

1676

A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England (1676): An Online Electronic Text Edition

Increase Mather

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Abstract

Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England* (Boston, 1676): AN ONLINE ELECTRONIC TEXT EDITION

The following pages represent a new edition of Increase Mather's influential contemporary account of King Philip's War, between the English colonists in New England (and their Native allies) and the Wampanoag, Naragansett, and other Indian nations of the region, beginning in 1675. Mather's account runs through August of 1676, when hostilities in southern, central, and western New England ended; fighting continued in the region of Maine until 1678. The war was disastrous for both sides, but particularly for the hostile Native Americans, who were brought very close to extermination.

Mather describes his history as "brief" (it runs to 89 pages in this edition) and "impartial"—a claim that may ring false to modern ears. Mather was not a direct participant, but was an associate of most of the colonial leadership and a spiritual advisor to the war effort. His *History* has the advantage of being freshly written during the conflict, and reflects the alternating hopes and disappointments that accompanied each bit of news that arrived in Boston. He argues that the United Colonies (Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut) waged a defensive war against a treacherous enemy who assaulted their settlements and plantations without provocation. He does, however, blame the English colonists for their neglect of religion (including efforts to Christianize the natives) and for the sins of apostacy, inordinate pride of apparel and hair, drunkenness, and swearing—all of which gave God adequate cause to raise enemies against them as a "Scourge" to punish them and motivate them to repentance and reformation.

The *Brief History* does deliver many telling truths about the conflict: that the English conducted search-and-destroy campaigns against both persons and provisions, slaughtered (Mather's word) large numbers of women and children as well as men, executed captured leaders by firing squad (on Boston Common and at Stonington, Ct.); and that their "armies" were on several occasions routed or entirely wiped out by Native fighters.

This online electronic text edition is based on the first printed edition published at Boston in 1676, and it retains the spelling, punctuation, and orthography of the original. Some explanatory notes have been added (at the end), along with a bibliography, and a note on the textual history of the work, the editorial rationale employed, and a list of all emendations.

Mather's work contains slightly more than 30,000 words; it is published here as a PDF file that can be printed out in landscape format on 52 letter-size pages.

Contents

TO THE READER	3
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WARR WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND	9
POSTSCRIPT	79
<i>Notes</i>	90
<i>Bibliography</i>	95
<i>Note on the Text</i>	100

A
BRIEF HISTORY
OF THE

WARR

With the *INDIANS* in
NEVV-ENGLAND.

(From *June 24, 1675*. when the first English-man was murdered by the Indians, to *August 12, 1676*. when *Philip*, aliis *Metacomet*, the principal Author and Beginner of the Warr, was slain.)

Wherein the Grounds, Beginning, and Progress of the Warr, is summarily expressed.

TOGETHER WITH A SERIOUS
EXHORTATION

to the Inhabitants of that Land,

By *INCREASE MATHER*, Teacher of a Church of Christ, in *Boston* in *New-England*.

Levit. 26. 25. *I will bring a Sword upon you, that shall avenge the quarrel of the Covenant.*

Psal. 107. 43. *Whoso is wise and will observe these things, even they shall understand the Loving-kindness of the Lord.*

Jer. 22. 15. *Did not thy Father doe Judgment and Justice, and it was well with him?*

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis commissa fidelibus;
Legè Historiam ne fias Historia. Cicero. Horat.

BOSTON, Printed and Sold by *John Foster* over
against the Sign of the Dove. 1676.

Title page of the first edition (Boston, 1676)

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TO THE READER.

Although I was not altogether negligent, in noting down such occurrences, respecting the present *Warr* with the Heathen in *New-England*, as came to my knowledge, in the time of them: yet what I did that way was merely for my own private use; nor had I the least thought of publishing any of my *Observations*, until such time as I read a *Narrative* of this *Warr*, said to be written by a Merchant in *Boston*, which it seems met with an *Imprimatur* at *London* in December last: the abounding mistakes therein caused me to think it necessary, that a true *History* of this affair should be published. Wherefore I resolved (*σὺν Θεῷ*) to *methodize* such scattered *Observations* as I had by me, so were the *Hora subsecivæ* of a few days improved. Whilst I was doing this, there came to my hands another *Narrative* of this *Warr*, written by a *Quaker* in *Road-Island*, who pretends to know the Truth of things; but that *Narrative* being fraught with worse things than *meer Mistakes*, I was thereby quickned to expedite what I had in hand. I moved that some other might have done it, but none presenting, I thought of his Saying. *Ab alio quovis hoc fieri malle quàm à me, sed à me tamen potius quàm à nemine.* And I hope that in one thing, (though it may be in little else) I have performed the part of an *Historian*, viz. in endeavouring to relate things truly and impartially, and doing the best I could that I might not lead the *Reader* into a Mistake. *History* is indeed in it self a profitable Study. Learned men know that Polybius, and the great Philosopher call it, ἀληθινωτάτην

παιδείαν καὶ κρήσιμην γυμνασίαν. And there is holy Scripture to encourage in a work of this nature; For what was the *Book of the Warrs of the Lord*. Num. 21. 14.? And that Book of *Jasher* which we read of in *Joshuah* and in *Samuel*? Yea and the Book of the *Cronicles*, mentioned in the Book of Kings (for we find not some of those things referred unto in the *Canonical Book of Cronicles*): What were these Books, but the faithfull *Records* of the providentiall Dispensations of God, in the dayes of old? Yea and it is proper for the Ministers of God to ingage themselves in Services of this nature; Witness the *History*, or *Commentary* סדרשׁ of the Prophet *Iddo*, 2. Cron. 13. 22. Whether my defective manner of management in this *History* renders it unprofitable, I know not. Considering the other employments that are always upon me, together with my personal inabilityes, I have cause to suspect it may be so, in a great measure. If any one shall hereby be incited to do better, I hope I shall rather thank than envy him, πλεόνων ἔργον ἀμεινον. And I earnestly wish that some effectual course may be taken (before it be too late) that a just *History of New-England*, be written and published to the world. That is a thing that hath been often spoken of, but was never done to this day; and yet the longer it is deferred, the more difficulty will there be in effecting of it.

Moreover, the thing which I mainly designed, was the subsequent *Exhortation*, which is annexed herewith, wherein I have desired to approve my self as in the sight of God, speaking what I believe God would have me to speak, without respect to any person in this world: And there is one thing insisted on therein, concerning which I could wish that I had said more, I mean that which doth respect endeavours for the *Conversion* of the *Heathen* unto *Christ*. There are some that make a wrong use of a Notion of Mr. *Cottons* touching this matter, alleadging that he taught that a general *Conversion* of *Indians* is not to be expected before the seven Vials are poured forth upon the Antichristian state,

nor before the conversion of the Jewish nation. It is far from my purpose to contradict that *Great Author*, unto whose dust (in respect of near *Affinity* as well as on the account of his eminency in Grace and spiritual Gifts) I owe a sacred Reverence, & it is known that I have my self asserted the same notion both in Sermons, and in a printed *Discourse concerning the Salvation of the tribes of Israel*. But it was never intended that that Assertion should be improved, so as to discourage from the prosecution of that which was the professed, pious, and a main design of the *Fathers* of this *Colony*; viz. *To propagate the Gospel and Kingdome of Christ among these Indians, who in former Ages had not heard of his fame and Glory*. It is indeed true, that although a *Fullness of the Gentiles* in respect of *Apostasy*, shall be accomplished (so must they fulfill their *Times*) before the calling of the Jews, yet the fullness of the Gentiles in respect of *Conversion*, will not come in before that. Nevertheless a glorious Sprinkling, and great Success of the Gospel, may be in particular places at present, even amongst Heathen. And the Salvation of a few immortal Souls is worth the labour of many, all their lives. And happy experience hath confirmed this; for here in *New-England*, six Churches have been constituted amongst the Indians. And the labours of *Robert Junius* forty years since amongst the East-Indians in *Formosa*, were wonderfully succesful; For (as *Caspar Sibellius*, Pastor of the Church in *Daventry* in *Holland* writing the *History* of that affair, doth relate) there were no less then *five thousand & nine hundred Indians* that became professedly subject to the Gospel, & were all, together with their children, baptized into the Name of *Jesus Christ*. *Junius* having learned the *Indian Language*, and being a Man of exemplary Piety in his conversation, and one also that excelled in Wisdome and Spiritual Abilities, God was with him, and made him an happy Instrument of winning Souls. He translated some part of the Scripture, and wrote Catechismes, and other profitable Books in their Language. He caused Schools

to be erected among those blind *Barbarians*, so as that *six hundred* of them were able to read, and write, and about *fifty* who excelled in knowledge, and were of approved godliness, became *Instructors* of others in the Principles of the true Christian Religion: yea in *three and twenty Towns*, there were *Indian Churches Planted*. And learned Men were sent out of *Holland*, in order to a further propagation of the interest of the Gospel in those remote parts of the World. Also *Junius Heurnius*, who was at first a *Physitian*, being inflamed with a singular zeal after Gods glory, and the Salvation of Souls of men, left his practising in *Medecinal Cures*, and betook himself wholly to the study of *Divinity*; after which he engaged in a Voyage towards the *East-Indians*, designing their *Conversion*, and having learned their *Language*, spent fourteen years amongst them: and as the great *Voetius* (in his Disputation, *de vocatione Gentium*) testifieth, was instrumental to the *Conversion* of many of those *Indians*, so as to erect *Churches* of them in divers places, yea, and took care for the *learned Education* of divers young-men, even amongst the *Indians* themselves, so as that they were able to instruct the several Churches, which by the blessing of God upon his Labours had been lately formed. It is great pity then, that we in *New-England*, who do not come behind others in Profession, and Pretences to Religion, should fall short in real endeavours, for the promotion and propagation of Religion, & Christianity amongst those that have been for ages that are past, *without God, and without Christ, and Strangers to the Common-wealth of Israel*. It troubleth me, when I read how the *Papists* glory in that they have converted so many of the East and West *Indians* to the Christian Faith, and reproach *Protestants* because they have been no more industrious in a work of that nature. Though I know they have little cause to Glory, if the whole truth were known. For as for many of *their Converts*, inasmuch as they are become *Vassals*, not only to the Heresies, but to the Persons of those who have Proselyted

them, they are as Christ said concerning the Proselytes of the Scribes and Pharisees, *twofold more the Children of Hell*, then they were before; and many of them know little of *Christianity* besides the *Name*. Witness the celebrated Story of that *Franciscan*, who wrote a Letter to a Friend of his in *Europe*, wherein he glorieth that having lived six and twenty years amongst the *Indians*, he had converted many thousands of them to the Faith, and he desired his Friend to send him a Book called the *Bible*, for he heard there was such a Book in *Europe* which might be of some use to him. Surely, *Francis* himself did not excel this *Franciscan*, in profound Ignorance. It is also true, that the *Hollanders* have formerly (as was in part intimated but now) done something towards the *Conversion* of those *Indians* where they have Plantations settled. For they have caused some part of the Scripture to be translated into the *Indian Language*, and have out of their Publick Treasuries maintained some learned and meet persons, on purpose, that they might become *Preachers to the Indians*: Nevertheless, *Voetius* in his dissertation *de plantatoribus Ecclesiarum*, greatly bewaileth it, that no more care hath been taken about that concern of the Gospel and Kingdome of Christ, and declareth what were the unhappy obstructions, hindring the *Belgick Churches*, from attaining a further progress in a work so desirable; but (as he there speaketh) *infanda illa nihil attinet hic referre*. And I know not, but that the Lords Holy design in the *Warr* which he hath brought upon us, may (in part) be to punish us for our too great neglect in this matter. I would not detract from what hath been done that way, but rather with my Soul bless God for it. It is well known, that sundry of the Lords Servants in this Land, have laboured in that work: Especially Reverend Mr. *Eliot* hath taken most indefatigable pains, having Translated the whole Bible into the *Indian Language*, in which respect *New-England* (let Christ alone have the praise of it) hath out-done all other places, so far as I have heard or read. But it

cannot be long, before that faithful, and now aged Servant of the Lord rest from his Labours: sad will it be for the succeeding Generation, if they shall suffer the work of Christ amongst the *Indians*, to dye with him who began it. *Sed meliora speramus.*

I shall add no more, but leave the success of this undertaking to him who alone can give it. And I earnestly desire the Prayers of every Godly Reader,

Increase Mather.



