind them. These last had their heads and shoulders painted red—some of whose heads were adorned with white down; and about their necks white beads. On *Smith's* being brought into the presence of *Powhatan*, all present joined in a great shout. "The queen of *Apamatuck* was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers instead, of a towel, to dry them." Then having feasted him again, "after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before *Powhatan*—then as many as could lay hands on him, dragged him to

them and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs to beat out his brains, *Pocahontas*, the king's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head in her armes, and laid her own upon his, to save him from death." *Powhatan* could no longer resist the entreaty of his daughter, and thus was saved the life of *Smith*, whom he designed to employ to make for him robes, shoes, bows, arrows, and pots; and bells, beads, and copper trinkets for *Pocahontas*. *Powhatan's* son, named *Nantaquaus*, was very friendly to *Smith*, and rendered him many important services.

"Two days after, *Powhatan* having disguised himself in the most fearfullest manner he could, caused captain *Smith* to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there upon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after, from behinde a mat that divided the house, was made the most dolefullest noyse he ever heard; then *Powhatan*, more like a devill then a man, with some 200 more, as black as himselfe, came unto him, and told him, now they were friends; and presently he should go to James-towne, to send him two great gunnes, and a gryndestone, for which he would give him the country of Capahowosick, [Capahowsick,] and forever esteem him his sonne, *Nantuoquoud*. So to James-towne with twelve guides *Powhatan* sent him. That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting, (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment,) every hour to be put to one death or another." Early the next morning, they came to the fort at Jamestown. Here he treated his guides with the greatest attention and kindness, and showed to *Rawhunt*, one of *Powhatan's* most trusty servants, two demi-culverins and a millstone to carry to his chief. "They found them somewhat too heavie, but when they did see him discharge them, being

loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with isickles, the yce and branches came so bumbling down, that the poore salvages ran away half dead with fear. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gave them such toyes, and sent to *Powhatan*, his women, and children such presents, and gave them in generall full content."*

Powhatan was now completely in the English interest, and almost every other day sent his daughter, *Pocahontas*, with victuals to Jamestown, of which they were greatly in need. *Smith* had told *Powhatan* that a great chief, which was captain *Newport*, would arrive from England about that time, which coming to pass as he had said, greatly increased his admiration of the wisdom of the English, and he was ready to do as they desired in every thing; and but for the vanity and ostentation of *Newport*, matters would have gone on well, and trade flourished greatly to their advantage. But he lavished so many presents upon *Powhatan*, that he was in no way inclined to trade, and soon began to show his haughtiness, by demanding five times the value of an article, or his contempt for what was offered.

By *Newport's* imprudence, what had cost *Smith* so much toil and pains to achieve, was blown away by a single breath of vanity. Nevertheless, his great mind, continually exercised in difficult matters, brought the subtle chief again to his own terms. Himself, with *Newport*, and about twenty others, went to *Powhatan's* residence to trade with him. "Wherein *Powhatan* carried himself so proudly, yet discreetly, (in his salvage manner,) as made us all to admire his natural

* This is captain *Smith's* own account, which I shall follow minutely; adding occasionally from *Stith*, to illustrate the geography of the country.

gifts." He pretended that it was far beneath his dignity to trade as his men did. Thus his craft to obtain from *Newport* his goods for whatever he pleased to give in return. *Smith* saw through the plot and advised *Newport*, but he being determined to show himself with as much dignity as the Indian chief, was left to repent of his folly, like too many others, when it was too late. *Smith* was the interpreter in the business, and *Newport* the chief. *Powhatan* made a speech to him, when they were about to enter upon trading. He said, "Captain *Newport*, it is not agreeable to any greatness, in this peddling manner to trade for trifles; and I esteem you also a great Werowance. Therefore lay me down all your commodities together; what I like, I will take, and in recompense give you what I think fitting their value." Accordingly, *Newport* gave him all his goods, and received in return only about three bushels of corn, for what they expected to have had twenty hogsheads. This business created some hard thoughts between *Smith* and *Newport*.

If it add to raise *Powhatan* in our admiration, it can detract nothing from the character of *Smith*, to say that he was as wily as the great Indian chief. For with a few blue beads, which he pretended that he had shown him only by accident, and which he would hardly part with, as he pretended, because they were of great price, and worn only by great kings. This tantalization, had the desired effect, and *Powhatan* was so infatuated with the lure, that he was almost beside himself, and was ready to give all he had, to possess them. "So that ere we departed," says my relation, "for a pound or two of blew beades, he brought over my king for 2 or 300 bushells of corne."

An English boy was left with *Powhatan*, by captain *wport*, to learn the language, manner, customs and

geography of his country; and in return, he gave him *Namontack*, one of his servants, of a shrewd and subtle capacity, whom he afterwards carried to England. *Powhatan* became offended with captain *Smith* when *Newport* left the country, in 1608; at whose departure he sent him twenty turkies, and demanded in return twenty swords, which were granted. Shortly after, he sent the same number to *Smith*, expecting the like return; but being disappointed, ordered his men to seize them wherever they could find them. This caused difficulty—many of the English being robbed of their swords, in the vicinity of their forts. They continued their depredations until *Smith* surprized a number of them, from whom he learned that *Powhatan* was endeavoring to get all the arms in his power, to be able to massacre the English. When he found that his plot was discovered, he sent *Pocahontas* with presents, to excuse himself, and pretended that the mischief was done by some of his ungovernable chiefs. He directed her to endeavor to effect the release of his men that were prisoners, which *Smith* consented to, wholly, as he pretended, on her account; and thus peace was restored, which had been continually interrupted for a considerable time past.

On the 10th of September, 1608, *Smith* was elected governor of Virginia. *Newport*, going often to England, had a large share in directing the affairs of the colony, from his interest with the proprietors. He arrived about this time, and among other baubles, brought over a crown for *Powhatan*, with directions for his coronation; which had the ill effect to make him value himself more than ever. *Newport* was instructed to discover the country of the Monacans, a nation with whom *Powhatan* was at war, and whom they would assist him against. Captain *Smith* was

sent to him to invite him to Jamestown to receive presents, and to trade for corn. On arriving at Werowocomoco, and delivering his message to the old chief, he replied, "If your king have sent me presents I also am a king, and this is my land. Eight days I will stay to receive them. Your father [meaning *Newport*] is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort—neither will I bite at such a bate. As for the Monacans, I can revenge my own injuries; and as for Atquanachuck, where you say your brother was slain, it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it; but for any salt water beyond the mountains, the relations you have had from my people are false." Some of them had made the English believe that the South sea, now called the Pacific ocean, was but a short distance back. To show *Smith* the absurdity of the story, he drew a map of the country, upon the ground. *Smith* returned as he went.

A house was built for him about this time, by some Germans, who came over with *Newport*. These men thinking that the English could not subsist in the country, wantonly betrayed all the secrets of the English to *Powhatan*, which was again the source of much trouble. They indeed urged him to put all the English to death, agreeing to live with him and assist him in the execution. *Powhatan* was pleased at the proposition, and thought by their assistance to effect what he had formerly hoped to do by engaging *Smith*, in such an enterprise. Their first object was to kill captain *Smith*; by which act the chief obstacle would be removed. Accordingly they took every means in their power to effect it. Having sent for *Smith* to come and trade with him, used every art he was master of, to make him and his men to leave their arms behind them, but failing, to avoid trading with him, absented

himself, until night, when he meant to come upon him with his people, and kill him in his cabin. Here he was again saved by *Pocahontas*. She came alone in a dismal night, through the woods, and informed *Smith* of her father's design. For this most signal favor, he offered her whatever he had, that he thought would please her, but she would accept of nothing. And with tears standing in her eyes, said if her father should see her with any thing, he would mistrust her, and instant death would be her reward; and she retired by herself into the woods, as she came.

Powhatan was so exasperated at the failure of his plots, that he threatened death to his men if they did not kill *Smith*. Not long after, a circumstance occurred, which gave him security the rest of his administration. One of *Powhatan's* men having by some means got a quantity of powder, pretended that he could manage it like the English. Several came about him, to witness his dexterity, when by some means it took fire, "and blew him, with one or two more, to death." This struck such a dread into them, and so amazed and frightened *Powhatan*, that they came from all directions, and desired peace; many of whom returned stolen articles that the English had never missed. He would now send to Jamestown such of his men as had injured the English, that they might be dealt with as they deserved. The same year, 1609, he sent them nearly half his crop of corn, knowing them to be greatly in want.

Captain *Smith* having by accident, been shockingly burned by his powder-bag taking fire, for want of surgical aid, was obliged to go to England and leave the country, to which he never returned. He published the account of the first voyages to Virginia, and his adventures, which is almost the only authority

for the early history of that country. He died in London, in 1631, in the 52d year of his age.

“————— Thou thus admir'd,
Didst make proud *Powhatan*, his subjects send,
To James his towne, thy censure to attend:
And all Virginia's lords, and pettie kings,
Aw'd by thy vertue, crouch, and presents brings,
To gain thy grace; so dreaded thou hast beene:
And yet a heart more milde is sel'ome seene.”*

The Dutchmen who had been so assiduous to bring ruin upon the colony, came to a miserable end. One of them died in wretchedness, and two others had their brains beat out by order of *Powhatan*, for their deception.

After *Smith* had left Virginia, the Indians were made to believe that he was dead. *Powhatan* doubted the report, and sometime after ordered one of his counsellors, named *Ullatomakin*, or *Tomocomo*, who was taken to England, to find out, if possible, where he was. He instructed him, also, to note the number of the people—to learn the state of the country, and if he found *Smith*, to make him show him the God of the English, and the king and queen. When he arrived at Plimouth, he took a long stick, and began to perform a part of his mission by cutting a notch for every person he should see. But he soon gave up that business. His remarkable speech is given in the life of *Pocahontas*.

The difficulties were almost perpetual between *Powhatan* and the English; very little time passed, while he lived, but what was full of broils and dissatisfaction, on the one part or the other. Few Indian chiefs will fall under our notice, possessing such extraordinary

* Laudatory verses affixed to the first volume of his history of Virginia.

characteristics as *Powhatan*. He died at peace with the English, in April, 1618, and was succeeded by *Opitchapan*, his second brother, who was known afterwards by the name of *Itopatin*.

Prophet, an elder brother of *Tecumseh*, noted for his great success in spreading infatuation among his countrymen. He may justly be termed an impostor, as it was impossible that he could believe himself capable of performing superhuman actions. His history being intimately connected with that of *Tecumseh*, what we have to say of him will appear under that head. His true name is *Ellskwatawa*.

Pumham, sachem of Shawomet, now Warwick in Rhode Island, a noble and heroic chief who died fighting valiantly in *Philip's* war. We have been obliged already to say considerable concerning him in our accounts of *Miuntvnomoh*, *Philip*, and several others. In relating his capture and death, *Mr. Hubbard* says* "he was one of the stoutest and most valiant sachems that belonged to the Narragansets; whose courage and strength was so great that after he had been mortally wounded in the fight so as himself could not stand; yet catching hold of an Englishman that by accident came near him, had done him mischief if he had not been presently rescued by one of his fellows." This was in July, 1676. *Pumham*, with a few followers, had for some time secreted themselves in Dedham † woods, where it was supposed they were "almost starved for want of victuals." In this sad condition they were fallen upon by the English under capt. *Hunting*, who killed fifteen and took thirty-five

* Narrative, 100, 4to. edition.

† Woollumnonuppogue was its Indian name, or a part of it.

of them without resistance.* They found here considerable plunder; "besides kettles, there was about half a bushel of Wampumpeag, which the enemy lost, and twelve pounds of powder, which the captives say they had received from Albany but two days before."† A son of *Pumham* was among the captives, "a very likely youth," says *Hubbard*,‡ "and one whose countenance would have bespoke favor for him, had he not belonged to so bloody and barbarous an Indian as his father was." It would seem from this horrid account that he was put to death. *Dr. Mather* says he was carried prisoner to Boston. From the same author we must add to the revolting picture of the father's death. "This *Pumham*, after he was wounded so as that he could not stand upon his legs, and was thought to have been dead, made a shift, (as the soldiers were pursuing others,) to crawl a little out of the way, but was found again, and when an Englishman drew near to him, though he could not stand, he died, (like a beast,) in rage and revenge, get hold on the soldier's head and had like to have killed him, had not another come in to his help, and rescued him out of the enraged dying hands of that bloody barbarian." §

A short time before this a grandson of this chief was killed by a party under *Denison*,|| "who was also a sachem, and another sachem called *Chickon*." *Pumham's* town was destroyed soon after the Narraganset fight, which it is said contained "near 100 wigwams." About 1645, *Pumham* and *Soconanoco* complained to the court of Massachusetts, "that many Indians living

* MS. Narrative of rev. *T. Cobbet*. † Narrative *et supra*.

† *Mather's* brief Hist. 43. § MS. Documents.

‡ Many write *Dennison*, but his own signature in my possession is as in the text.

twenty miles beyond them" have come and settled upon their lands, and they desired assistance to remove them, "they not being able themselves." *

Quadequina, brother of *Massasoit*, and probably of *Akkompom*, or *Unkompaen*. All that can be gathered of him is related in the Life of *Massasoit*. His name is among those subscribed to articles of submission.

Quanonchet, the same as *Canonchet*, which see. Dr. *Mather* usually began him with a *q*, but Mr. *Hubbard* always with a *c*. In speaking of his death, the former † says he "he was a principal ringleader in the Narraganset war, and had as great an interest and influence as can be said of any among the Indians;" and that "the *English* caused the Pequods, Mohegans, and Ninnegret Indians to joyn together in shooting him."

Quannapohit, (James,) called also *Quanapaug*. His history being so entirely interwoven with that of *Job Katenanit* that we have given it in connexion with that head, except some particulars which have come to light since that was written.‡ The following relates to his mission in company with *Katenanit* among the Nipmuks in the character of a spy. At *Wanexit*, or *Manexit*, they fell in with seven Indians who took them and conveyed them about twenty miles, across the path leading to Connecticut, northward from *Quabaog*. These were some of the *Quahmsits* and *Segunesits*. At this place were three towns which contained about 300 warriors well armed. Here they were threatened with death, their mission being truly guessed. But going to the wigwam of *One-eyed-john*, or *Monoco*,

* MS. Documents.

† Brief Hist. the War.

‡ MSS. in Lib. Mass. Hist. Soc.

he charged his gun and said, "I will kill whomsoever shall kill *Quanapohit*." Some said he had killed one of *Philip's* counsellors at Mount Hope, and *Philip* had hired some to kill him; also *James Speen*, *Andrew Pitiny*, capt. *Hunter*, *Thomas Quanapohit*, and *Peter Ephraim*. On being ordered to visit *Philip*, as is related under the head before named, "*Job* and he pretended to go out a hunting, killed three deer quickly, and perceiving they were dogged by some other Indians, went over a pond and lay in a swamp till before day, and when they had prayed together he ran away." *Job* was to return to the enemy and tell them that *James* ran away because they had threatened to kill him. *Job*, not being particularly obnoxious to them, concluded to remain longer for the end of ransoming his children.

While *James* was there, "a Narraganset brought to them one English head, they shot at him, and said the Narragansets were the English friends all last summer. Afterwards two messengers came with twelve heads, craving their assistance, they then accepted them."

Quanapohit, (Thomas,) called also *Rumney-marsh*, a brother of the preceding, a Christian Indian. In the beginning of hostilities against *Philip*, major *Gookin* received orders to raise a company of praying Indians to be employed against him. This company was immediately raised, and consisted of fifty-two men, and were conducted to Mount Hope by capt. *Isaac Johnson*. *Quanapohit* was one of these. The officers under whom they served testified to their credit as faithful soldiers; yet many of the army, officers and men, tried all in their power to bring them into disrepute with the country. Such proceedings, we should naturally conclude, would tend much to dishearten those friendly Indians; but on the contrary they used

every exertion to win the affection of their oppressors. *Quanapohit*, with the other two, received from government a reward for the scalps which they brought in. Though not exactly in order, yet it must be mentioned that when *Thomas* was out, at or near Swansey, in the beginning of the war, he by accident had one of his hands shot off. He was one of the troop, and carried a gun of remarkable length. The weather being excessively hot, his horse was very uneasy, being disturbed by flies, and struck the lock of the gun as the breach rested upon the ground, and caused it to go off, which horribly mangled the hand that held it; and notwithstanding it was a long time in getting well, yet he rendered great service in the war afterward. One signal exploit having been preserved shall here be related. While capt. *Henchman* was in the enemy's country he made an excursion from *Hassanamesit* to *Packachoog*, which lies about ten miles N. W. from it. Meeting here with no enemy, he marched again for *Hassanamesit*, having got a few miles on his way, discovered that he had lost a tin case which contained his commission and other instructions. He therefore dispatched *Thomas* and two Englishmen in search of it. They made no discovery of the lost article until they came in sight of the old wigwam at *Packachoog*, where, to their no small surprise, they discovered some of the enemy in possession of it. They were but a few rods from them, and being so few in number, to have given them battle would have been desperate in the extreme, as neither of them were armed for such an occasion. Stratagem therefore could only save them. The wigwam was situated upon an eminence; and some were standing in the door when they approached, who discovered them as soon as they came in sight. One presented his gun, but the weath-

er being stormy it did not go off. At this moment our chief looking back, called, and made many gestures, as though he were disposing of a large force to encompass them. At this manœuvre they all fled, being six in number, leaving our heroes to pursue their object. Thus their preservation was due to *Quanapohit*; and is the more to be admired, as they were, in so far, destitute of the means of defence. Capt. *Quanapohit* had but a pistol, and one of his men a gun without a flint, and the other no gun at all.*

Quasson, (John,) a sachem of Monnamoit, and another called *Mattaquason*, sold a large tract of that island, in 1672, to *William Nickerson*, for the consideration of one shallop, ten coates of trucking cloth, six kettles, twelve axes, twelve hoes, 12 knives, forty shillings in wompum, a hat, and twelve shillings in money. This same chief was called also *Towsowet*.

Quinapin, one of the Narraganset sachems, whose real name, I apprehend was *Panoquin*, and was blended with it by the early writers. *Quaiapen*, *Quanopin*, *Quenoquin* and *Quinapin*, we therefore consider the same, and names of the squaw Sachem *Magnus*, whose history has been given. "Sachem *Quanepin's* brother" was wounded in the Narraganset fight, 19th Dec. 1675, and died soon after.†

Quissoquus, a name found among our state papers, but which it appears is no other than *Pessacus*, which see.

Red-jacket, the English name of a celebrated chief among the Six Nations. His place of residence (in 1827) was a few miles from Buffalo, at the Seneca missionary station. A part of the Indians who reside

* Gookin's MS. Hist. Praying Indians.