A BRIEF

H I S T O R Y
Of the
W A R R E
With the INDIANS in
N E W - E N G L A N D

THAT the Heathen People amongst whom we live, and whose Land the Lord God of our Fathers hath given to us for a rightfull Possession, have at sundry times been plotting mischievous devices against that part of the English Israel which is seated in these goings down of the Sun, no man that is an Inhabitant of any considerable standing, can be ignorant. Especially that there have been (*nec injuriâ*) jealousies concerning the *Narragansets* and *Wompanoags*, is notoriously known to all men. And whereas they have been quiet untill the last year, that must be ascribed to the wonderfull Providence of God, who did (as with Jacob of old, and after that with the Children of Israel)

lay the fear of the *English*, and the dread of them upon all the *Indians*. The terror of God was upon them round about. Nor indeed had they such advantages in former years as now they have, in respect of Arms and Ammunition, their bows and arrows not being comparably such weapons of death and destruction, as our guns and swords are, with which they have been unhappily furnished. Nor were our sins ripe for so dreadful a judgment, untill *the Body of the first Generation* was removed, and another Generation risen up which hath not so pursued, as ought to have been, the blessed design of their Fathers, in following the Lord into this Wilderness, whilst it was a land not sown.

As for the Grounds, justness, and necessity of the present *War* with these barbarous Creatures which have set upon us, my design is not to *inlarge* upon that Argument, but to leave that to others whom it mostly concerns, only in brief this. The irruption of this flame at this time was occasioned as followeth.

Read the Postscript at the end of this History.

In the latter end of the year 1674. *An Indian* called *John Sausaman*, who had submitted himself unto, and was taken under the protection of the *English* perceiving that the *profane Indians* were hatching mischief against the *English*, he faithfully acquainted the Governour of *Plimouth*, with what he knew, and also what his fears were together with the grounds thereof, withall declaring, that he doubted such and such *Indians* belonging to *Philip* the Sachem of *Pokanoket* or *Mount-hope*, would murder him; which quickly hapned accordingly: for soon after this, *John Sausaman* was barbarously murdered by an *Indian* called *Tobias* (one of *Philip's* chief Captains and Counsellors) and by his son, and another *Indian*, who knocked him on the head and then left him on the Ice on a great Pond. Divine Providence which useth to bring murther to light, so ordered as that an *Indian* unseen by those three that killed *Sausaman*; beheld all that they did to

him, and spake of it, so as that a *Praying* (and as there is cause to hope) a godly *Indian*, *William Nahauton* by name, heard of it, and he forthwith revealed what he knew to the *English*. Whereupon the three *Indians* who had committed the murther were apprehended, and the other *Indian* testified to their faces that he saw them killing *Sausaman*. They had a fair tryall for their lives, and that no apperance of wrong might be, *Indians* as well as *English* sate upon the *Jury*, and all agreed to the condemnation of those Murtherers, who were accordingly executed in the beginning of the 4th. Month called *June* Anno 1675. They stoutly denied the fact, only at last *Tobias's* son confessed that his father and the other *Indian* killed *Sausaman*, but that himself had no hand in it, only stood by and saw them doe it.

No doubt but one reason why the *Indians* murdered *John Sausaman*, was out of hatred against him for his Religion, for he was Christianized and baptiz'd, and was a Preacher amongst the *Indians*, being of very excellent parts, he translated some part of the bible into the *Indian* language, and was wont to curb those *Indians* that knew not God on the account of their debaucheries; but the main ground why they murdered him seems to be, because he discovered their subtle and malicious designs, which they were complotting against the *English*. *Philip* perceiving that the Court of *Plimouth* had condemned and executed one of his Counsellors, being (as is upon strong grounds supposed) conscious to the murther committed upon *John Sausaman*, must needs think that ere long they would do to him (who had no less deserved it) as they had done to his Counsellour: wherefore he contrary to his Covenant and Faith engaged to *Plimouth* Colony, yea and contrary to his promise unto some in this Colony (for about five years agoe *Philip* made a disturbance in *Plimouth* Colony, but was quieted by the prudent interposition of some in our Colony, when he ingaged, that if at any time hereafter he should think the *English* among whome he lived did him wronge, he would not cause any disquietment be-

fore such time as he had acquainted the English of *Mattachusetts*, but contrary to these solemn engagements he) doth call his men together and *Arme* them, and refused to come when sent for by the authority of *Plimouth*, unto whose government he had subjected himself.

Hereupon the English in *Plimouth* Jurisdiction sent a small *Army* to those towns next *Mount-Hope* in order to reducing *Philip* to his obedience, and for the security of those places which were in great danger and in no less fear by reason of the insolency of the Heathen.

June. 24. (Midsummer-day) was appointed and attended as a day of solemn Humiliation throughout that Colony, by fasting and prayer, to intreat the Lord to give success to the present expedition respecting the Enemy. At the conclusion of that day of Humiliation, as soon as ever the people in *Swanzy* were come from the place where they had been praying together, the Indians discharged a volly of shot whereby they killed one man & wounded others. Two men were sent to call a Surgeon for the relief of the wounded, but the Indians killed them by the way: and in another part of the town six men were killed, so that there were nine english men murdered this day.

Thus did the *War* begin, this being the first english blood which was spilt by the Indians in an hostile way. The Providence of God is deeply to be observed, that the sword should be first drawn upon a day of Humiliation, the Lord thereby declaring from heaven that he expects something else from his People besides fasting and prayer.

Plimouth being thus suddenly involved in trouble, send to the other united Colonyes for aid, and their desires were with all readiness complied with.

Souldiers marched out of *Boston* towards *Mount Hope*, *June. 26th.* and continued marching that night, when there hapned a great Eclipse of the Moon, which was totally darkned above an hour. Only it must be remembered that some dayes before any

Souldiers went out of *Boston* Commissioners were sent to treat with *Philip*, that so if possible ingaging in a War might be prevented. But when the Commissioners came near to *Mount-Hope*, they found diverse english men on the ground weltring in their own blood, having been newly murdered by the Indians, so that they could not proceed further. Yea the Indians killed a man of this Colony as he was travelling in the roade before such time as we took up arms: in which respect no man can doubt of the *justness* of our cause, since the enemy did shed the blood of some of ours who never did them (our enemies themselves being judges) the least wrong before we did at all offend them, or attempt any act of hostility towards them.

June 29th. was a day of publick *Humiliation* in this Colony appointed by the Council in respect of the *war* which is now begun.

This morning our army would have ingaged with the enemy. The Indians shot the Pilot who was directing our Souldiers in their way to *Philips* Countrey, and wounded several of our men, and ran into Swamps, rainy weather hindred a further pursuit of the Enemy. An awfull Providence happened at this time: for a souldier (a stout man) who was sent from *Watertown*, seing the English *Guide* slain, and hearing many profane oathes among some of our Souldiers (namely those Privateers, who were also Volunteers) and considering the unseasonableness of the weather was such, as that nothing could be done against the Enemy; this man was possessed with a strong conceit that God was against the english, whereupon he immediately ran distracted, and so was returned home a lamentable Spectacle.

In the beginning of *July* there was another Skirmish with the Enemy, wherein several of the Indians were killed, amongst whome were *Philips* chief Captain, and one of his Counsellors.

Now it appears that *Squaw-Sachem* of *Pocasset* her men were conjoynd with the *Womponoags* (that is *Philips* men) in this Rebellion.

About this time they killed several English at *Taunton*, and burnt diverse houses there. Also at *Swanzy* they caused about half the Town to be consumed with merciless Flames. Likewise *Middlebury* and *Dartmouth* in *Plimouth* Colony did they burn with Fire, and barbarously murdered both men and women in those places, stripping the slain whether men or women, and leaving them in the open field as naked as in the day wherein they were born. Such also is their inhumanity as that they flay of the skin from their faces and heads of those they get into their hands, and go away with the hairy Scalp of their enemies.

July 19. Our Army pursued *Philip* who fled unto a dismal Swamp for refuge: the *English Souldiers* followed him, and killed many of his Men, also about fifteen of the *English* were then slain. The Swamp was so Boggy and thick of Bushes, as that it was judged to proceed further therein would be but to throw away Mens lives. It could not there be discerned who were *English*, and who the *Indians*. Our Men when in that hideous place if they did but see a Bush stir would fire presently, whereby 'tis verily feared, that they did sometimes unhappily shoot *Englishmen* instead of *Indians*. Wherefore a *Retreat* was Sounded, and night coming on, the *Army* withdrew from that place. This was because the desperate Distress which the Enemy was in was unknown to us: for the *Indians* have since said, that if the *English* had continued at the Swamp all night, nay, if they had but followed them but one half hour longer, *Philip* had come and yielded up himself. But God saw that we were not yet fit for Deliverance, nor could Health be restored unto us except a great deal more Blood be first taken from us: and other places as well as *Plimouth* stood in need of such a course to be taken with them. It might rationally be conjectured, that the unsuccessfulness of this Expedition against *Philip* would embolden the *Heathen* in other parts to do as he had done, and so it came to pass. For July 14. the *Nipnep* (or *Nipmuck*) *Indians* began their mischief at a Town called *Mendam* (had we amended our ways as we should

have done, this Misery might have been prevented) where they committed *Barbarous Murders*. This Day deserves to have a *Remark* set upon it, considering that Blood was never shed in *Massachusetts Colony* in a way of Hostility before this day. Moreover the Providence of God herein is the more awful and tremendous, in that this very day the Church in *Dorchester* was before the Lord, humbling themselves by Fasting and Prayer, on account of the *Day of trouble* now begun amongst us.

The news of this Blood-shed came to us at *Boston* the next day in Lecture time, in the midst of the Sermon, the Scripture then improved being that, *Isai. 42. 24. Who gave Jacob to the spoil, and Israel to the robbers? did not the Lord, He against whom we have sinned?*

As yet *Philip* kept in the Swamp at *Pocasset*, but *August 1.* (being the Lords day) he fled. The *English* hearing that *Philip* was upon flight, pursued him, with a party of *Monbegins*, i. e. *Unkas* (who approved himself faithful to the *English* almost forty years ago in the time of the *Pequod* Wars, and now also in this present War) his *Indians*, They overtook *Philips* Party and killed about thirty of his men, none of ours being at that time cut off. Had the *English* pursued the Enemy they might easily have overtaken the Women and Children that were with *Philip*, yea and himself also, and so have put an end to these tumults: but though Deliverance was according to all Humane probability near, God saw it not good for us as yet. Wherefore *Philip* escaped and went to the *Nipmuck* *Indians*, who had newly (as hath been intimated) done Acts of Hostility against the *English*. In the mean while endeavours were used to keep those *Indians* from engaging in this War, and that those persons who had committed the Murder at *Mendam* might be delivered up to Justice. Captain *Hutchinson* with a small party was sent to *Quabaog* where there was a great Rendezvouze of *Nipnep* *Indians*. They appointed time and place of Treaty to be attended, *August 2.* accordingly Captain *Hutchinson* rode to the Place fixed on to Treat

in. But the *Indians* came not thither according to their Agreement, whereupon Captain *Hutchinson* resolved to go further to seek after them elsewhere, and as he was riding along, the Perfidious *Indians* lying in Ambuscado in a Swamp, shot at him and wounded him, of which Wounds he after dyed, and eight men that were with him were struck down dead upon the place. Captain *Wheeler* who was in that Company was shot through the Arm, his dutiful Son alighting to relieve his Father, was himself shot and sorely wounded, willingly hazarding his own life to save the life of his Father. The *English* were not in a capacity to look after their dead, but those dead bodies were left as meat for the Fowls of Heaven, and their Flesh unto the Beasts of the Earth, and there was none to bury them.

Captain *Hutchinson* and the rest that escaped with their lives, hastened to *Quabaog*, and the *Indians* speedily followed, violently set upon the Town, killed divers, burning all the Houses therein down to the ground, except only one unto which the Inhabitants fled for succour, and now also (as since we have understood) did *Philip* with his broken Party come to *Quabaog*. Hundreds of *Indians* beset the House, and took possession of a Barn belonging thereunto, from whence they often shot into the House, and also attempted to fire it six times, but could not prevail, at last they took a Cart full of Flax and other combustible matter, and brought it near the House, intending to set it on fire; and then there was no appearing possibility, but all the *English* there, Men and Women, and Children must have perished, either by unmerciful flames, or more unmerciful hands of wicked Men whose tender Mercies are cruelties, so that all hope that they should be saved was then taken away: but behold in this Mount of Difficulty and Extremity (יְרוּחַ יִרְאָה) *the Lord is seen*.