† Present State New England, p. 13, by a Merchant of Boston, Fol. London, 1676.

here are Christians, but *Red-jacket* will not hear to any thing of the kind. He was formerly considered of superior wisdom in council, and of a noble and dignified behaviour which would have honored any man. But, like all his race, he could not withstand the temptation of ardent spirits, which, together with his age, renders him now of less notice. Formerly, scarce a traveller passed near his place of residence who would not go out of his way to see this wonderful man, and to hear his profound observations.

In the year 1825, a council was held at Buffalo, in the state of New York, at which was present many of the Seneca chiefs and warriors, assembled at the request of a missionary from Massachusetts. It was at this time that *Red-jacket* delivered his famous speech, about which so much has been said and written, and which we propose to give here at length, and *correctly*, as some omissions and errors were contained in it as published at the time. It may be taken as genuine; at least as nearly so as the Indian language can be translated, in which it was delivered, for *Red-jacket* would not speak in English, although he understood it. The missionary first made a speech to the Indians, in which he explained the object for which he had called them together; namely, to inform them that he was sent by the missionary society of Boston to instruct them "how to worship the *Great Spirit*," and not to get away their lands and money: that there was but one religion, and unless they embraced it they could not be happy: that they had always lived in darkness and great errors all their lives; he wished that if they had any objections to his religion they would state them: that he had visited some smaller tribes who waited their decision before they would consent to receive him, as they were their "older brothers."

After the missionary had done speaking, the Indians conferred together about two hours, by themselves, when they gave an answer by *Red-jacket*, which follows.

"Friend and brother, it was the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet together this day. He orders all things, and he has given us a fine day for our council. He has taken his garment from before the sun, and caused it to shine with brightness upon us; our eyes are opened that we see clearly; our ears are unstopped that we have been able to hear distinctly the words that you have spoken; for all these favors we thank the Great Spirit, and him only.

Brother, this council fire was kindled by you; it was at your request that we came together at this time; we have listened with attention to what you have said; you requested us to speak our minds freely; this gives us great joy, for we now consider that we stand upright before you, and can speak what we think; all have heard your voice, and all speak to you as one man; our minds are agreed.

"Brother, you say you want an answer to your talk before you leave this place. It is right you should have one, as you are a great distance from home, and we do not wish to detain you; but we will first look back a little and tell you what our fathers have told us, and what we have heard from the white people.

"Brother, listen to what we say, There was a time when our forefathers owned this great island.* Their seats extended from the rising to the setting sun. The Great Spirit had made it for the use of Indians. He had created the buffalo, the deer, and other animals for food. He made the bear, and the beaver, and their

* A general opinion among all the Indians that this country was an island.

skins served us for clothing. He had scattered them over the country, and taught us how to take them. He had caused the earth to produce corn for bread. All this he had done for his red children because he loved them. If we had any disputes about hunting grounds, they were generally settled without the shedding of much blood; but an evil day came upon us; your forefathers crossed the great waters, and landed on this island. Their numbers were small; they found friends and not enemies; they told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and come here to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat; we took pity on them, granted their request, and they sat down amongst us: we gave them corn and meat: they gave us poison* in return. The white people had now found our country, tidings were carried back, and more came amongst us; yet we did not fear them, we took them to be friends; they called us brothers; we believed them and gave them a larger seat. At length their numbers had greatly increased; they wanted more land; they wanted our country. Our eyes were opened, and our minds became uneasy. Wars took place; Indians were hired to fight against Indians, and many of our people were destroyed. They also brought strong liquors among us: it* was strong and powerful, and has slain thousands.

"*Brother*, our seats were once large, and yours were very small; you have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets; you have got our country, but are not satisfied; *you want to force your religion upon us.*

"*Brother*, *continue to listen*: You say that you are sent to instruct us how to worship the *Great Spirit*

* Spirituous liquor is alluded to, it is supposed.

agreeably to his mind, and if we do not take hold of the religion which you white people teach, we shall be unhappy hereafter: you say that you are right and we are lost; how do we know this to be true? We understand that your religion is written in a book; if it was intended for us as well as you, why has not the Great Spirit given it to us, and not only to us, but why did he not give to our forefathers the knowledge of that book, with the means of understanding it rightly? We only know what you tell us about it; how shall we know when to believe, being so often deceived by the white people.

"Brother, you say there is but one way to worship and serve the Great Spirit; if there is but one religion, why do you white people differ so much about it? why not all agree, as you can all read the book?

"Brother, we do not understand these things; we are told that your religion was given to your forefathers, and has been handed down from father to son. We also have a religion which was given to our forefathers, and has been handed down to us their children. We worship that way. *It teacheth us to be thankful for all the favors we receive; to love each other, and to be united; we never quarrel about religion.*

"Brother, the Great Spirit has made us all: but he has made a great difference between his white and red children; he has given us a different complexion, and different customs; to you he has given the arts: to these he has not opened our eyes: we know these things to be true. Since he has made so great a difference between us in other things, why may we not conclude that he has given us a different religion according to our understanding; the Great Spirit does right; he knows what is best for his children; we are satisfied,

"*Brother*, we do not wish to destroy your religion, or take it from you, we only want to enjoy our own.

"*Brother*, you say you have not come to get our land or our money, but to enlighten our minds. I will now tell you that I have been at your meetings and saw you collecting money from the meeting. I cannot tell what this money was intended for, but suppose it was for your minister, and if we should conform to your way of thinking, perhaps you may want some from us.

"*Brother*, we are told that you have been preaching to white people in this place; these people are our neighbors; we are acquainted with them, we will wait a little while and see what effect your preaching has upon them. If we find it does them good, makes them honest, and less disposed to cheat Indians, we will then consider again what you have said.

"*Brother*, you have now heard our answer to your talk, and this is all we have to say at present. As we are going to part, we will come and take you by the hand, and hope the Great Spirit will protect you on your journey, and return you safe to your friends."

The chiefs and others then drew near the missionary to take him by the hand, but he would not receive them, and hastily rising from his seat, said, "that there was no fellowship between the religion of God and the works of the devil, and therefore could not join hands with them." Upon this being interpreted to them "they smiled, and retired in a peaceable manner."

Red-jacket took part with the Americans in the war of 1812, but was not distinguished for that prodigality of life which marked the character of *Tecumseh*, and many others, but on all occasions was cool and collected. He was living recently. A very excellent likeness of him may be seen in the *Talisman* for 1829.

The famous Seneca chief, called the *Farmer's-brother*, is often mentioned in the accounts of *Red-jacket*. His native name was *Ho-na-ya-wus*. One of his most celebrated speeches was delivered in a council at Genesee river, in 1798, and after being interpreted was signed by the chiefs present, and sent to the Legislature of New York. He was a great warrior, and although "eighty snows in years" when the war of 1812 began, yet he engaged in it, and fought with the Americans. He did not live till its close, but died at the Seneca village just after battle of Bridgewater, and was interred with military honors by the fifth regiment of U. S. infantry. He usually wore a medal presented him by Gen. Washington. In the revolution he fought successfully against the Americans. Perhaps there never flowed from the lips of man a more sublime metaphor than that made use of by this chief, in a speech, when alluding to the revolutionary contest: "The Great Spirit spoke to the whirlwind, and it was still."

Robin. Several persons bore this name. One especially deserves notice, mentioned by Mr. *Cobbet*,* as saving the town of Ipswich from a meditated attack by the Tarratines, about 1634. At this time there were belonging to the town between twenty and thirty inhabitants. The Indians came well armed and in forty canoes, but finding themselves discovered, drew off. Mr. *Josselyn*† mentions two of the name. Another is often mentioned in the records of the United Colonies, but of not much interest.

Robinhood, a well known chief in his time, among the Tarratines, or eastern nations. His residence was near the mouth of the Kennebeck, in 1649, as appears from his selling the island of Jerremysquam,

* MS. Narrative.

† Voyages to N. England.

on the east side of that river, to the English. In 1654 he sold to *Edward Bateman* and *John Brown*, *Neguaseag*, since called *Woolwich*. At the commencement of *Philip's* war the English began to disarm all the Indians on the coast, which may be thought a sufficient reason for their committing hostilities. The next day after the disarming began, *Robinhood*, the *Kennebeck* chief, called together his people and made a dance, and immediately withdrawing from the neighborhood of the whites, soon after began the eastern war. Perhaps his real name was *Rogomok*.* In 1663 he is mentioned as a *Sachem* of note among the eastern chiefs.†

Samoset. "Welcome, Englishmen! welcome, Englishmen!" are words so inseparably connected with the name of *Samoset*, that we can never hear the one without the pleasing association of the other. These were the first accents our pilgrim fathers heard from any native. They had seen Indians before *Samoset*, but who would only "show themselves afar off." It was on Friday, the 16th of March, that he came to *Plimouth*; and says *Mourt*, "he very boldly came all alone, and along the houses, strait to the rendezvous, where we intercepted him, not suffering him to go in, as undoubtedly he would, out of his boldness." He was naked, "only a leather about his waist, with a fringe about a span long." It was cold, and the pilgrims covered him, very humanely, with "a horse-man's coat." At night he lodged in the house of *Stephen Hopkins*, but the pilgrims warily watched him. He told them he was a *Sachem* of *Morattiggon*, a place "lying hence, [to the eastward] a day's sail, with a good wind."—"He was a tall, straight man; the hair

* Compare *Sullivan*, 144 with 297. † *Josselyn's Voyages*.

of his head black, long behind, only short before; none on his face at all." He told the English, that the place where they were was call Patuxet, and that about four years before, all the inhabitants died of a plague.

Sam, (Sagamore.) See *Shoshanin*.

Sampson, brother to *Joseph*, and kinsman of *Memecho*, which see. *Sampson*, notwithstanding the very great service rendered in the affair of *Hutchinson* and *Wheeler*, at Quabaog, was so ill treated, that both he and *George Memecho* afterwards joined the enemy; the former was killed in fight, and the latter taken prisoner and sold into slavery.

Sassacus, chief of the Pequots, whose name was a terror to all the neighboring tribes of Indians. His tribe was located upon the Thames and its branches, then called Pequot river, from these natives, which flows into Long Island Sound, at New London, in Connecticut. Having for a long time exercised their power without restraint among their countrymen, according to the custom of savage nations, which was a *right* always assumed by the strongest, and yet too much the case with those nations calling themselves civilized. The Pequots, therefore, extended the same carriage towards the English as to the rest of their neighbors—killing such as came in their way, who refused a compliance with their demands. Captains *Stone*, *Norton*, and *Oldham*, were successively murdered by them, in and about Connecticut river. The English could get no satisfaction, and being assured of the assistance of the Narragansets, determined to subdue them. Early in the summer of 1637, forces from Connecticut, under captain *John Mason*, and from Massachusetts, under captain *Israel Stoughton*, entered upon this expedition. A part of the Massachusetts

forces only, under captain *Underhill*, who was before stationed at Saybrook fort, shared in the taking of the strong fort of *Sassacus*. This fort was situated upon an eminence in the present town of Groton, Connecticut. The English arrived in its vicinity, on the 25th of May; and on the 26th, before day, with about 500 Indians, encompassed it and began a furious attack. The Mohegans and Narragansets discovered great fear on approaching the fort, and could not believe that the English would dare to attack it. When they came to the foot of the hill on which it was situated, captain *Mason* was apprehensive of being abandoned by them, and making a halt, sent for *Uncas*, who led the Mohegans, and *Wequash*, their pilot, who was a fugitive Pequot chief, and urged them not to desert him, but to follow him at any distance they pleased. These Indians had all along told the English they dared not fight the Pequots, but boasted how they would fight themselves. *Mason* told them now they should see whether Englishmen would fight or not. Notwithstanding their boastings, they could not overcome the terror which the name of *Sassacus* had inspired in them, and they kept at a safe distance, until the fight was over; but assisted considerably in repelling the attacks of the Pequots, in the retreat from the fort;—for the Pequots on recovering from their consternation collected in a considerable body, and fought the confederates for many miles.

The English had but seventy-seven men, which were divided into two companies, one led by *Mason*, and the other by *Underhill*. The Indians were all within their fort, asleep in their wigwams, and the barking of a dog was the first notice they had of the approach of the enemy, yet very few knew the cause of the alarm, until met by the naked swords of the

foe. The fort had two entrances at opposite points, into which each party of English were led, sword in hand. "*Wanux! wanux!*"* was the cry of *Sassacus'* men; and such was their surprise, that they made very feeble resistance. Having only their own missile weapons, bows and arrows, they could do nothing at hand to hand with the English broad-swords. They were pursued from wigwam to wigwam, and slaughtered in every secret place. Women and children were cut to pieces, while endeavoring to hide themselves in and under their beds. At length fire was set in the mats that covered the wigwams, which furiously spread over the whole fort, and the dead and dying were together consumed. A part of the English had formed a circumference upon the outside, and shot such as attempted to fly. Many ascended the pickets to escape the flames, but were shot down by those stationed for that purpose. About 600 persons were supposed to have perished in this fight; or perhaps I should say, massacre. There were but two English killed, and about twenty wounded. *Sassacus*, himself, was in another fort, and being informed of the ravages of the English, destroyed his habitations, and with about eighty others, fled to the Mohawks, who treacherously beheaded him.

Notwithstanding the great slaughter at Mistic, there were great numbers of Pequots in the country, and were hunted from swamp to swamp, and their numbers thinned continually, until a remnant promised to appear no more as a nation.

The English under captain *Stoughton*, came into Pequot river about a fortnight after the Mistic fight,

* *Allen's History of the Pequot War*. It signified, *Englishmen! Englishmen!* In *Mason's history*, it is written *Owanux*. *Allen* merely copied from *Mason*, with a few such variations,

and assisted in the work of their extermination. After his arrival in the enemy's country, he wrote to the governor of Massachusetts, as follows: "By this pinnace, you shall receive forty-eight or fifty women and children, unless there stay any here to be helpful, &c. Concerning which, there is one, I formerly mentioned, that is the fairest and largest that I saw amongst them, to whom I have given a coate to cloathe her. It is my desire to have her for a servant, if it may stand with your good liking, else not. There is a little squaw that steward *Culacut* desireth, to whom he hath given a coate. Lieut. *Davenport* also desireth one, to wit, a small one, that hath three strokes upon her stemach, thus: — ||| +. He desireth her if it will stand with your good liking. *Sosomon*, the Indian, desireth a young little squaw, which I know not.

"At present, Mr. *Haynes*, Mr. *Lullo*, captain *Mason*, and thirty men are with us in Pequot river, and we shall the next week joine in seeing what we can do against *Sassacus*, and another great Sagamore, *Monowattuck*. [*Mononotto*.] Here is yet good work to be done, and how dear it will cost, is unknown. *Sassacus* is resolved to sell his life, and so the other with their company, as dear as they can."*

Perhaps it will be judged that *Stoughton* was looking more after the profit arising from the sale of captives, than for warriors to fight with. Indeed, *Mason's* account does not give him much credit.

The Pequot war has generally been looked upon with regret, by all good men, since. To exterminate a people before they had any opportunity to become enlightened, that is, to be made acquainted with the reason of other usages towards their fellow beings

* Manuscript letter of captain *Stoughton*, on file among our State Papers.

than those in which they had been brought up, is a great cause of lamentation ; and if it proves any thing, it proves that great ignorance and barbarism lurked in the hearts of their exterminators. We do not exclude by these remarks, the great body of the present inhabitants of the earth from such barbarism. *

Dr. *Dwight* thus closes his poem upon the destruction of the Pequots :

“ Indulge, my native land ! indulge the tear,
That steals, impassion'd, o'er a nation's doom.
To me each twig, from Adam's stock, is near,
And sorrows fall upon an Indian's tomb.
And, O ye chiefs ! in yonder starry home,
Accept the humble tribute of this rhyme:
Your gallant deeds, in Greece, or haughty Rome,
By Maro sung or Homer's harp sublime,
Had charm'd the world's wide round, and triumph'd
over time. *Greenfield Hill, p. 104-5.* ”

Sassamon. In our account of *Philip*, it was necessary to speak particularly of this Christian Indian, but as every thing concerning him is of peculiar interest, we add the following extract from an exceedingly scarce tract.* “ About five or six years since, [1675,] there was brought up, amongst others, at the college at Cambridge, (Mass.) an Indian, named *Sosomon* ; who, after some time he had spent in preaching the gospel to *Uncas*, a Sagamore Christian in his territories, was, by the authority of New Plimouth sent to preach in like manner to king *Philip*, and his Indians. But king *Philip*, (heathen-like,) instead of receiving the gospel, would immediately have killed this *Sosomon*, but by the persuasion of some about him, did not do it, but sent him by the hands of three men to prison ;

* Entitled, *The Present State of New England*, 4to. London. 1675.

who, as he was going to prison, exhorted and taught them in the Christian religion. They not liking his discourse, immediately murdered him after a most barbarous manner. They returning to king *Philip*, acquainted him with what they had done. About two or three months after this murder, being discovered to the authority of New Plimouth, *Josiah Winslow* being then governor of that colony, care was taken to find out the murderers, who upon search were found and apprehended, and, after a fair trial, were all hanged. This so exasperated king *Philip*, that from that day after, he studied to be revenged on the English—judging that the English authority had nothing to do to hang an Indian for killing another.”*

Scozway. “The only fiddler that was in the province of Maine, when I was there, [1663,] was an Indian, called *Scozway*, whom the fishermen and planters, when they had a mind to be merry, made use of.”†

Shoshanim, commonly called *Sagamore Sam*, of Nashua. His real name appears to have been *Uskatuhgun*; at least was so subscribed by *Peter Gelhero*, the Indian who wrote the letter about the exchange of prisoners. (See *Nepanet*.) He was successor to *Mathew*, who succeeded *Sholan*. This chief led one of the parties who destroyed Lancaster, February 10, 1676. He was hanged at Boston, 26th September, following.

Socoonoco, a Narraganset, “chief Sachem of *Patuxett*,” in 1641. In this year, “for valuable consideration granted unto *Wm. Arnold*, *Robert Cole*, and

* *Present State of New England*, by a Merchant of Boston, in respect to the present Bloody Indians Wars—page 3. Folio. London. 1676.

† *Josselyn's Voyages*.

5 m. below Providence.

Wm. Carpenter, all the lands, marshes, medows, islands, rivers, and ponds, lying between the great fresh or salt river, called Patuxet river, both above and below the fall, the river called Pochasett, and the river called Wanasquatucket, and the great river that is between Providence and Patuxit." In 1644, *Socononoco* deeded to *Benedict Arnold*, a tract of land "on the south side of the great fresh water river," in width upon said river, 320 poles. The consideration was two fathom of wampum.* *Mr. Hubbard*† says that he and *Pumham* had under them 2 or 300 men, and were driven to rebel against *Miantunnomoh*, their chief Sachem, by reason of his overbearing carriage towards them.— There is little doubt but the English were the cause of all disquiet between them, for *Socononoco* and *Pumham* were persuaded by them to sell lands without his consent, and therefore, felt themselves bound to bear them out in it; this, it is presumed, was the cause of the quarrel.