For in the very nick of opportunity God sent that worthy Major *Willard*, who with forty and eight men set upon the *Indians* and caused them to turn their backs, so that poor Peo-

ple who were given up for dead, had their lives given them for a prey. Surely this was a token for good, that however we may be diminished and brought low through Oppression, Affliction, and Sorrow, yet our God will have compassion on us, and this his People shall not utterly perish. And this Salvation is the more remarkable, for that albeit the *Indians* had ordered Scouts to lye in the way, and to give notice by firing three Guns, if any *English* came to to the relief of the Distressed; yet although the Scouts fired when Major *Willard* and his Souldiers were past them, the *Indians* were so busie and made such a noise about the House, that they heard not the report of those Guns; which if they had heard, in all probability not only the People then living at *Quabaog*, but those also that came to succour them had been cut off.

Things being brought to this state, the Tumult of those that are risen up increaseth continually: For *August 22.* being the Lords Day, the *Indians* about *Lancaster* killed a Man and his Wife, and two Children in the afternoon exercise. And we hear that *Philip* and the *Quabaog Indians* are gone more Westward, not far from *North-hampton, Hadly, Deer-field, &c.* whereupon Forces are sent from hence, under the command of Captain *Lothrop*, Captain *Beers*, and (after that) Captain *Moseley* to relieve those distressed Towns and pursue the Enemy. Also our Brethren at *Connecticut* afforded their Assistance, Major *Treat* being sent to *Hadly* with a party of *English*, and some of *Unkas* his Men. The *Indians* inhabiting about *Connecticut River* pretended great fidelity to the *English*, and that they would fight against *Philip*, who it seems had been tampering with them in the Spring before the War broke out, endeavouring by money (*i.e. Wampampeag* which is the *Indians Money*) to engage them in His bloody design against the *English*.

At first they were so far credited as to be *Armed* by the *English*, hoping they might do good service as the *Monbegins* and *Natick Indians* had done. But within a while their Treachery

was justly suspected. Whereupon Souldiers were sent (on or about *August 25.*) to demand their Arms. They were then gone out of their Forts, our Men searching after them, they suddenly shot out of a Swamp, and after that an hot dispute continued for some hours. How many Indians were slain we know not, but nine English fell that Day, wherein this Providence is observable, that those *nine men* which were killed at that time belonged to *nine severel Towns*, as if the Lord should say, that he hath a controversie with every Plantation, and therefore all had need to repent and reform their ways.

Now the *English* have a multitude of open Enemies more then when this trouble began, so that greater desolations are now expected.

Wherefore *September 1.* the *Indians* set upon *Deerfield* (alias *Pacomptuck*) and killed one man, and laid most of the Houses in that new hopeful Plantation in ruinous heaps. That which addeth solemnity and awfulness to that Desolation, is, that it happened on the very day when one of the Churches in *Boston* were seeking the face of God by Fasting and Prayer before him. Also that very day the Church in *Hadly* was before the Lord in the same way, but were driven from the Holy Service they were attending by a most sudden and violent *Alarm*, which routed them the whole day after. So that we may humbly complain, as sometimes the Church did *how long hast thou smoaked עֲשֵׂבָה אַשְׁמָנָה* against the *Prayers of thy People*. Not long after this, Captain *Beers* with a considerable part of his men fell before the Enemy. Concerning the state of those parts at this time until *September 15.* I received information from a good hand, whilst things were fresh in memory, which I shall here insert, as containing a brief *History* of the Transactions which happened within the time mentioned; those parts being then the Seat of the War: the Letter which I intend is that which followeth.

Reverend and dear Brother;

“I received yours, wherein among other things you desire an account of the passages of our War with the *Indians*: I shall in answer to your desire relate the most remarkable passages: the people here having many causes of jealousy, of the unfaithfulness of our *Indians* presented the same before the Committees of the Militia, whereupon it was thought meet to desire of them the surrendry of their Arms, and by perswasion obtained about nine and twenty: But about three days after they being desirous to go forth with some Forces from *Harford*, both *Indians* and *English*, and some from the *Bay* in pursuit of *Philip*, their Arms were delivered to them again: but a while after their return, jealousies still increasing, there was a general desire in the People of these three Towns, that they should be again disarmed, and such things as these were presented to the Council here, as inducing thereunto: 1. That when they heard of the Massacre at *Quabaog*, they made in the Fort eleven Acclamations of joy, according to the number of our men that were slain. 2. A *French-man* that was going to *Boston* gave Testimony that he met three *Indians* that told him they were coming to perswade *North Hampton Indians* to fight with *Philip*, and that at his return he askt our *Indians* whether they would fight, they said they could not tell. 3. One of their *Sachims* owned that there were several among them false to the *English*, but would not tell who they were. 4. A Woman of ours was warned by a Squaw to remove with her Children into the middle of the Town: told her withal; she durst not tell News, for if she did the *Indians* would cut off her head. 5. Some of theirs gave out very suspicious Expressions: one upbraided the *English*, that *Coy* was dead already, and *Eyer* and *Pritchett* were dead already: said further that the *Indians* went out to find *Philip* with the *English*, that when *Philip* was fighting with them

in the front, they might fall on them in the rear: another said the reason why he went not out with the Army was that he might help to destroy the *English* at home: another threatned a maid of our town to knock her on the head. 6. when they were out with our Army, they shewed much unwillingness to fight, alleading they must not fight against their mothers and brothers and cousins (for *Quabaog* Indians are related unto them) 7. Unkas his son, who went out the same time complained that our Indians had almost spoiled his, and that the English were blind and could not see the falshood of these Indians. 8. They shot bullets five several times at our men in diverse places. Other things too many to numerate were presented, and the Councill saw cause to demand their arms Aug. 24. They made some objections, but were fully answered: The Sachem left the Councill to try whether he could perswade the Indians, promising however to bring in his own. In the after-noon the Councill sent to the Fort for their answer: they told the Messenger that some Indians were abroad in the Meadows, and they were not willing to deliver up their arms without their consent: but in the morning they should have their answer. The Messenger was desired to go again to them, in the evening, to conferre with them, to try whether he could perswade them; and coming to the other side of the River, wisht some of them to come over, they bid him come over to them, and bid him kiss ——— Whereupon Captain *Lothrop & Beers*, with whom the thing was left, intended to take their arms by force, and at midnight sent over to our officers, to draw as nigh the Fort as they could without being perceived, and they would do the like on *Hatfield* side, and so at break of day come upon them but before they came the Indians were fled, having killed an old *Sachem* that was not willing to go with them. The Captains resolved to follow them; and pursued a great

pace after them, with about an hundred men, having sent back a part of ours for a Guard of the Town. A little before they overtook the Indians, they heard two strange claps of Thunder, like two volleys of shot; at length they saw a single Indian, but shot not at him, though they might have killed him, because they intended to parly with them, but on a sudden the Indians let fly about forty gunns at them, and was soon answered by a volley from our men; about forty ran down into the Swamp after them, poured in shot upon them, made them throw down much of their luggage; and after a while our men after the Indian manner got behind trees, and watcht their opportunities to make shotts at them; the Fight continued about three hours; we lost six men upon the ground, though one was shot in the back by our own men, a seventh died of his wound coming home, and two dyed the next night, nine in all, of nine several towns, every one of these towns lost a man: Of the Indians as we hear since by a Squaw that was taken, and by three Children that came to our town from them the day after, there were slain twenty six: the same day there was an Indian that lodged in our town the night before, taken by our men, and a *Squaw* that belonged to our Fort that was coming from *Spring-field*; they both owne that our Indians received Wompam from *Philip* in the Spring, to ingage them in the War. The fellow also owns that there were seven of our Indians that went to *Quabaog*, where they heard that they intended to fight. After this fight we heard no more of them till the first of September, when they shot down a Garison Souldier of *Pacomptuck*, that was looking after his horse, and ran violently up into the town, many people having scarcely time enough to get into the Garisons. That day they burnt most of their houses and barns, the Garisons not being strong enough to sally out upon them, but killed two of their men from the Forts. The next

day they set upon several men that were gone out of the Fort at *Squakheag*, they slew eight of our men, not above one of them being slain that we know of, but made no attempt upon the Fort. The next day (this Onset being unknown) Capt. *Beers* set forth with about thirty six men and some Carts to fetch of the garison at *Squakheag*, and coming within three miles of the place, the next morning were set upon by a great number of Indians from the side of a Swamp, where was an hot Dispute for some time: they having lost their *Captain* and some others, resolved at last to fly, & going to take horse lost several men more, I think about twelve: the most that escaped got to *Hadly* that evening: next morning another came in, and at night another that had been taken by the Indians, and loosed from his bonds by a *Natick* Indian, he tells the Indians were all drunk that night, that they mourned much for the loss of a great Captain, that the English had killed twenty five of their men. Six dayes after another Souldier came in, who had been lost ever since the fight, and was almost famished, and so lost his understanding, that he knew not what day the fight was on.

“On the *5th.* of *September* Major *Treat* set forth for *Squakheag* with above an hundred men; next day coming nigh *Squakheag*, his men were much daunted to see the heads of Captain *Beers* Souldiers upon poles by the way side; but after they were come to *Squankheag*, some partyes of them went into the Meadow, but hearing some gunns about the Fort, they ran up to see what the matter was, but by the way were fired upon by about fourteen Indians

It seems Capt. Beers and those 36 men that were with him, fought courageously till their Powder and shot was spent, then the Indians prevailed over them so as to kill above 20 of them only 13 escaped with their lives, at which time a Cart with some Ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy.

as they judg, out of the bushes: one or two Indians were slain. Major *Treat* was struck upon the thigh, the bullet pierced his cloaths, but had lost its force, and did him no harm: coming to the Fort he called his Councill together, and concluded forthwith to bring off the garison: so they came away the same night, leaving the Cattel there, and the dead bodyes unburied: since which seventeen of their Cattel came a great part of the way themselves, and have since been fetcht into *Hadly*.

“Upon the *12th.* of this month the Indians made an assault upon twenty two men of *Pocomptuck*, that were going from one garison to the other to *Meeting* in the afternoon: made a great volley of shot at them, but killed not one man, they escaped to the Garison whither they were going, only one man running to the other garison was taken alive: The Indians took up their rendezvouze on an hill in the meadow, burnt two more house, kil’d many horses, carryed away horse-loads of beef and pork to the hill: they sent the same night for more aid, but partly through the strictness of the Commission of our Garison souldiers, or at least their interpretation of it, and partly through the wetness of the weather, there was nothing done that night: the next day we perswaded some of our Inhabitants to go Volunteers, and sent to *Hadly* to doe the like, who going up with some of Captain *Louthrops* souldiers, joyned themselves to the garison at *Pocomptuck*, and on Tuesday very early went out to assault the Indians, but they were all fled. Last night Captain *Mosely* with his men came into *Hadly*, and this night we expect more Forces from *Hartford*.

“If the Lord give not some sudden Check to these Indians, it is to be feared that most of the Indians in the Country will rise.

“I desire you would speak to the *Governour*, that there

may be some thorough care for a *Reformation*, I am sensible there are many difficulties therein: many sins are grown so in fashion, that it becomes a question whether they be sins or no. I desire you would especially mention, *Oppression*, that intollerable *Pride* in cloathes and hair: the tolleration of so many *Taverns*, especially in *Boston*, and suffering home-dwellers to lye tipling in them. Let me hear soon from you: the Lord bless you and your Labours; forget us not at the throne of Grace: It would be a dreadfull Token of the Displeasure of God, if these afflictions pass away without much spiritual advantage: I thought to have written somewhat more large with respect to *Reformation*, but I hope I need not, you will I presume be forward of your self therein.”

Not many dayes after this Letter was written, the English received a sadder rebuke of Providence, then any thing that hitherto had been. For *September 18*. Captain *Lothrop* (a godly and courageous Commander) with above seventy men were sent to be as a Guard to some that were coming from *Deer-field* with Carts loaden with Goods and Provision, to be removed to *Hadly*, for security: But as they were coming, the Indians, whose cruel Habitations are the dark corners of the Earth, lurked in the Swamps, and multitudes of them made a sudden and frightful assault. They seized upon the Carts and Goods (many of the Souldiers 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) killed Captain *Lothrop*, and above threescore of his men, stripped them of their clothes, and so left them to lye weltring in their own Blood. Captain *Mosely* who was gone out to range the Woods, hearing the Guns, hastened to their help, but before he could come, the other Captain, and his men were slain, as hath been expressed. Nevertheless he gave the Indians Battle: they were in such numbers, as that he

and his company were in extream danger, the Indians endeavouring (according to their mode of fighting) to encompass the English round, and then to press in upon them with great numbers, so to knock them down with their Hatchets. In the nick of time Major *Treat*, with above an hundred men, and threescore of *Unkas* his Indians came in to succour those that were so beset with the Enemy, whereupon the Enemy presently retreated, and night coming on, there was no pursuing of them. In this fight, but few of Captain *Mosely's* men were slain: How many *Indians* were killed is unknown, it being their manner to draw away their dead men, as fast as they are killed, if possibly they can do it; yea, they will venture their own lives for that end, which they do out of policy, that so their Enemies may think, that few or none of them are killed, when nevertheless they have lost many. I am informed that some of the *Indians* have reported, that they lost ninety six men that day, and that they had above forty wounded, many of which dyed afterwards. However, 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. And this was the state of the *Western* parts in respect of the War with the Heathen.

We must now take a step backwards, and a little consider the *Eastern Plantations*. For in the month of *September*, did the flame break out there. Some who had their hearts exercised in discerning things of that nature, were from the beginning of the War, not without sad Apprehensions concerning the Inhabitants in those parts of the Country, in that they were a scattered people, and such as had many of them Scandalized the Heathen, and lived themselves too like unto the Heathen, without any *Instituted Ordinances*, also the Indians thereabouts were more numerous then in some other places. They began their Outrages, at the House of one Mr. *Purchase*, who had been a great Trader with the Indians. After that they came to the House of an old

Man in *Casco-bay*, whose name was *Wakely*. Him with his Wife, Son and Daughter in law (who was great with Childe) and two Grandchildren, they cruelly Murdered, and took three Children alive, and led them into Captivity.

This old *Wakely* was esteemed a godly Man. He would sometimes say with tears, that he believed God was angry with him, because although he came into *New-England* for the Gospels sake, yet he had left another place in this Country, where there was a Church of Chrif, which he once was in Communion with, and had lived many years in a Plantation where was no *Church nor Instituted Worship*. If a Faithful Minister of Christ happened to Preach in *Casco*, he would with much affection entertain him, saying, *Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord*. After this good man was murdered by the Indians, they quickly did more mischief: so that in *Falmouth* there were five Houses burnt, four Men, two Women, and two Children killed, and three Children carried away Captive. After this they set upon *Sacoe*, where they slew thirteen Men, and at last burnt the Town. A principal Actor in the destruction of *Sacoe* was a strange *Enthusiastical Sagamore*, called *Squando*, who some years before pretended that God appeared to him, in the form of a tall Man, in black Cloaths, declaring to him that he was God, and commanded him to leave his Drinking of Strong Liquors, and to pray, and to keep Sabbaths, and go to hear the Word Preached, all which things the *Indian* did for some years, with great seeming Devotion and Conscience observe. But the God which appeared to him, said nothing to him about Jesus Christ; and therefore it is not to be marvelled at, that at last he discovered himself to be no otherwise then a Childe of him, that was a Murtherer and a Lyar from the beginning. Also these enraged *Barbarians*, being animated with their success at *Falmouth* and *Sacoe*, they went to *Black-Point*, and there killed six Men and a Woman, and burnt two and twenty dwelling Houses. In the mean time, the *English* at *Kenebeck* endeavoured that the Indians in those parts might be

kept from joyning in this *Insurrection*, whereto they were tempted and sollicitated by their neighbours. The prudent endeavours of the English proved happily successful, insomuch as the *Sachems* there, brought Presents with great Protestations of Amity and Fidelity, and desired that no more Liquors might be sold to the *Indians*, professing that that was a principle cause of the mischiefs that had been done, and that they were not able to keep their men in subjection, when once they were become mad with drink.

After these things, the *Indians* killed two men at *Kittery*, and stripped them. Lieutenant *Playster* with twenty two English went out to fetch off the dead bodies, and to bury them; as they were putting one of them into the Cart, suddenly a small party of *Indians* shot out of a Swamp. And the greatest part of the English did unworthily forsake their *Leader* in that hazzard, only seven remained with him. He thinking his men had been near at hand, faced the Enemy, killed and wounded many of them, but the *Indians* perceiving that all but seven of the *English* were fled, took courage and killed Mr. *Plaister* (who was a good and useful man) and one of his Sons, and another man: the other four seeing that, ran for their lives, and so escaped until they came safe into a *Garrison*, which was not far off.

Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth. This fire which in *June* was but a little spark, in three months time is become a great flame, that from East to West the whole Country is involved in great trouble; and the Lord himself seemeth to be against us, to cast us off, and to put us to shame, *and goeth not forth with our Armies*. Wherefore the Magistrates of this Jurisdiction, earnestly called upon the Inhabitants thereof, to humble themselves before the Lord, and to confess and turn from transgression. Inasmuch as the expressions contained in that paper, which was at this time published by the Councils order, for a day of publick Humiliation, to be observed through this Jurisdiction, are most serious; and gracious, and greatly ex-

pressive of the sinful *Degenerate Estate* of the *present Generation* in *New-England*, and that Declaration will turn for a Testimony to our faithful Rulers, both now and hereafter; considering also, that it is in but few hands, I shall therefore here insert, and republish it. 'Tis that which followeth.



AT A
COUNCIL

Held at *Boston*, *Sept.* 17. 1675.

IT having pleased the Holy God (all whose works are Truth, and his Wayes Judgement) for our sins whereby he hath been provoked, in special by the undervaluation of our pleasant things; great unthankfullness for, and manifold abuses of our wonderfull peace, and the blessings of it in this good land which the Lord hath given

us; ill entertainment of the Ministry of the precious Gospel of peace: leaving our first love, dealing falsely in the Covenant of the Lord our God: the Apostacy of many from the Truth unto Heresies, and pernicious Errors: great Formality, inordinate Affection, and sinful Conformity to this present evil vain World: and (beside many horrid and scandalous sins breaking forth among us, for which we have cause to be greatly humbled before the Lord) our great unsensibleness of the Displeasure of the Lord, in suffering these abominations to be perpetuated; together with our carnal security, and unquietness under the judgements of God upon us, our abiding very much unreformed, notwithstanding all Warnings, and Chastisements, whereby the Lord hath been, and is still debating with us, we having greatly incensed him to stir up many Adversaries against us, not only abroad, but also at our own Doors (causing the Heathen in this Wilderness to be as Thorns in our sides, who have formerly been, and might still be a wall unto us therein; and others also to become a Scourge unto us) the Lord himself also more immediately afflicting us by Diseases, whereof so many Children in some of our Towns have died this Summer. His not going forth with our Armies as in former times, but giving up many of our Brethren to the mouth of the devouring Sword, yea, shewing himself angry with the Prayers of his People: threatning us also with scarcity of Provision, and other Calamities, especially if this present War, with the Barbarous Heathen should continue; and that the Lord of Hosts withdraw not the Commission he hath given to the Sword, and other Judgements to prevail against us.

The Governour and Council of this Jurisdiction therefore (being under the sense of these evils; and also of the distressed state of the rest of the Colonies confederate with our selves, and of the Churches of Christ in other parts of the Christian World, in this day of Trouble, Rebukes, and Blasphemy: and fearing the sad issue thereof, unless the Lord help us with our whole heart, and not feignedly, to turn unto himself) Do Appoint and Order the seventh

day of the next Month, to be a Day of publick Humiliation, with Fasting and Prayer, throughout this whole Colony; that we may set our selves sincerely to seek the Lord, rending our hearts, and not our garments before him, and pursue the same with a thorough Reformation of what ever hath been, or is an Image of jealousie before the Lord to offend the eyes of his Glory; if so be, the Lord may turn from his fierce anger, that we perish not; we do therefore require all the Inhabitants of this Jurisdiction to forbear servile labour upon that day, and that they apply themselves respectively to observe the same, as is appointed.

By the Council, *Edward Rawson* Secr^t.

Octob the 7th. This day of Humiliation appointed by the Council, was solemnly observed: yet attended with awfull testimonies of divine displeasure. The very next day after this Fast was agreed upon by those in civill Authority, was that dismal and fatal blow, when Captain *Lothrop* and his company (in all near upon fourscore souls) were slaughtered, whereby the Heathen were wonderfully animated, some of them triumphing and saying, that so great slaughter was never known: and indeed in their Warrs one with another, the like hath rarely been heard of. And that very day when this Fast was kept, three Persons were killed by the Indians near *Dover*, one of them going from the publick Worship. Also that very day at the close of it, the sad tidings of *Springfields* Calamity came to us here in *Boston*. And inasmuch as this news came at the conclusion of a day of Humiliation, surely *the solemn voice of God to New-England* is still as formerly, *Praying* without *Reforming* will not do. And now is the day come wherein the Lord is fulfilling the word which himself hath spoken, saying, I will send wild Beasts among you, which shall rob you of your Children, and destroy your Cattle, and make you few in number, *and if you will not be reform'd by these*

things, I will bring your Sanctuaries to Desolation, and I will not smell the sweet Savor of your Odours. The Providence of God is never to be forgotten, in that *Churches have been signally spared for so long a time.* Although some Plantations wherein Churches have been settled were in most eminent danger, and the Enemy might easily have swallowed them up, yet God so ordered that they received little or no detriment, when other places were laid utterly waste; the Lord manifesting how loth he was to disgrace the Throne of his Glory, but now he begins with the Sanctuary. As for *Springfields* misery, it thus came to pass: Whereas there was a body of *Indians* that lived in a *Fort* near to that *Town of Springfield*, and professed nothing but Friendship towards the *English*; they treacherously brake in upon the *Town*, when a party of our Souldiers who had been there, were newly gone to *Hadly*. They killed several, amongst others their Lieutenant *Cooper* was most perfideously Murthered by them, without the least occasion or Provocation given. They burnt down to the ground above thirty dwelling-houses, and above twenty out-houses: amongst others, Mr. *Pelatah Glover* Teacher of the Church there, is a great sufferer, his House, and Goods, and Books, and Writings being all consumed in one hour. Nevertheless there was a great mixture of mercy in this dark and dismal dispensation. For God so ordered, as that an *Indian* who knew what was designed the next day, ran away in the night, and acquainted the *English* therewith, whence they had time and opportunity to escape to an house that was Fortified; otherwise in probability the Inhabitants had surely had their lives as well as their dwelling places cut off.

October 13. The *General Court* sat in *Boston*, during this Session, a *Committee* was with the concurrence of both Houses appointed in order to a *Reformation* of those Evils which have provoked the Lord to bring the Sword upon us, and to withdraw from our *Armies* from time to time. The Assistance of the *Teaching Elders* in the Churches was desired, as in a case of that nature, it was proper for them to advise and help according to God.

There was a gracious presence of God with them in their consultations, all that were there with one voice agreeing in many particulars, in respect whereof *Reformation* should be, and must be: *e. g.*

‘That some effectual course should be taken for the Suppression of those proud Excesses in Apparel, hair, &c. which many (yea and the poorer sort as well as others) are shamefully guilty of. That a due testimony should be borne against such as are false Worshippers, especially Idolatrous *Quakers*, who set up Altars against the Lords Altar, yea who set up a Christ whom the Scriptures know not. That whereas excess in drinking is become a common Sin, means should be used to prevent an unnecessary multiplication of Ordinaries, and to keep Town-dwellers from frequenting Taverns: and that whereas Swearing hath been frequently heard, they that hear another Swear profanely and do not complain of it to Authority, shall be punished for that concealment. Also that some further care should be taken, that the fourth and fifth Commandments be better observed than formerly; and that there may be no more such Oppression, either by Merchants or day-Labourers as heretofore hath been; and that the Indian Trading-houses, whereby the Heathen have been debauched and scandalized against Religion, be suppressed; and that more care should be taken respecting the *Rising Generation*, than formerly hath been, that they might be brought under the discipline of Christ &c.’