Speen, (*Thomas*), a Natick, whom we shall introduce here on account of the extraordinary fate of his family. The earliest notice we have of him, is in a warrant, dated 15th of Feb. 1662, issued by *Joshua Fisher*, to the constables of Dedham, against the goods or person of *John* and *Thomas Speen*, of Natick. The sheriff or constable was ordered to secure sixty pounds. It was in favor of *Timothy Dwight* and *Edward Richards*. The constable, *Richard Ellis*, returns that he has "taken bonds according to this attachment, of *Mr. John Eliot* the 23 : 11 : 1661," O. S.‡

At the time so many were confined to Deer Island, some of the females and children were permitted to go

* Suffolk Record of Deeds, Vol. I, No. 60.

† History of New England.

‡ MS. Documents.

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off in search of wild fruit, to prevent their dying of famine. The wives of *Thomas Speen* and *Andrew Pitimee*, and another young woman with three children went out for this purpose, August 9th, 1676. The children belonged to the wife of *Speen*; one of which was at the breast. They were gathering whortleberries about four miles from Watertown mill, at a place called Whortleberry-hill, within the limits of that town. There was an Indian man with them, by the name of *Stoolemester*, who had been brought up with the English. Here eleven or twelve Englishmen happened to meet with them. They seized the man, and took away a carbine from him, and threatened to kill him, but he speaking English, so demeaned himself that they let him go, and he went directly home, not caring to fall into such company again. *Stoolemester* seems to have been separated from the women when he was fallen in with, as is very natural in berrying, and they knew nothing of what had happened to him, nor did he know where to find them when he was dismissed. These English next came upon the women and children, and at first showed signs of friendship, and exchanged civilities; giving the women some cheese and bread for whortleberries, and after having smoked, went away. In a short time four of the Englishmen returned, took the women and children, and made them go before them into a dismal, and out of the way place, on the north end of Whortleberry-hill, and there murdered them every one. Desperate, indeed, must have been the characters of such Englishmen, if plunder was their object; but the miserable garments of these poor, murdered and despised Indian women, were taken away by them.

Captain *Pitimee* being at this time at home, was alarmed that his wife did not return—and perhaps

hearing by the man that made his escape, of the carriage of those English, went to major *Gookin*, and disclosed his fears. Search was immediately made by some English and Indians, which for some days proved fruitless. Upon which, fourteen or fifteen Indians were permitted to go out with two English, and after some time, the women and children were found, not far from one another. Some had been shot, and some had their brains beat out. "To be short," says my manuscript, "this murder was afterwards discovered, and the four murderers seized, tried and condemned—and *two of the four* executed, and the other two pardoned by the general court. This murder was much decryed, by all good men, and it was some satisfaction that *some of them* were made examples."*

Squando, a Tarratine, commonly called Sagamore of Saco; as his residence was upon that river. Mr. *Hubbard* says that he was "the chief actor or rather the beginner" of the eastern war of 1675-6. But rather contradicts the statement, as we apprehend, in the same paragraph by attributing the same *cause* to the "rude and indiscrete act of some English seamen," who either for mischief overset a canoe in which was *Squando's* wife and child, or to see if young Indians could swim naturally like animals of the brute creation, as some had reported.† The child went to the bottom, but was saved from drowning by the mother's diving down and bringing it up, yet "within a while after the said child died." "The said *Squando*, father of the child, hath been so provoked thereat, that he hath ever since set himself to do all the mischief he can to the

* *Gookin's* manuscript History. *ut olim*.

† "They can swim naturally, striking their paws under their throat like a dog, and not spreading their arms as we do." *Josselyn's Voyage to N. E.* 142.

English." The English did not believe that the death of the child was owing to its immersion, still we must allow the Indians to know as well as they. When the family of "old Mr. *Wakely*" was murdered, a young woman was carried away captive. *Squanto* was the means of her being set at liberty, after "having been carried up and down the country, some hundreds of miles, as far as Narraganset fort, was this last June returned back to major *Waldron's* by one *Squanto*, the sagamore of Saco; a strange mixture of mercy and cruelty!" This proves that he was a friend, late in *Philip's* war. He was a great powow, and acted in concert with *Madokawando*. These two chiefs "are said to be by them that know them, a strange kind of moralised savages; grave and serious in their speech and carriage, and not without some shew of a kind of religion, which no doubt but they have learned from the prince of darkness." In another place Mr. *Hubbard* calls him an "enthusiastical, or rather diabolical miscreant." His abilities in war gained him this epithet. He lived through *Philip's* war, and our account of him ends in 1677.

Squanto, called by some of the early historians of the settlement of Plymouth, *Tisquantum*, was the only native of Patuxit (Plinmouth,) who escaped the plague which carried off all the people there, about 1617, also in many other places between Narraganset or Pocasset bay and Kennebeck river, or perhaps even to Penobscot. In our account of *Hobomok* we have said nearly all that we intended to say upon this head. He was one of those of which capt. *Smith* gives an account, that were forcibly carried off by capt. *Hunt*, and sold into slavery. He got from Malga to England, where he lived a while in Cornhill, London, with a gentleman of the name of *Slanie*, and afterwards got home

to America. He accompanied *Samoset* in his second visit to the pilgrims, and assisted in the introduction of *Massasoit* to them, as has been before related in our account of that chief. His agency in procuring corn for the almost famished English in the winter of 1622 would have been very properly narrated in the life of *Aspinet*. This was his last service to them, for he fell sick and died during the journey. He was their pilot, and appears to have been the means of their success.

Being the only person that escaped the great sickness at Patuxet, enquirers for an account of that calamity will very reasonably expect to find it in a history of his life. We therefore will relate all that is known of it in a few words. The extent of its ravages, as near as we can judge, are as stated above; the length of its duration seems to have been between two and three years,* as it was nearly abated in 1619. The Indians gave a frightful account of it; saying that they died so fast "that the living were not able to bury the dead." When the English arrived in the country their bones were thick upon the ground in many places. This they looked upon as a great providence, inasmuch as it had destroyed "multitudes of the barbarous heathen to make way for the chosen people of God." There was certainly a providence in it. All wars and disasters in those days were thought to be preceded by some strange natural appearance; or, as appeared to them, unnatural appearance or phenomenon; hence the appearance of a comet in 1618 was considered the precursor of the pestilence.†

* See *Life of Massasoit*, p. 174.

† The year 1618 seems to have been very fruitful in comets, "as therein no less than four were observed." *I. Mather's Discourse concerning Comets*, 108. Boston, 12 mo. 1683.

Perhaps a less eminent poet than *Campbell* might write a "Last Man" with the striking picture of *Squanto* before him.

"Some had expired in fight,—the brands
Still rusted in their bony hands;
In plague and famine some!
Earth's cities had no sound nor tread,
And ships were drifting with the dead
To shores where all was dumb."

Symon, a troublesome fellow, who continued to create considerable alarm to the inhabitants upon the Merrinack river, in the vicinity of Newbury and Amesbury, about which part seems to have been his residence as late as the month of July 1677. On the 9th of July, six Indians were seen to go into the bushes not far from the garrison at Amesbury; two days before, several men had been killed in the neighborhood, and one woman wounded, whose name was *Quimby*. *Symon* was the alleged leader of the party which committed the depredation. Mrs. *Quimby* was sure that it was he who "knocked her on the head," and she knew many of the names of the rest with him, and named *Andrew*, *Geoffrey* and *Joseph*. She begged of *Symon* not to kill her. He replied, "Why, goodwife *Quimby*, do you think that I will kill you?" She said she was afraid he would because he killed all English. *Symon* then said, "I will give quarter to never an English dog of you all," and then gave her a blow on the head, which did not happen to hurt her much; at which, being a woman of great courage, she threw a stone at him; he then turned upon her and "struck her two more blows," at which she fell, and he left her for dead. Before he gave her the last blows, she called to the garrison for help. He told her she need not

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do that, for, said he, "I will have that too, by and by." *Symon* was well known to many of the inhabitants, and especially to Mrs. *Quimby*, as he had formerly lived with her father, *William Osgood*.* In April, 1677, *Symon* and his companions burnt the house of *Edward Weymouth* at Sturgeon creek, and plundered the house of one *Crawley*, but did not kill him because he had shown kindness to *Symon's* grandmother.†

Tadeuskund, a Delaware chief, famous for his acts in the French and Indian wars preceding the revolutionary war. He concluded a peace with the governor of Pennsylvania, at Easton, in 1761, and in 1763 was burnt to death in his house at Wyoming, from its taking fire accidentally. There were not wanting those who believed, however, that he had been previously intoxicated by the agency of his white neighbors for that horrible purpose.‡

Tecumseh, a chief, by birth a Shawanee, and brigadier general in the army of Great Britain during the last war; was born about 1770, and like his great prototype *Metacomet* the Wampanoag, seems always to have evinced his enmity to civilization; and it is not presumed that he joined the British army, and received the red sash and other badges of office because he was fond of imitating the whites, but more probably as a means of rousing his countrymen to follow his example in endeavoring to exterminate them.

The events in the life of this chief, could they be known, would fill a large volume. Enough of them may be found in the histories of the last war, or as many as most readers will take the trouble to read. We shall, therefore, instead of going into more minute details, give a selection of his speeches, which it is

* MS. Documents. † Belknap's N. Hampshire.

‡ Heckewelder:

thought will serve to give a more correct idea of the mighty "savage." We cannot however refrain from sketching a few of the most prominent events which led to his ruin.