These things were unanimously consented to.

October 19. The Conclusions of the Committee, respecting *Reformation* of provoking evils were signed, and delivered in to the General Court, who voted acceptance thereof, and appointed another Committee to draw up Laws in order to the establishment of the things agreed on. Now as I remember that fa-

mous Martyrologist Mr. *Fox* (in *Acts & Monuments*, vol. 2. pag. 669.) observes, with respect to the *Reformation* in K. *Edward* the 6th his dayes, that that very day and hour when the Act for *Reformation* was put in execution at *London*, God gave the *English* a signal victory against the *Scots* at *Muscleburrough*; so it was proportionably with us. For that day when there was a vote passed for the Suppression and Reformation of those manifest evils, whereby the eyes of Gods Glory are provoked amongst us, the Lord gave success to our Forces, who that day encountred with the *Indians* at *Hatfield*. The *English* lost but one man in the fight (albeit some that were sent forth as Scouts were killed or Captivated) the Enemy fled before them, and ran into the River, many of them being seen to fall, but night coming on, it was in vain to follow them further. And after that day, the *Western Plantations* had little or no disturbance by them, but lived in quietness all the Winter. All this notwithstanding, we may say as sometimes the Lords People of old, *the Harvest is past, the Summer is ended, and we are not saved.* The Sword having marched *Eastward, & Westward, and Northward*, now beginneth to face toward the *South* again. The *Narragansets*, who were the greatest body of *Indians* in *New-England*; there being no less then six *Sachims* amongst them; having not as yet appeared in open Hostility. Nevertheless *Philips* and *Squaw-Sachims* men, when routed by the *English* Forces, were harboured amongst the *Narragansets*. When the Commissioners of the united Colonies sat at *Boston*, in the latter end of *September*, one of the *Narraganset Sachims*, and Messengers from other *Sachims* there, made their appearance in *Boston*; they pretended nothing but good-will to the *English*, and promised that those Enemies of ours, who had burnt so many houses, and committed so many Murders, and had fled to them for refuge, should be delivered up by the latter end of *October*. But when the time prefixed for the surrendry of the *Wompanoags* and *Squaw-Sachems Indians* was lapsed, they pretended they could not do as they had ingaged at pres-

ent, but after winter they would do it. In the mean while, when the English had any engagement with the Indians, wounded Indians came home to the *Narragansets*, especially after the fight at *Hatfield*, Octob. 19th. about fourty wounded men were seen crossing the woods towards the *Narragansets*: also some (at least two Indians) from amongst themselves, came to the English, and told them that the *Narragansets* were resolved (if they could) to destroy the English: but they were loth to begin to fall upon them before winter, but in the Spring when they should have the leaves of trees and *Swamps* to befriend them, they would doe it: wherefore it was judged necessary to send out Forces against them, and preparations were made accordingly.

There was some agitation amongst those whom it did concern, where a person suitable for so great trust might be found as *General*; and that worthy Gentleman *Josiah Winslow Esq*, who succeeds his Father (of blessed memory) as Governour of *Plimouth*, was pitched upon for this Service.

Under his conduct therefore, an Army consisting of at first a thousand, and at last about fifteen hundred men, were sent forth to execute the vengeance of the Lord upon the perfidious and bloody Heathen. But before they set out, the Churches were all upon their knees before the Lord, the God of Armys, entreating his favour and gracious success in that undertaking, wherein the welfare of his people was so greatly concerned. This day of Prayer and Humiliation was observed *Decemb. 2d*. when also something hapned, intimating as if the Lord were still angry with our Prayers; for this day all the houses in *Quonsickamuck* were burnt by the Indians.

Decemb. 8th. The Army set out from Boston. Whilst they were upon this march, an *Indian* whose name was *Peter*, having received some disgust among his Country-men, came to the English, and discovered the plotts of the Indians, told where they were, and promised to conduct the Army to them. They were no sooner arrived in the *Narraganset* Country, but they killed and

took captive above fourty Indians. Being come to Mr. *Smiths* house, they waited some dayes for *Connecticut* Forces. In the mean while a party of the enemy did treacherously get into the house of *Jerem. Bull* (where was a *Garison*,) burned the house, and slew about fourteen persons.

Decemb. 18. *Connecticut* Forces being come, a March toward the enemy was resolved upon: *Peter* Indian having informed that the *Body of Indians* (only *Ninnigret* being one of their old crafty *Sachems*, had with some of his men withdrawn himself from the rest, professing that he would not ingage in a *War* with the English, therefore did he goe into a place more remote) was in a Fort about eighteen miles distant from the place where our Army now was. The next day, although it were the Sabbath, yet, provisions being almost spent by our Souldiers, waiting so long for *Connecticut* Forces, the Council of War resolved to give Battle to the enemy. The English Souldiers played the men wonderfully; the Indians also fought stoutly, but were at last beat out of their Fort, which was taken by the English, There were hundreds of *Wigwams* (or Indian houses) within the Fort, which our Souldiers set on fire, in the which men, women and Children (no man knoweth how many hundreds of them) were burnt to death. Night coming on, a Retreat was sounded.

Concerning the number of Indians slain in this Battle, we are uncertain: only some Indians which afterwards were taken prisoners (as also a wretched English man that apostatized to the Heathen, and fought with them against his own Country-men, but was at last taken and executed) confessed that the next day they found three hundred of their fighting men dead in their Fort, and that many men, women and children were burned in their *Wigwams*, but they neither knew, nor could conjecture how many: it is supposed that not less then a thousand Indian Souls perished at that time. *Ninnigret* whose men buried the slain, affirmeth that they found twenty & two Indian Captains among

the dead bodyes. Of the English there were killed and wounded about two hundred and thirty, whereof only eighty and five persons are dead. But there was a solemn rebuke of Providence at this time, in that six of our Captains were slain, *viz*, Captain *Johnson* of Roxbury, Captain *Gardner* of Salem, Captain *Davenport* of Boston (son to that Captain *Davenport* who did great Service in the expedition against the Indians in the *Pequod* war, Anno 1637.) Captain *Gallop* of New-London, Captain *Marshal* of Windsor, Captain *Seily* of Stratford, who dyed of his wounds some dayes after the fight was over. The three Captains first mentioned, belonged to *Mattachusetts* Colony, the three last to *Connecticut*, of *Plimouth* Colony Captain *Bradford* (one of their faithfull Magistrates, and son of him that was many years Governour there) was sorely wounded, but God had mercy on him, and on his people in him, so as to spare his life, and to restore him to some measure of health, albeit the bullet shot into him is still in his body. Also Captain *Goram* of *Barnstable* in *Plimouth* Colony fel sick of a feaver whereof he dyed.

Thus did the Lord take away seven Captains out of that Army. Also four *Leutenants* were wounded in that *Fort fight*, so that although the English had the better of it, yet not without solemn and humbling Rebukes of Providence. At night as the army returned to their *Quarters*, a great Snow fell, also part of the army missed their way, among whom was the *General* himself with his *Life-guard*. Had the enemy known their advantage, and pursued our *Souldiers* (and we have since heard that some of the *Indians* did earnestly move, that it might be so, but others of them through the over-ruling hand of Providence would not consent) when upon their retreat, they might easily have cut off the whole Army: But God would be more gracious to us. Here then was not only a *Victory*, but also a signal *Preservation*, for which let the Father of mercyes have eternal Glory.

After this God seemed to withdraw from the English, and take part with the enemy. The next day the *Indians* finding

but few English men dead in the Fort amongst their three hundred *Indians* that were slain, were much troubled and amazed, supposing that no more of ours had been killed; this blow did greatly astonish them, and had the English immediately pursued the *Victory* begun, in all likelihood there had been an end of our troubles: but God saw that neither yet were we fit for deliverance. Wherefore *Connecticut* Forces withdrew to *Stonington*, and there being so many killed and wounded amongst those that remained in the *Narragansit* Country, also bread for the *Souldiers* being wanting, by reason the extremity of the weather was such, as that the *Vessels* loaden with provision could not reach them; therefore the army lay still some weeks.

In this interval of time, the town of *Mendam* (which before that had been forsaken of its *Inhabitants*) was burnt down by the *Indians*.

Now doth the Lord Jesus begin solemnly to fulfill his word, in removing *Candlesticks* out of their places, because of *Contentions*, and loss of first Love. Surely when those places are destroyed where Churches have been planted, *Candlesticks* are removed out of their places. But to proceed, When the Army was just upon the Resolve to return home, because provisions were spent, God so ordered, as that a *Vessel* loaden with *Victuals* arrived, whereupon it was determined (*ὀν θεῶ*) to pursue the enemy. Only it was thought necessary to desist from this pursuit untill *Connecticut* Forces could return and joyn with ours. In the *interim*, a strange sudden *Thaw* hapned in the midst of *January* (when in *New-England* the season is wont to be extream cold) that the snow melted away in a little time: the like weather hath rarely been known in this Land at that time of the year, albeit some of the first *Planters* say it was so above fifty years agoe: However this made wonderfully for the *Indians* advantage; for now they fled out of the *Narraganset* Country, and whereas they had been sorely straightned and distressed for victuals, now the snow being wasted, they lived upon *Ground-nuts*.

In fine, the Army pursued them several dayes, overtook some of them, killed and took about seventy persons, were in sight of the main Body of them; and could they have held out to have pursued them but one day longer, probably this unhappy War had then been ended: but the Souldiers were tired with eight dayes March, and (having spent much of their provision whilst waiting for our *Connecticut* Brethren) their bread faild, so as that they were forced to kill horses and feed upon them.

We have often carried it before the Lord as if we would *Reform* our wayes, and yet when it hath come to, we have done nothing: So hath the Lord carried toward us, as if he would deliver us, and yet hath deferred our *Salvation*, as we our selves have delayed *Reformation*.

So then *February 5*. The Army returned to *Boston*, not having obtained the end of their going forth. It was easie to conjecture that the *Narraganset*, and *Nipmuck*, and *Quabaog*, and *River Indians*, being all come together, and the *Army* returned, they would speedily fall upon the *Frontier Towns*. And some of the *Praying Indians* who had been sent out as Spies, and had been with the *Indians* beyond *Quabaog*, brought intelligence, that a *French Man* that came from *Canada* had been amongst them, animating them against the *English*, promising a supply of *Ammunition*, & that they would come next summer and assist them: also the *Indian Spies* declared, that there was a designe, within such a time to burn *Lancaster*, which came to pass both as to the time and manner accordingly.

For upon the *10th*. day of *February* some hundreds of the *Indians* fell upon *Lancaster*, burnt many of the Houses, kill'd and took Captive above forty persons. Mr. *Rowlandson* (the faithful Pastor of the Church there) had his House, Goods, Books, all burned; his Wife, and all his Children led away Captive before the Enemy. Himself (as God would have it) was not at home, whence his own person was delivered, which otherwise (without a Miracle) would have been endangered. Eight men lost their

lives, and were stripped naked by the *Indians*, because they ventured their lives to save Mrs. *Rowlandson*.

As this good Man returned home (having been at *Boston* to intercede with the Council that something might be done for the safety of that place) he saw his *Lancaster* in flames, and his own house burnt down, not having heard of it till his eyes beheld it, and knew not what was become of the Wife of his bosome, and Children of his Bowels. This was a most awful Providence, and hath made me often think on those words, *though Noah, Job and Daniel were in it, they should deliver but their own Souls, they should deliver neither Sons nor Daughters, they only shall be delivered, but the Land shall be desolate*. And this desolation is the more tremendous; in that this very day the Churches *Westward* were humbling themselves before the Lord. Within a few dayes after this, certain *Indians* did some mischiefs at *Malbery*, *Sudbery*, *Chelmsford*.

February 21. The *Indians* assaulted *Medfield*, and although there were two or three hundred Souldiers there, they burnt half the Town, killed several Men, Women, and Children, (about eighteen in all) amongst others their Lieutenant *Adams* was slain. And soon after he was killed, his Wife was casually slain by an *English-man*, whose Gun discharged before he was aware, and the Bullet therein passed through the Boards overhead, and mortally wounded Lieutenant *Adam's* wife, It is a sign God is angry, when he turns our Weapons against our selves.