This persevering and extraordinary man had made himself noted and conspicuous in the war which terminated by the treaty of Greenville, in 1795. He was brother to that famous impostor well known by the name of the *Prophet*, and seems to have joined in his views just in season to prevent his falling into entire disrepute among his own followers. His principal place of rendezvous was near the confluence of the Tippecanoe with the Wabash, upon the north bank of the latter. This tract of country was none of his, but had been possessed by his brother the *Prophet*, in 1808, with a motley band of about a 1000 young warriors from among the Shawanese, Delawares, Wyandots, Potawatomys, Ottowas, Kikkapoos and Chippeways. The Miamies were very much opposed to this intrusion into their country, but were not powerful enough to repel it, and many of their chiefs were put to death in the most barbarous manner, for remonstrating against their conduct. The maladministration of the *Prophet*, however, in a short time, very much reduced his numbers, so that in about a year his followers consisted of but about 300, and these in the most miserable state of existence. Their habits had been such as to bring famine upon them; and but for the provisions furnished by general *Harrison*, from Vincennes, starvation would doubtless have ensued.* At this juncture *Tecumseh* made his appearance among them; and although in the character of a subordinate chief, yet it was known that he directed every thing afterwards, although in the name of the *Prophet*. His exertions

* Memoirs of Harrison.

now became immense, to engage every tribe upon the continent into a confederacy, with the open and avowed object of arresting the progress of the whites.

It will be hard to find an excuse for all the proceedings of the government of the United States and its agents towards the Indians. The consciousness of power goes a great way with almost all men.

Agreeably to the direction of the government of the United States, governor *Harrison* purchased of the Delawares, Miamies, and Potawatomes, a large tract of country on both sides of the Wabash, and extending up the river sixty miles above Vincennes. This was in 1809, about a year after the *Prophet* settled with his colony upon the Wabash, as stated above. *Tecumseh* was absent at this time, and his brother, the *Prophet*, was not considered as having any claim to the country, being there without the consent of the Miamies. *Tecumseh* did not view it in this light, and at his return was exceedingly vexed with those chiefs which had made the conveyance; many of whom, it is asserted, he threatened with death. *Tecumseh's* displeasure and dissatisfaction reached gov. *Harrison*, who dispatched a messenger to him, requesting him to come to Vincennes; and "*that any claims he might have to the lands which had been ceded, were not affected by the treaty; that he might come to Vincennes and exhibit his pretensions, and if they were found to be solid, that the land would either be given up, or an ample compensation made for it.*"* This, it must be confessed, was not in a strain calculated to soothe a mighty mind, when once justly irritated, as was that of *Tecumseh*, at least, as he conceived. However, upon the 12th of August, 1810, (a day which cannot fail to remind the reader of the fate of his great archetype, *Philip, of Pokanoket*,) he met

* M'Afee.

the governor in council at Vincennes, with many of his warriors ; at which time he spoke to him as follows :

“ It is true I am a Shawanee. My forefathers were warriors. Their son is a warrior. From them I only take my existence ; from my tribe, I take nothing. I am the maker of my own fortune ; and oh ! that I could make that of my red people, and of my country, as great as the conceptions of my mind, when I think of the Spirit that rules the universe. I would not then come to gov. *Harrison*, to ask him to tear the treaty, and to obliterate the landmark ; but I would say to him, sir, you have liberty to return to your own country. The being within, communing with past ages, tells me, that once, nor until lately, there was no white man on this continent. That it then all belonged to red men, children of the same parents, placed on it by the Great Spirit that made them, to keep it, to traverse it, to enjoy its productions, and to fill it with the same race. Once a happy race. Since made miserable by the white people, who are never contented, but always encroaching. The way, and the only way to check and to stop this evil, is, for all the red men to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land, as it was at first, and should be yet ; for it never was divided, but belongs to all, for the use of each. That no part has a right to sell, even to each other, much less to strangers ; those who want all, and will not do with less. The white people have no right to take the land from the Indians, because they had it first ; it is theirs. They may sell, but all must join. Any sale not made by all is not valid. The late sale is bad. It was made by a part only. Part do not know how to sell. It requires all to make a bargain for all. All red men have equal rights to the unoccupied land. The right of occupan-

cy is as good in one place as in another. There cannot be two occupations in the same place. The first excludes all others. It is not so in hunting or travelling; for there the same ground will serve many, as they may follow each other all day; but the camp is stationary, and that is occupancy. It belongs to the first who sits down on his blanket or skins, which he has thrown upon the ground, and till he leaves it no other has a right.*

How near this is to the original, is unknown to us, but it appears too much Americanised to correspond with our notions of *Tecumseh*; nevertheless it may give the true meaning. One important paragraph ought to be added, which we do not find in the author from which we have extracted the above; which was, "that the Americans had driven them from the sea coasts, and that they would shortly push them into the lakes, and that they were determined to make a stand where they were."† This language forcibly reminds us of what the ancient Britons said of their enemies, when they besought aid of the Romans. "The barbarians (said they) drive us to the sea, and the sea beats us back upon them; between these extremes we are exposed, either to be slain with the sword, or drowned in the waves."‡

Tecumseh having thus explained his reasons against the validity of the purchase, took his seat amidst his warriors. Governor *Harrison*, in his reply said, "that the white people, when they arrived upon this continent, had found the Miamies in the occupation of all the country on the Wabash, and at that time the Shawanese were residents of Georgia, from which they were driven by the Creeks. That the lands had been

* Hist. Kentucky.

† Mem. Harrison,

‡ Seller's England.

purchased from the Miamies, who were the true and original owners of it. That it was ridiculous to assert that all the Indians were one nation; for if such had been the intention of the Great Spirit, he would not have put six different tongues into their heads, but have taught them all to speak a language, that all could understand. That the Miamies found it for their interest to sell a part of their lands, and receive for them a further annuity, the benefit of which they had long experienced, from the probability with which the seventeen fires [the seventeen United States,] complied with their engagements; and that the Shawanese had no right to come from a distant country and control the Miamies in the disposal of their own property." The governor then took his seat, and the interpreter proceeded to explain to *Tecumseh* what he had said, who, when he had nearly finished, suddenly interrupted him, and exclaimed, "*It is all false;*" at the same time giving to his warriors a signal, they seized their war clubs and sprung upon their feet, from the green grass on which they had been sitting. The governor now thought himself in imminent danger, and freeing himself from his arm-chair, drew his sword and prepared to defend himself. He was attended by some officers of his government, and many citizens, more numerous than the Indians, but all unarmed. Most of whom, however, seized upon some weapon, such as stones and clubs. *Tecumseh* continued to make gestures and speak with great emotion, and a guard of twelve armed men stationed in the rear were ordered up. For a few minutes it was expected blood would be shed. Major *G. R. Floyd*, who stood near the governor, drew his dirk, and *Winnemak* cocked his pistol, which he had ready primed; as he said *Tecumseh* had threatened his life for having signed the treaty

and sale of the disputed land. A Mr. *Winas*, the Methodist minister, ran to the governor's house, and taking a gun, stood in the door to defend the family.

On being informed what *Tecumseh* had said, the governor replied to him, that "he was a bad man—that he would have no further talk with him—that he must return to his camp, and set out for his home immediately." Thus ended the conference. *Tecumseh* did not leave the neighborhood; but the next morning having reflected upon the impropriety of his conduct, sent to the governor to have the council renewed, and apologized for the affront offered. To which the governor after some time consented; having taken the precaution to have two additional companies of armed men in readiness, in case of insult.

Having met a second time, *Tecumseh* was asked whether he had any other grounds, than those he had stated, by which he could lay claim to the land in question. To which he replied, "No other." Here, then, was an end of all argument. The indignant soul of *Tecumseh*, could not but be enraged at the idea of an "equivalent for a country," or what meant the same thing; a *compensation* for land, which often repeated, as it had been, would soon amount to a country! "The behavior of *Tecumseh* at this interview, was very different from what it was the day before. His deportment was dignified and collected, and he showed not the least disposition to be insolent. He denied having any intention of attacking the governor, but said he had been advised by white men,"* to do as he had done; that two white men had visited him at his place of residence, and told him that half the white people were opposed to governor *Harrison*, and willing to relinquish the land, and told him to advise the tribes

* *Memoirs of Harrison.*

not to receive pay for it; for that the governor would be soon put out of office, and a "good man" sent in his place, who would give up the land to the Indians. The governor asked him whether he would prevent the survey of the land, he replied that he was determined to adhere to the *old boundary*. Then arose a Wyandot, a Kikapoo, a Patowatomie, an Ottawa, and a Winnebago chief, each declaring his determination to stand by *Tecumseh*, whom they had chosen their chief. After the governor had informed *Tecumseh* that his words should be truly reported to the President, alleging at the same time, that he knew the land would not be relinquished, and that it would be maintained by the sword, the council closed.

The governor wished yet to prolong the interview, and thought that possibly *Tecumseh* might appear more submissive, should he meet him in his own tent. Accordingly he took with him an interpreter, and visited the chief in his camp the next day. The governor was received with kindness and attention, and conversed with him a considerable time. On being asked by the governor, if his determination really was as he had expressed himself in the council, and he said "Yes." And added, "that it was with great reluctance, he would make war with the United States—against whom he had no other complaint, but their purchasing the Indian's land; that he was extremely anxious to be their friend, and if he, (the governor,) would prevail upon the President to give up the lands, lately purchased, and agree never to make another treaty, without the consent of all the tribes, he would be their faithful ally, and assist them in all their wars with the English;" whom he knew were always treating the Indians like dogs, clapping their hands, and hallowing *stu-boy*. That he would much rather join

the seventeen fires ; but if they would not give up said lands, and comply with his request in other respects, he would join the English. When the governor told him there was no probability that the President would comply, he said, " Well, as the great chief is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head, to induce him to direct you to give up this land. It is true, he is so far off, he will not be injured by the war. He may sit still in his town, and drink his wine, whilst you and I will have to fight it out." He had said before, when asked if it were his determination to make war unless his terms were complied with, " It is my determination ; nor will I give rest to my feet, until I have united all the red men in the like resolution."

Thus is exhibited the determined character of *Tecumseh*, in which no duplicity appears, and whose resentment might have been expected, when questioned, again and again, upon the same subject.

Most religiously did he prosecute this plan ; and could his extraordinary and wonderful exertions be known, no fiction, it is believed, could scarcely surpass the reality. The tribes to the west of the Mississippi, and those about lakes Superior and Huron, were visited and revisited, previous to the year 1811. He had raised in these tribes, the high expectation, that they should be able to drive the Americans to the east of the Ohio. The famous *Blue-jacket* was as sanguine as *Tecumseh*, and was his abettor in uniting distant tribes.

At one of the meetings at Vincennes, after *Tecumseh* had made a speech to governor *Harrison*, and was about to seat himself in a chair, when he had closed, observed that none had been placed for him. One was immediately ordered for him, by the governor,

but was indignantly rejected by the chief. The interpreter said to him, "Your father requests you to take a chair." "My father?" says *Tecumseh*, "the sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; and on her bosom I will repose," and immediately seated himself in the Indian manner, upon the ground.*

The fight at Tippecanoe, followed soon after, in which it is supposed, *Tecumseh* acted a dangerous part, while the *Prophet*, his brother, was more safely acting up his conjurations, upon an eminence near by; singing and dancing, and urging his men to fight, assuring them that they should conquer. But his prophecy, as usual, proving him a *false prophet*, he fell into disrepute. This affair took place in the night of Nov. 6th, 1811, in which sixty-two Americans were killed, and 126 wounded. The *Prophet* was supposed to have lost a still greater number. His men displayed great bravery, and the fight was long and bloody. *Harrison* lost some of his bravest officers. The late colonel *Snelling*, of Boston, then a captain, was in this fight, and took prisoner with his own hands an Indian chief, the only Indian taken by the Americans. The chiefs, *White-lion*, *Stone-eater*, and *Winnemak*, were conspicuous at this time. The latter was the pretended friend of the governor, but now appeared his enemy.

Just before hostilities commenced, in a talk governor *Harrison* had with *Tecumseh*, the former expressed a wish, if war must follow, that cruelty to prisoners should not be allowed on either side. *Tecumseh* assured him that he would do all in his power to prevent it; and it is believed he strictly adhered to this resolution. Indeed, we have one prominent proof at the time of the horrid massacre at the river Raisin. Although *Tecumseh* was not himself in that battle, yet

* Schoolcraft.

he arrived after the massacre commenced, and actually put to death with his own hand a chief who would not desist from murdering the American soldiers. The chiefs *Spit-log*, and *Round-head* were principal in the affair, but what became of them we do not yet learn.

It is said that *Tecumseh* had been in almost every important battle with the Americans, from the destruction of general *Harmer's* army, till his death upon the Thames. He was under the direction of gen. *Proctor*, in the last great act of his life, but was greatly dissatisfied with his course of proceedings, and is said to have remonstrated against his retreating before the Americans, in very pointed terms. *Perry's* victory had just given the Americans the command of lake Erie, and immediately after *Proctor* abandoned Detroit and marched his majesty's army up the river Thames, accompanied by gen. *Tecumseh*, with about 1500 warriors. *Harrison* overtook them near the Moravian town, Oct. 5, 1813, and after a bloody battle with the Indians, routed and took prisoners nearly the whole British army; *Proctor* saving himself only by flight. After withstanding almost the whole force of the Americans for some time, *Tecumseh* received a severe wound in the arm, but continued to fight with desperation, until a random shot laid him prostrate in the thickest of the fight.* One hundred and twenty of his warriors were left upon the field of battle.

Thus fell *Tecumseh*, in the forty-fourth year of his age. He was about five feet ten inches in height, of a noble appearance, and a perfectly symmetrical form.

* The story that he fell in a personal rencounter with col. *Johnson*, must no longer be believed. Facts are entirely opposed to such a conclusion. Indeed we cannot learn that the colonel ever claimed the honor of the achievement.

"His carriage was erect and lofty—his motions quick—his eyes penetrating—his visage stern, with an air of *hauteur* in his countenance, which arose from an elevated pride of soul. It did not leave him even in death." He is thus spoken of by one who knew him. His dress on the day of the fatal battle, was a deer-skin coat and pantaloons.

That the American soldiers should have dishonored themselves after their victory, by outraging all decency in indignities upon the lifeless body of the fallen chief, cannot meet with too severe condemnation. Pieces of his skin were taken away by some of them as mementos! He is said to have borne a personal enmity to general *Harrison* at this time, for having just before destroyed his family. The celebrated speech, said to have been delivered by the great "Shawanese warrior," to general *Proctor*, before the battle of the Thames, is believed by many not to be genuine. It may be seen in every history of the war, and every periodical of that day, and in not a few since, even to this. Therefore, we omit it here. The speech of *Logan*, perhaps, has not circulated wider. Another, in our opinion, more worthy the mighty mind of *Tecumseh*, published in a work said to be written by one who heard it,* is now generally, (on the authority of a public journal,†) discarded as a fiction.

The place of this renowned warrior's birth, was upon the banks of the Scioto river, near what is now Chillicothe. His father's name was *Pukeesheno*, which means, *I light from flying*. He was killed in the battle of Kanhawa, in 1774. His mother's name was *Mee-theetashe*, which signifies, *a turtle laying her eggs in the sand*. She died among the Cherokees. She had at one birth, three sons. *Ellskwatawa*, which signifies,

* *John Dunn Hunter.*

† *North American Review.*

a door opened—was called the *Prophet*. *Tecumseh*, which is, a tiger crouching for his prey; and *Kumskaka*, a tiger that flies in the air.*

The Shawanoe warrior is gone—
The light of his valor is fled;
And his cruel oppressor, alone,
Can show where he battled and bled.

The fate of the chief is fulfill'd,
His foes from his vengeance are free;
But the heart of the white man is chill'd,
When he speaks of the bold Shawanoe.—*Hall*.

Tispequin, a noted chief in *Philip's* war, who was nearly as distinguished in his time, as *Annawon*. He was considered a great powow, and made his men believe that a bullet could not kill him. Some time after the capture of *Annawon*, he surrendered himself up to the English at the instigation of captain *Church*. They barbarously put him to death. It is true, that he had done them great mischief—carried his depredations nearly to *Plimouth* village, and actually burned a part of the town. He was called the black *Sachem's* son, and was held in great abhorrence. *Church* had promised him a commission under him if he would surrender; but the authorities of *Plimouth*, knowing that he had pretended that his person was invulnerable, seized that wretched opportunity to revenge themselves, by his death. Their excuse was, that he was not bullet proof as he had pretended, for he "fell dead at the first discharge of the English guns." *Church* very much reprobated their conduct. The principal and most aggravating act of *Tispequin*, was the surprisal of a *Mr. Clark's* house, at *Plimouth*, and murdering all the people, being eleven in number. This was in

* *Schoolcraft*.

the early part of the war, and *Church* had just been importuned to leave his family there for safety, it being considered a strong garrison house. His refusal proved their safety. This massacre "was the more remarkable," says Mr. *Hubbard*, "in that they had often received much kindness from the said *Clark*."*

Tom, (Captain,) a daring chief, who resided somewhere to the east of Piscataqua. He obtrudes himself upon our records, August 17th, 1703, at which time, with about thirty others, he surprised a part of the town of Hampton, in New Hampshire, killed five persons, whereof one was a widow *Mussey*, "who was a remarkable speaking Quaker, and much lamented by her sect." After sacking two houses near the garrison, they drew off.†

Many Indians seem to have borne the name of *Tom*. Indian-hill, in Newbury, was owned by *Great Tom*—who is supposed to have been the last Indian proprietor of lands in that town. In written instruments, he styles himself, *I Great Tom Indian*.‡

Tomocomo. The same as *Uttamatomakin*. For an account of him, see page 343.

Totopotomoi, chief of the Pamunkies, in Virginia, after *Opekankanough*. In the time of the administration of governor *Digges*, about 700 Indians came down from the mountainous part of the neighbouring country, and settled about the falls of James river. The people were alarmed, and sent out general *Hill*, with *Totopotomoi*, and a band of his warriors, to dispossess them. After an obstinate battle, in which *Totopotomoi* and many of his men fell, the English were defeated.

* This was on the 12th of March, 1676.

† *Penhallow's Indian Wars*.

‡ *Manuscript History of Newbury, by J. Coffin*.

Buller has turned the name of this chief to good account, in his *Hudibras*, in noticing the troubles of the pilgrims of *Wessaguscus*.* We are sorry that the name of *Wittuwamit* or *Peksuet* did not harmonize with his ear, and so have saved him from the trouble of a long voyage to Virginia, just to make out his machinery. The following is the passage:—

“————— In a town
 There lived a cobbler, and but one,
 That out of doctrine could cut, *use*,
 And mend men's *lives*, as well as *shoes*.
 This precious brother having slain
 In times of *peace*, an Indian,
 (Not out of malice, but mere zeal,
 Because he was an *infidel*),
 The mighty *Tottipottymoy*
 Sent to our *elders* an *envoy*;
 Complaining sorely of the breach
 Of league, held forth by brother *Patch*,
 Against the articles in force
 Between both churches, his and ours;
 For which he craved the saints to render
 Into his hands, or hang the offender,
 * * * * *
 Resolved to spare him; yet to do
 The Indian *Hogan Moghgan* too
 Impartial justice, in his stead, did
 Hang an old weaver that was bed-rid.”