February 23. A day of Humiliation was attended in the old Meeting-house in *Boston*, but not without much Distraction, because of an Alarm, by reason of rumors, as if the *Indians* were doing mischief within ten miles of *Boston*.

February 25. This night the *Indians* fired seven Houses and Barns in *Weymouth*.

In the beginning of *March*, another small Army was sent out from *Boston*, under the conduct of that expert Souldier and Commander Major *Savage*, to seek out the Enemy. Connecticut

Forces met with ours at *Quobaog*, and they marched together, but not following the direction of the (*Natick*) *Praying Indians*, who were sent as Pilots, the Army missed their way, and was bewildered in the Woods. On a sudden when they thought on no such thing, a party of *Indians* fired upon them, and killed one man, and wounded Mr. *Gershom Bulkly*, who is Pastor of the Church in *Wethersfield*; whereupon those *Indians* were immediately pursued, who hastened towards *North-Hampton*. The Army following them thither, missed of the main Body of *Indians*. Nevertheless, there was a singular providence of God ordering this matter, for the relief of those *Western Plantations*, which otherwise, in probability had been cut off.

For upon the fourteenth of *March* a multitude of *Indians* fell upon *North-Hampton*, broke through their Fortification in three places, burned five houses, and five barns, and killed four Men, and one Woman: but the Town being full of Souldiers, the Enemy was quickly repulsed, with the loss of many of their lives.

March the 10th. Mischief was done, and several lives cut off by the *Indians* this day, at *Groton* and at *Sudbury*: An humbling Providence, inasmuch as many Churches were this day Fasting and Praying.

March 12. This Sabbath eleven *Indians* assaulted Mr. *William Clarks* House in *Plimouth*, killed his Wife, who was the Daughter of a godly Father and Mother that came to *New-England* on the account of Religion, (See *July* 6.) and she her self also a pious and prudent Woman; they also killed her sucking Childe, and knocked another Childe (who was about eight years old) in the head, supposing they had killed him, but afterwards he came to himself again. And whereas there was another Family besides his own, entertained in Mr. *Clarks* house, the *Indians* destroyed them all, root and branch, the Father, and Mother, and all the Children. So that eleven persons were murdered that day, under one roof; after which they set the house on fire. The Leader of these *Indians* was one *Totoson*, a fellow who was well acquainted

with that house, and had received many kindnesses there, it being the manner of those brutish men, who are only skilful to destroy, to deal worst with those who have done most for them.

March 13. The *Indians* assaulted *Groton*, and left but few houses standing. So that this day also another Candlestick was removed out of its place. One of the first houses that the Enemy destroyed in this place, was the *House of God*, *h.e.* which was built, and set apart for the celebration of the publick Worship of God.

When they had done that, they scoffed and blasphemed, and came to Mr. *Willard* (the worthy Pastor of the Church there) his house (which being Fortified, they attempted not to destroy it) and tauntingly, said, *What will you do for a house to pray in now we have burnt your Meeting-house?* Thus hath the Enemy done wickedly in the Sanctuary, they have burnt up the Synagogues of God in the Land; they have cast fire into the Sanctuary; they have cast down the dwelling place of his name to the Ground. *O God, how long shall the Adversary reproach? shall the Enemy Blaspheme thy Name for ever? why withdrawest thou thine hand, even thy right hand: pluck it out of thy bosome.*

March. 17. This day the *Indians* fell upon *Warwick*, and burnt it down to the ground, all but one house.

March. 20. Some of them returned into the *Narraganset* Country, and burnt down the remaining English houses there.

We are now come to the conclusion of the year 1675. which hath been the most troublesome year that ever poor *New-England* saw. What ending the present year shall have, is with God, but it hath a most dolefull beginning.

For *March* 26, 1676. being the *Sabbath-day*, the *Indians* assaulted *Malbery* and consumed a great part of the town: after which the Inhabitants apprehended themselves under a necessity of deserting that place which was done accordingly; so that here is another Candlestick removed out of his place. This day also, Captain *Pierce* of *Scituate* with a party of about fifty *English*, and

twenty *Indians*, who were Friends to the *English*, pursued a small number of the Enemy, who in desperate subtilty ran away from them, and they went limping to make the *English* believe they were lame, till they had led them into a snare: for suddenly a vast body of *Indians* did encompass them round; so that Captain *Pierce* was slain, and forty and nine *English* with him, and eight (or more) *Indians* who did assist the *English*, and fought bravely in that engagement.

How many of the Enemy fell we know not certainly, only we hear that some *Indians*, which have since been taken by the *English*, confess that Captain *Pierce*, and those with him killed an hundred and forty of them before they lost their own lives.

Upon this Lords-day another sad thing likewise hapned; for near *Springfield*, there were eighteen *English-men* riding to the Town, to attend the solemn Worship of God on his Holy day. And although they were Armed, there were seven or eight *Indians*, who lying in Ambuscado, were so bold as to shoot at them. They killed a Man and a Maid that rode behind him, the *English* being surprised with fear, rode away to save their lives: in the mean while the *Indians* seized upon two women and Children, and took them away alive, so that here we have cause to think of Joshuahs words, who said, *O Lord What shall I say when Israel turns their backs before their Enemies?* What shall be said when eighteen *English-men* well arm'd, fly before seven *Indians*? This seems to argue something of a divine forsaking, and displeasure in heaven against us. The next day those *Indians* were pursued, but when the *English* came in sight those barbarous wretches hasted to run away, but before that they knocked the two Children on the head, as they were sucking their mothers breasts, and then knocked their Mothers on the head: Nevertheless one of them was alive when the souldiers came to her, and able to give an account of what the *Indians* had told her. Amongst other particulars, they did affirm to her that there was a Body of about three thousand *Indians* (no doubt but in that

they did hyperbolize) near to *Deerfield*, and that they had newly received a great supply of powder from the Dutch at *Albany*: men that worship *Mammon*, notwithstanding all prohibitions to the contrary, will expose their own and other mens lives unto danger, if they may but gain a little of this worlds good.

March. 27. Some of the inhabitants of *Sudbury*, being alarumed by what the *Indians* did yesterday to their neighbours in *Malbury*, apprehending they might come upon the enemy unawares, in case they should march after them in the night time, they resolved to try what might be done, and that not altogether without success. For towards the morning whilst it was yet dark, they discerned where the *Indians* lay by their Fires. And such was their boldness, as that about three hundred of them lay all night, within half a mile of one of the garison houses in that town where they had done such mischief the day before. Albeit the darkness was such as an *English* man could not be discerned from an *Indian*, yet ours being forty in number, discharged several times upon the enemy, and (as *Indians* taken since that time do confess,) God so disposed of the bullets that were shot at that time, that no less then thirty *Indians* were wounded, of whom there were fourteen that dyed several of which had been principal actors in the late bloody Tragedyes. They fired hard upon the *English*, but neither killed nor wounded so much as one man in the Skirmish.

March. 28. The *Indians* burnt about thirty Barns, and near upon fourty dwelling Houses in *Rehoboth*, so that thereby the dissipation and desolation of that Church is greatly threatned.

The next day they burnt about thirty houses at the town called *Providence*.

In the beginning of *April* they did some mischief at *Chelmsford* and *Andover*, where a small party of them put the town into a great fright, caused all the people to fly into Garison-houses, killed one man, and burnt one house. And to shew what barbarous creatures they are, they exercised cruelty toward dumb

creatures. They took a Cow, knocked off one of her horns, cut out her tongue, and so left the poor creature in great misery. They put an horse, ox &c. into an hovel, and then set it on fire, only to shew how they are delighted in exercising cruelty.

April. 9th. This day being the Lords day, there was an alarm at *Charlestown, Cambridge*, and other towns, by reason that sundry of the enemy were seen at *Billerica*, and (it seemeth) had shot a man there. This week we hear from *Connecticut*, that a party of their Souldiers went with many of the *Pequods*, and *Monbegins*, and some of *Ninnecrets* Indians, to seek after the enemy, and they killed and took captive forty and four Indians without the loss of any of ours: amongst whom were several of their *Chief Captains*, and their great Sachem called *Quanonchet*, who was a principal Ring-leader in the *Narraganset* War, and had as great an interest and influence, as can be said of any among the Indians. This great Sachem was pursued into a River by one of *Ninnecret* his men, and there taken. Being apprehended he was carried away to *Stonington*, where the English caused the *Pequods* and *Monbegins*, and *Ninnecrets* Indians, to joyn together in shooting *Quanonchet*, and cutting off his head, which was sent to *Hartford*. And herein the English dealt wisely, for by this meanes, those three Indian Nations are become abominable to the other indians, and it is now their interest to be faithfull to the English, since their own Country-men will never forgive them, on account their taking and killing the Sachem mentioned: So that there was a gracious smile of providence in this thing, yet not without matter of humbling to us, in that the Sachem was apprehended not by English but by Indian hands.

April. 19. The Indians killed a man at *Weymouth*, and another at *Hingham*. And they burnt down the remaining deserted houses at *Malbery*.

April 20th. A day of Humiliation was observed in *Boston*. The next day sad tidings came to us. For the enemy set upon *Sudbury*, and burnt a great part of the town. And whereas Capt.

Wadsworth (a prudent & faithfull man) was sent out for their relief, with about seventy armed men, a great body of Indians surrounded them, so as that above fifty of ours were slain that day, amongst whom was Capt. *Wadsworth* and his Lieutenant *Sharp*. Also Captain *Brattlebanck* (a godly and choise spirited man) was killed at the same time. Also they took five or six of the English and carried them away alive, but that night killed them in such a manner as none but *Salvages* would have done. For they stripped them naked, and caused them to run the Gauntlet, whipping them after a cruel and bloody manner, and then threw hot ashes upon them; cut out the flesh of their legs, and put fire into their wounds, delighting to see the miserable torments of wretched creatures. Thus are they the perfect children of the Devill. What numbers the Indians lost in this fight, we know not, onely a Captive since escaped out of their hands, affirms that the Indians said one to another, that they had an hundred and twenty fighting men kill'd this day.

The same day (as is judged fifty) Indians burnt nineteen houses and barns at *Scituate* in *Plimouth* Colony, but were notably encountred and repelled from doing further mischief by the valor of a few of the inhabitants.

Apr. 24th, Skulking Indians did some mischief in *Braintry*, but the inhabitants received not any considerable damage by them,

April. 27. A small number of them near *Woodcocks* who keeps the *Ordinary* in the roade to *Rehoboth*, watched their opportunity and killed his son, and another man, and greatly wounded another of his sons, and shot himself through the arm, and then burnt his sons house.

At *Boston* there is a Press in order to sending forth another Army to pursue the enemy; for we hear there is a great body of them near *Malbury*, (as tis apprehended) of many hundreds.

About this time, in *Conecticut-Colony*, Capt. *Dennison* with sixty six Volunteers, & an hundred and twelve *Pequod-Indians*, pursuing the common enemy, took and slew seventy and six Indians.

Amongst the slain was the Sachem *Pomham* his Grand-child, who was also a Sachem, and another Sachem called *Chickon*, and one great Counsellour. They took and spoiled an hundred and sixty bushels of the Indians corn. None of ours either English or Indians that did ingage with and for the English, were lost when this exploit was done.

In the moneth of *April*, many of the Eastern Indians having been sorely distressed, and fain to wander up and down for meat, so as that they lived for some time upon no other food then the skins of wild creatures, which they soaked in water till they became soft and eatable; notwithstanding the outrages and murders (for they have shed the blood of about forty seven persons) by them committed, they did in confidence of favour from the English come and submit themselves, alleading that the injuries done by them were grounded upon a mistake. For when a party of English came in a Warlike posture upon some of their *Webbs* (as they call them) *i. e.* *Women* as they were gathering corn, an Indian seeing it, ran to the other Indians and told them that the English had (though it were not at all so) killed all those Indian women, and therefore they took up arms to revenge that supposed injury. Also they plead for themselves, that a Fisher-man told one of them, that the English would destroy all the Indians, and when inquiry was made of another English-man (thought to be more discreet then the former) he confirmed what the other had said, and that some rude English did purposely overset a *Canoo* wherein was an Indian Lad; and that although a *Squaw* dived to the bottome of the River and fetched him up alive, yet that the Lad never came to himself again. It is greatly to be lamented that the heathen should have any ground for such allegations, or that they should be scandalized by men that call themselves Christians.

May. 3d. Was the day of *Election* for Governour and Magistrates in the *Mattachusetts Colony*. This day the Lord by a wonderful hand of providence, wrought Salvation for *Mrs. Rowland-*

son & returned her to *Boston*, after she had been eleven weeks in Captivity amongst the heathen. This is a Token for good, being a great answer of Prayer. For by reason of her near relation to a *Man of God*, much prayer had been particularly made before the Lord on her behalf. Nevertheless did the Lord manifest his holy displeasure, inasmuch as at *Haveril* and *Bradford*, a small company of Indians killed two men and carried away a man and a woman, & five Children alive.

May. 6th. Our Forces which are abroad met with a party of Indians, and killed about thirteen of them, and had probably destroyed many more of them, had not an English-man unhappily sounded a trumpet, whereby the enemy had notice to escape. The *Praying Indians* did good Service at that time, insomuch as many who had hard thoughts of them all, begin to blame themselves, and to have a good opinion of those *Praying Indians* who have been so universally decryed.

May 8. About seventeen Houses and Barns did the *Indians* fire and destroy at *Bridge-water*. About this time they killed four men at *Taunton*, as they were at work in the field, by whose death about thirty Children were made fatherless. But the Lord in the nick of time, sent Thunder and Rain, which caused the Enemy to turn back.

May. 9. A day of Humiliation by Fasting and Prayer, was attended in the Town-house at *Boston*, by the Magistrates, and Deputies of the General Court, with Assistance of so many Teaching Elders as could be obtained. Although many such solemn occasions have at times been attended in former years, yet it hath been observed by some, that God did always signally own his Servants, upon their being before him in such a way and manner: And so it was now; for the very next day after this, a Letter came from *Connecticut* to *Boston*, informing, that God had let loose the *Mohawks* upon our Enemies, and that they were sick of Fluxes, and Fevers, which proved mortal to multitudes of them. And whereas a special request left before the Lord this

day, was, that he would (as a token for good) cause our poor Captives to be returned to us again, and particularly those that were taken from *Haveril* the last week, God gave a gracious and speedy Answer, bringing home those very Captives in particular, and many other, yea at least sixteen of our poor sighing Prisoners, who were appointed to death, did the Lord loose and return unto us, within eight weeks after this day, and divers of them within three dayes after this solemn day of Prayer. There are who have dated the turn of Providence towards us in this Colony, and against the Enemy in a wonderful manner, from this day forward: yet some lesser and more inconsiderable devastations happened soon after in *Plimouth* Colony. For,

May 11. A company of *Indians* assaulted the Town of *Plimouth*, burnt eleven Houses and five Barns therein: ten *English-men* were going to seek after the Enemy, and having an *Indian* with them, who was true to the *English*, he spied a party of *Indians* lying in Ambush, who in probability had otherwise cut off many of them, but the *English* having the opportunity of the first shot, struck down several *Indians*, one of which had on a great Peag Belt. But he and the other that fell were dragged away, and the *Indians* fled, when they saw themselves pursued, though but by a few. Nevertheless two days after this, they burnt seven Houses and two Barns more in *Plimouth*, and the remaining Houses in *Namasket*.

May. 18. This day that happened which is worthy to be remembered. For at *North-hampton*, *Hadly*, and the Towns thereabouts, two *English* Captives escaping from the Enemy, informed that a considerable body of *Indians*, had seated themselves not far from *Pacomptuck*, and that they were very secure: so that should Forces be sent forth against them, many of the Enemy would (in probability) be cut off, without any difficulty. Hereupon the Spirits of Men in those Towns were raised with an earnest desire to see and try what might be done. They sent to their neighbours in *Connecticut* for a supply

of Men, but none coming, they raised about an hundred and four score out of their own Towns, who arrived at the *Indian Wigwams* betimes in the morning, finding them secure indeed, yea all asleep without having any Scouts abroad; so that our Souldiers came and put their Guns into their Wigwams, before the *Indians* were aware of them, and made a great and notable slaughter amongst them. Some of the Souldiers affirm, that they numbred above one hundred that lay dead upon the ground, and besides those, others told about an hundred and thirty, who were driven into the River, and there perished, being carried down the Falls, *The River Kishon swept them away, that ancient River, the river Kishon, O my soul thou hast troden down strength.* And all this while but one *English-man* killed, and two wounded. But God saw that if things had ended thus; another and not Christ would have had the Glory of this Victory, and therefore in his wise providence, he so disposed, as that there was at last somewhat a tragical issue of this Expedition. For an *English* Captive Lad, who was found in the Wigwams, spake as if *Philip* were coming with a thousand *Indians*: which false report being famed (*Famá bella stant*) among the Souldiers, a pannick terror fell upon many of them, and they hasted homewards in a confused rout: *Πολλά κενά τὸ πολέμῳ.* In the mean while, a party of *Indians* from an Island (whose coming on shore might easily have been prevented, and the Souldiers before they set out from *Hadly* were earnestly admonished to take care about that matter) assaulted our men; yea, to the great dishonour of the *English*, a few *Indians* pursued our Souldiers four or five miles, who were in number near twice as many as the Enemy. In this *Disorder*, he that was at this time the chief Captain, whose name was *Turner*, lost his life, he was pursued through a River, received his Fatal stroke as he passed through that which is called the *Green River*, & as he came out of the *Water* he fell into the hands of the *Uncircumcised*, who stripped him, (as some who say they saw it affirm) and rode

away upon his horse ; and between thirty and forty more were lost in this Retreat.

Within a few days after this, Capt. *Turners* dead Corps was found a small distance from the River ; it appeared that he had been shot through his thigh and back, of which its judged he dyed speedily without any great torture from the enemy. However it were, it is evident that the English obtained a victory at this time, yet if it be as some Indians have since related, the Victory was not so great as at first was apprehended: For sundry of them who were at several times taken after this slaughter, affirm that many of the Indians that were driven down the Falls, got safe on shore again, and that they lost not above threescore men in the fight: also that they killed thirty and eight English men, which indeed is just the number missing. There is not much heed to be given to Indian Testimony, yet when circumstances and Artificial arguments confirm what they say, it becometh an impartial *Historian* to take notice thereof; nor is it to be doubted but the loss of the enemy was greater then those Captives taken by our Forces abroad did acknowledge. Some other Indians said that they lost several hundreds at this time, amongst whom there was one Sachem. I am informed that diverse Indians who were in that battell, but since come in to the English at *Normich*, say that there were three hundred killed at that time, which is also confirmed by an Indian called *Pomham*, who saith that of that three hundred there were an hundred and seventy fighting men. Whatever the victory or success of that ingagement might be, it was the Lords doing, and let him alone have all the Glory.

May. 23. Some of our Troopers fell upon a party of Indians (about fifty in number) not far from *Rehoboth*, and slew ten or twelve of them, with the loss of onely one English-man. The Indians betook themselves to a River, and had not some Foot-Souldiers on the other side of the River, too suddenly discovered themselves, probably there had been a greater slaughter of

the enemy, who hasted out of the river again, and fled into a Swamp where there was no pursuing of them.

May 30th. The enemy appeared at *Hatfield*, fired about twelve houses and barns without the Fortification, killed many of their Cattle, drave away almost all their sheep, spread themselves in the meadow between *Hatfield* & *Hadly*. Whereupon twenty five active and resolute men went from *Hadly* to relieve their distressed Brethren. The Indians shot at them ere they could get out of the Boat, & wounded one of them. Ours nevertheless charged on the enemy, shot down five or six at the first volley near the River. Then they made hast toward the town fighting with a great number of the enemy, many falling before them. And though encompassed with a numerous swarm of Indians, who also lay in Ambush behind almost every Tree, and place of advantage, yet the English lost not one man, till within about an hundred Rod of the Town, when five of ours were slain ; among whom was a precious young man, whose name was *Smith*, that place having lost many in losing that one man. It speaketh sadly to the rising Generation when such are taken away. After this the Enemy fled, having lost five and twenty in this fight.

In these two last months of *May* & *April*, besides the *Sword of War*, in respect of the Heathen, *the Sword of the Lord* hath been drawn against this Land, in respect of Epidemical Diseases, which sin hath brought upon us ; Sore and (doubtless) *Malignant Colds* prevailing every where. I cannot hear of one Family in *New-England* that hath wholly escaped the Distemper, but there have been many Families wherein every one in the House was sick and ill-disposed. So as that there have been many sick and weak, and some are fallen asleep, yea some eminent and useful Instruments hath the Lord removed, and made breaches there by upon divers of the Colonies of *New-England*.

Connecticut is deprived of their Worthy and publick-spirited Governour *Winthrop*. This Colony of *Mattachusetts* hath been bereaved of two (*viz.* Major *Willard*, and Mr. *Russel*) who for many

years had approved themselves faithful in the Magistracy. And the death of a few such is as much as if thousands had fallen: yet many other righteous and useful ones are gone, leaving us behind in the storm. And amongst the common people, not a few have been carried to their Graves in these two last months. We have heard of no less then eight in one small Plantation, buried in one week, wherein also twenty persons died this Spring. And in another little Town nineteen persons have died within a few weeks. We in *Boston* have seen (a sad and solemn spectacle) Coffins meeting one another, and three or four put into their Graves in one day. In the month of *May* about fifty persons are deceased in this Town. By which things, God from Heaven speaks to us and would give us to understand, that if the Sword will not reform us, he hath other Judgements in store, whereby he can suddenly and easily bring us down. The Lord help us to apply our hearts unto Wisdome, and make us thankful, in that he hath been entreated graciously and wonderfully to restore Health unto us again.

In the latter end of *May*, and beginning of *June*, the *Indians* have been less active in the pursuit of their mischievous designs against the *English*. One reason whereof hath been, in that it was now their Planting and Fishing time: for at this time of the year, they supply themselves with fish out of the Ponds and Rivers, wherewith this good Land doth abound, and dry it against the Sun, so as that they can lay up in store, for to serve them the year about. But it would have been no wisdome for the *English* to suffer them so to do. Wherefore about four or five hundred Souldiers were sent out of this Colony, and as many (*English* and *Indians* together) of *Connecticut*, to seek out and disrest the Enemy.

June 7. Our Forces now abroad came upon a party of *Indians*, not far from *Lancaster*, and killed seven of them, and took nine and twenty of them Captive: some of which not long since had *English* Captives under them. Thus did they that had led

into Captivity, go into Captivity; and they that killed with the Sword were themselves killed with the Sword.

Also *Connecticut* Forces, whilst upon their march, killed and took above fifty *Indians*: and not long after that, a small party of *Connecticut* Souldiers with the assistance of a few of those *Indians* who have been friends to the *English*, slew and took forty and four of the Enemy in the *Narraganset* Country; all these exploits being performed without the loss of any of ours.

June 12. The Enemy assaulted *Hadly*, in the morning, Sun an hour high, three Souldiers going out of the Town without their Arms, were dissuaded therefrom by a Serjeant, who stood at the Gate, but they alleadging that they intended not to go far, were suffered to pass, within a while the Serjeant apprehended, that he heard some men running; and looking over the Fortification, he saw *twenty* *Indians* pursuing those three men, who were so terrified, that they could not cry out; two of them were at last killed, and the other so mortally wounded, as that he lived not above two or three dayes; wherefore the Serjeant gave the *Alarme*. God in great mercy to those *Western Plantations* had so ordered by his providence, as that *Connecticut* Army was come thither before this onset from the enemy. Besides *English*, there were near upon two hundred *Indians* in *Hadley*, who came to fight with and for the *English*, against the common enemy, who was quickly driven off at the *South end* of the Town; whilst our men were pursuing of them there, on a sudden a great Swarm of *Indians* issued out of the bushes, and made their main assault at the *North end* of the Town, they fired a Barn which was without the Fortifications, and went into an house, where the inhabitants discharged a great Gun upon them, whereupon about fifty *Indians* were seen running out of the house in great haste, being terribly frighted with the Report and slaughter made amongst them by the great Gun. Ours followed the enemy (whom they judged to be about five hundred, and by *Indian* report since, it seems they were seven hundred) near upon

two miles, and would fain have pursued them further, but they had no Order so to do. Some in those parts think, that as great an opportunity and advantage as hath been since the war began, was lost at this time; the Lord having brought the enemy to them, and there being English and Indians enough to pursue them: But others supposing that then they should impede the design of coming upon them at the *Falls*, nothing was done untill it was too late, only the Towns in those places were eminently saved, and but few of ours that lost their lives in this Skirmish, nor is it as yet known how many the enemy lost in this fight. The English could find but three dead Indians: yet some of them who have been taken Captive, confess that they had thirty men kill'd this day. And since we have been informed by Indians, of that which is much to be observed, *viz.* that while the Indian men were thus fighting against *Hadley*, the hand of the Lord so disposed, as that the *Mohawks* came upon their Head-Quarters, and smote their women and Children with a great Slaughter, and then returned with much plunder. If indeed it was so (and the Indians are under no temptation to report a falshood of this nature) it is a very memorable passage.