And this is the origin of the story of “hanging the weaver instead of the cobbler.” *Buller* seems to have got his information from *Thomas Morton's* book,† which may account for his employing the name of a Virginia chief, as *Morton* gives no names.

* See article *Wittuwamet* and *Peksuot*.

† *Hudibras*, (*Gray's* edition,) I, Part ii, canto 2, page 392. London: 1764.

‡ New English Canaan.

Totoson, one of the famous Narraganset chiefs, who figured in *Philip's* war. He was a son of the "noted *Sam Barrow*," and died soon after that chief was killed, with grief for the loss of his kindred and country. Little more than a month after the fall of *Philip*, *Church* surprised his whole company, about 50 persons. He was the last that was left of the family of *Barrow*: and, says *Church*, "the wretch reflecting upon the miserable condition he had brought himself into, his heart became a stone within in him, and he died. The old squaw [that *Church* had employed to persuade him to submit,] flung a few leaves and brush over him—came into *Sandwich*, and gave this account of his death; and offered to show them where she left his body, but never had an opportunity, for she immediately fell sick and died also."* His camp was in *Rochester*, about two miles from *Mattapoiset*, on an island in a swamp. He was with *Tispequin*, at the destruction of *William Clark's* garrison.

Uttamatomakin, the same as *Tomocomo*.

Uncus, Sachem of the *Mohicans*; whose country was upon the west of *Connecticut* river. *Nowequa*,† or *Wowequa*,‡ was his brother. *Oneko*, and several others, whose names are not mentioned, were his sons. We have had occasion to speak of this famous chief, in so many of the preceding lives, that little remains to be added. He must have lived to a great age, as he was alive in 1680, (and says *Mr. Hubbard*,§ "probably may live to see all his enemies buried before him,") and was a Sachem before the *Pequot* war.

Waban, one of the first who embraced Christianity, in *Massachusetts*. His early abode is said to have been included in what is now *Concord*.

* *History of Philip's War.* † *Hazard.* ‡ *I. Mather.*
§ *History of New England*, 464.

Walcut, a Christian; "the ruler of *Philip*, before he began any act of hostility," to the English. He was one of those who gave them notice of *Philip's* design of war.

Walk-in-the-water, a famous western chief, who, early in the late war joined the English to oppose the operations of general *Hull*. He is named by that unfortunate officer, in connection with *Tecumseh*, *Marpot*, *Logan*, and *Spit-log*, as leading "the vast numbers" from all parts of the neighboring forests. *Walk-in-the-water* fought bravely at the Thames, when *Tecumseh* was slain; and soon after the battle, came to the American camp, at Detroit, with a flag of truce, more like a conqueror than a vanquished chief. The real soldier could but admire his firmness and carriage. He now made peace with the Americans.

Wanamatanemet, Sachem of the island Aquidnek, since called Rhode Island, and subject to *Canonicus* and *Miantunnomoh*. The two Sachems last named, sold to *Wm. Coddington* and others, that island. *Wanamatanemet* lived upon it, and in addition to what was paid to the chief Sachems, he was to receive five fathom of wampum, to relinquish his right.*

Wannalansit, son of *Pussaconaway*, and Sachem of the country upon the Merrimack river, in the first settlement of New England. He was always the friend of the English, and when he could live no longer in their neighborhood without endangering the peace of his people, in the time of *Philip's* war, he retired with them far into the wilderness towards Canada. Captain *Mosely* was sent up to his place of residence, a little before he abandoned it, with one hundred armed men, who laid waste his wigwams and winter's provisions, and yet was suffered to march off unmolested,

* MS. documents, on file among Mass. State Papers.

although *Mosely's* men passed sufficiently near *Wannalansit's* warriors, who had secreted themselves, to have been nearly all cut off by them; but the old chief would not suffer them to fire, although he restrained them with difficulty. Like *Massasoit* and *Powhatan*, he had many places of residence. One of the principal was *Naamhok*, since called *Amoskeag*; and is the same word that *Dr. I. Mather* tortured into two Hebrew words, to prove that the indigenese of America were descended from the Jews; but for which, if we are not misinformed, any other Indian word would answer the same purpose.

Pennakook, since *Concord, N. H.* was also a chief seat of the *Sachems* of *Merrimack*; the borders of which seem to have been very populous. The salmon and other fish were taken in abundance at its falls. The swan, and other water birds, added to induce a residence upon its banks.

Wattasacomponom, the "chief man" of that company of Christian Indians, who were taken away from *Hassanamesit*, as before mentioned in speaking of *Kattenanct*. He was generally known by the name of *captain Tom*. Besides being the chief of those Indians, he was, says my manuscript, "their ruler, a prudent and I believe, a pious man, and had given good demonstration of it many years."* This man yielded to the enemy's arguments, and by his example, drew most of the rest away with him; for which he afterwards suffered death, being executed at *Boston*.

His execution was upon the 26th of *June, 1676*, and although the venerable *Gookin* excuses the English as well as he can, yet it must be allowed to be but a sorry excuse. We learn from the *Roxbury records*,†

* *Gookin's MS. Hist. of the Praying Indians.*

† Copied for the author, by *Mr. Joshua Coffin.*

that but one witness appeared against him ; and that his execution was much talked of and deeply censured by all candid people. The younger *Eliot* besought the governor in the most affecting terms, that he might not be executed, urging the want of evidence. This failing, he pleaded for a new trial, but no hearing was granted !

Wawatam. The chief actor in the destruction of Michilimakinak. He acted under the direction of *Pontiac*, and we know no more of him. See the history of that affair, under that head.

Wecoposit, a Wamasit, who in the time of *Philip's* war, was a servant to one *Fletcher*, of Chelmsford. He was employed to go as a messenger after the Wamesits, at the time they fled into the woods for fear of being murdered, as related under the head *Numphow*, where the letter which he brought from them may be seen.

4 **Wetama**,* *Wetamore*,† or *Weetamoo*,‡ generally called Squaw Sachem, of Pocasset, "who was next unto *Philip*, in respect of the mischief that hath been done." She was with *Philip* when he returned from the Nipmucks, in 1676, and was drowned in attempting to cross Tehticut river, in August. "Some of Taunton finding an Indian squaw in Metapoiset newly dead, cut off her head, and it hapned to be *Weetamoo*, i. e. Squaw Sachem her head. When it was set upon a pole in Taunton, the Indians who were prisoners there, knew it presently, and made a most horrid and diabolical lamentation, crying out that it was their queen's head."§ It is believed that the author of "the Present State of New England,"|| &c. confounds *Weetamoo* with *Awashonks*; and it is therefore uncertain which a brother of *Philip* married.

* Church. † Hubbard. ‡ I. Mather. § Ibid.

|| Cited on page 267.

Wetherford, a famous Creek chief and warrior, who commanded at the massacre of fort Mims, in that country, in 1813.* He was a half breed, and as great a captain, perhaps, as *Annawon*. After the power of his countrymen was broken down, in 1814, he surrendered to general *Jackson*, at which time he delivered the following speech :—

“I fought at fort Mims: I fought the Georgia army: I did you all the injury I could: had I been supported, as I was promised, I would have done you more. But my warriors are all killed—I can fight you no longer. I look back with sorrow, that I have brought destruction on my nation. I am now in your power, do with me as you please; I am a soldier.” General *Jackson* gave him his liberty.

Wittuwamet, a chief among the Massachusetts, whose residence was somewhere to the north of *Plimouth*. His history is a most melancholy record of proceedings on the part of the pilgrims of *Plimouth*. The conspiracy spoken of in the lives of *Aspinet*, *Corbitant* and *Massasoit*, was the origin of much misfortune, and finally terminated in the murder of *Wittuwamet* and several others. To effect which, captain *Standich* was sent among them, and ordered to exterminate them, by “taking them at unawares.” Accordingly, under a pretence of trading with them, and while they were in a house eating together, in apparent friendship, *Wittuwamet*, and *Peksuot* were seized upon, and after a long and desperate struggle, were “upon a watchword given, and with their own knives, (hanging about their necks,) by the *Plimouth* planters stabbed and slain.” “It is incredible how many wounds these 2 paniseses received before they died; not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons,

* *Brannan*, Official Documents, 294.

and striving to the last"! It is mentioned that *Wethuwamet* had greatly insulted captain *Standish*; bragged much of his great strength, and the sharpness of his knife. His head was taken to Plymouth and exposed upon a gate post of the fort, as was afterwards that of *Metacomet*. A son of *Wethuwamet* they hanged at the same time.

These troubles caused the breaking up of the settlement of *Wessagusset*, and the murder of several English in retaliation, who had taken up their residence with *Chikataubut's* people.

The history of these affairs afforded the celebrated *Butler* the means of extending the renown of his *Hudibras*, in nearly half the world. See *Tottopotomoi*.

Yotnesh, a *Narraganset* chief, of note and consequence, in 1637. His name stands next to that of *Canonicus*, upon the instrument conveying the island of *Aquidnek* to the English, and before that of *Miantunnomoh*.

Yumanum, the last Sachem of the *Pequots*, who lived at *Niantic*. He died in 1740.

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