June 15. This day was seen at *Plimouth* the perfect form of an *Indian Bow* appearing in the aire, which the Inhabitants of that place (at least some of them) look upon as a *Prodigious Apparition*. The like was taken notice of, a little before the Fort Fight in the *Narraganset* Countrey. Who knoweth but that it may be an *Omen* of ruine to the enemy, and that the Lord will break the bow and spear asunder, and make warrs to cease unto the ends of the earth? Nor is this (may I here take occasion a little to *digress*, in order to the inserting of some things, hitherto not so much observed, as it may be they ought to be) the first *Prodigy* that hath been taken notice of in *New-England*. It is a common observation, verified by the experience of many Ages, that *great and publick Calamities seldome come upon any place without Prodigious Warnings to forerun and signify what is to be expected*. I am

slow to believe Rumors of this nature, nevertheless some things I have had certain Information of.

It is certain, that before this Warr brake out; *viz.* on Sept. 10. 1674. In *Hadley*, *Northampton*, and other Towns thereabouts, was heard the report of a great piece of Ordinance, with a shaking of the earth, and a considerable Echo, whenas there was no ordinance really discharged at or near any of those Towns at that time. Yea no less then seven years before this warr there were plain prodigious *Notices* of it. For,

Anno 1667. There were fears on the spirits of many of the English, concerning *Philip* and his Indians, and that year, Novemb. 30. about 9, or 10 *ho.* A.M. being a very clear, still, Sunshine morning, there were diverse Persons in *Maldon*, who heard in the air on the South-east of them, a great Gun go off, and as soon as that was past, they heard the report of small Guns like musket shott, discharging very thick, as if it had been at a general Training; but that which did most of all amaze them, was the flying of the Bullets which came singing over their heads, and seemed to be very near them, after this they heard drums passing by them & going Westward. The same day, at *Scituate*, (and in other places) in *Plimouth* Colony, they heard as it were the running of troops of horses.

I would not have mentioned this relation, had I not received it from serious, faithfull, and Judicious hands, even of those who were ear witnesses of these things.

And now that I am upon this *Digression*, let me add, that the monstrous births which have at sundry times hapned, are speaking, solemn providences. Especially that which was at *Woburn*, Febru. 23. 1670. When the wife of *Joseph Wright* was delivered of a Creature, the form whereof was as followeth.

“The head, neck and arms in true Form and shape of a child; but it had no breast bone nor any back bone; the belly was of an extraordinary bigness, both the sides and

back being like a belly, the thighs were very small without any thigh bones; It had no buttocks, the *Membrum virile* was a meer bone; it had no passage for nature in any part below; the feet turned directly outward, the heels turned up, and like a bone; It being opened, there were found two great lumps of flesh on the sides of the seeming belly; the bowels did ly on the upper part of the breast by the Vitalls."

This was testified before the Deputy Governour Mr. *Willoughby* on the 2d. of March following, by Mrs. *Johnson* Midwife, *Mary Kendal*, *Ruth Bloghead*, *Lydia Kendall*. Seen also by Capt. *Edward Johnson*, Lieut. *John Carter*, *Henry Brook*, *James Thomson*, *Isaac Cole*.

There are judicious persons, who upon the consideration of some relative circumstances, in that monstrous birth, have concluded, that God did thereby bear witness against the Disorders of some in that place. As in the dayes of our Fathers, it was apprehended that God did testifie from heaven against the monstrous Familistical Opinions that were then stirring, by that direfull Monster which was brought forth by the wife of *William Dyer* Octo. 17. 1637. a description whereof may be seen in Mr *Welds* his History of the Rise and Ruine of Antinomianisme. p. 43, 44. and in Mr. *Clarks Examples* vol. 1. p. 249.

Certainly God would have such providences to be observed and recorded; He doth not send such things for nothing, or that no notice should be taken of them, And therefore was I willing to give a true account thereof, hoping that thereby mistakes and false Reports may be prevented.

To goe on then with our History.

June. 16. Our Forces marched towards the Falls, ours on the *East* and *Connecticut* on the *West* side of the river. When they were about three miles out of the Towns, a vehement storm of rain, with thunder and lightening overtook them, yet continuing but a while, they passed on till they came to the *Falls*, but the ene-

my was then gone. The next day it rained again, and continued a cold *Euroclidon*, or, *North-East* storm all that day and night, so that our Souldiers received much damage in their arms, ammunition and provision; and the next day (being Lords day) returned to the Towns, weary and discouraged, the Lord having seemed to fight against them by the storm mentioned. Thus doth the Lord in Wisdome and Faithfulness mix his Dispensations towards us.

June 19. A party of Indians set upon *Swanzy* and burnt down the remaining houses there, except five houses whereof four were Garisons.

June 20. *Connecticut* Forces returned home in order to a recruit, intending to meet with ours the next week at *Quabaog*.

June. 21. was kept as a day of solemn *Humiliation* in one of the Churches in Boston; so was the next day in all the Churches throughout the Colony of *Plimouth*. After which we have not received such sad tidings, as usually such dayes have been attended with, ever since this *Warr* began (as the precedent *History* doth make to appear) but rather such Intelligence from diverse parts of the Countrey as doth administer ground of hope, and of rejoicing, the Lord seeming to return with mercy to his people, and to bring the enemy into greater distresses then formerly.

June. 28. About thirty of ours adventured to go up the River towards the Falls at *Deerfield*, to see what Indians they could espy thereabouts, but coming they found none. They went to an Island where they found an hundred *Wigwams*, and some English plundered Goods, which they took, and burnt the *Wigwams*. Also they marched up to a Fort which the Indians had built there, and destroyed it. Digging here and there they found several Indian Barns, where was an abundance of Fish, which they took and spoiled, as also thirty of their Canoes; so that it appears that the Heathen are distressed and scattered, being no more able to continue together in such great Bodyes as formerly.

June 29. Was observed as a day of publick *Thanksgiving* to celebrate the praises of that God, who hath begun to answer Prayer. And although there is cause for Humiliation before the Lord, inasmuch as the Sword is still drawn against us, nevertheless we are under deep engagement to make his praise glorious; considering how wonderfully he hath restrained and checked the insolency of the Heathen. That Victory which God gave to our Army, *December 19.* and again *May 18.* is never to be forgotten: also in that divers *Indian Sachims* (especially their great Sachim *Quanonchet*) have fallen before the Lord, and before his Servants. And in that things have been no worse with us, since the year of trouble hath been upon us, that no more Indians have been let loose upon us, but many of them have been our friends; that no more *Plantations* have been made *desolate*, which nothing but the restraining gracious providence of God hath prevented, for the Enemy might easily have destroyed ten times as many Towns as they have done, had not he that sets bounds to the raging of the Sea, restrained them; yea, *one whole Colony* hath been in a manner untouched, saving that one small deserted Plantation therein was burnt by the Indians; also sundry Towns that have been fiercely assaulted by the Enemy, having obtained help from God, do continue to this day, as brands plucked out of the fire, and as monuments of the sparing mercy of God, although they have been in the fire they are not consumed. And God hath returned many of our *Captives*, having given them to find compassion before them who led them Captive, and caused the Enemy to entreat them well, in the time of affliction, and in the time of evil, and by strange wayes at last delivered them. He hath also sent in a supply of Corn from beyond Sea, this Spring, and before winter, without which we could not easily have sent out such Armies (however small and not worthy of the name of *Armies* in other parts of the World; yet with us they are Armies) as have been pursuing the Enemy. Its wonderful to consider, how that the Lord hath visited his People in giving them

Bread, when a Famine was expected. And this Summer, God hath caused the showre to come down in its season, there have been showres of Blessing when some beginnings of a Drought were upon the Land. And sore Diseases hath the Lord rebuked; whereas the *small Pox* and other *Malignant* and *Contagious Distempers* have been amongst us since this *War* began, God hath been entreated to have compassion on us, and to restore health unto his people. Moreover, we are still under the enjoyment of our *Liberties*, both Civil and Spiritual: for such causes as these, the day mentioned was observed (by order of the Council) as a day of publick *Thanksgiving* throughout this Colony: And behold, when we began to sing and to praise the Lord whose mercy endureth for ever, he hath as it were set Ambushments against the Enemy, and they were smitten, yea they have since that been smiting and betraying one another.

There are two things here observable:

1. Whereas this very day of the Month (*viz. June 29.*) was kept as a day of publick *Humiliation* the last year, being the first *Fast* that was observed in this Colony on the account of the present *War*, God hath so ordered, as that the same day of the month was in the year after set apart to magnifie his Name on the account of mercies received, being the first publick day of *Thanksgiving*, which hath been attended throughout this Colony since the *War* began.

2. The Lord from Heaven smiled upon us at this time; for the day before this *Thanks-giving*, as also the day after, he gave us to hear of more of our *Captives* returned: particularly Mr. *Rowlandsons* Children are now brought in as answers of Prayer. It is not a small mercy, that the mother and children (only one childe was killed when the other were taken) should all of them be saved alive, and carried through the Jaws of so many deaths, and at last brought home in peace, that so they and all that ever shall hear of it, might see and know, that the Lord Jehovah, is a God that heareth prayer. Also the night af-

ter this *Thanks-giving*, intelligence came to *Boston*, that a chief *Narraganset Sachim*, is now suing to the English for peace, and that an Indian was come in to the English near *Rohoboth*, who informed that *Philip* was not far off, and that he had but thirty men (besides Women and Children) with him; and promised to conduct the English to the place where *Philip* was lurking, and might probably be taken; Moreover, the Indian affirmed, that those Indians who are known by the name of *Mauquawogs* (or Mohawks, *i. e.* Man eaters) had lately fallen upon *Philip*, and killed fifty of his men. And if the variance between *Philip* & the *Mauquawogs* came to pass, as is commonly reported & apprehended, there was a marvellous finger of God in it. For we hear that *Philip* being this winter entertained in the *Mohawks* Country, Made it his design to breed a quarrel between the English & them; to effect which divers of our returned Captives do report that he resolved to kill some scattering *Mohawks*, & then to say that the English had done it: but one of those whom he thought to have killed, was only wounded, and got away to his Country men giving them to understand, that not the English but *Philip* had killed the Men that were Murdered, so that instead of bringing the *Mohawks* upon the English, he brought them upon himself. Thus hath he conceived mischief and brought forth falshood, he made a pit and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he hath made, his mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate. The Heathen are sunk down into the pit that they made, in the net which they had hid, is their own foot taken; the Lord is known by the Judgment which he executeth, the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands. *Higgaion. Selah.*

June 30. This day Souldiers marched out of *Boston* towards the place, where *Philip* was supposed to be. But when they came thither, they found that he was newly gone. We hear that he is returned to *Mount-hope*, and that a considerable body of

Indians are gathered to that place, where the *War* began, and where (it may be) way must be made towards an end of these troubles. Yet who knoweth how cruelly a *dying Beast* may bite before his expiration? Also *Plimouth* Companies being abroad under the conduct of Major *Bradford*, the Lord went forth with them, this day causing the enemy to fall before them. They were in danger of being cut off by a party of Indians who lay in Ambush for that end, but some of the *Cape-Indians*, who have been faithful to the English, discovered the *Stratagems* of the Adversary, whereby their intended mischief was happily prevented. Divers of them were killed and taken, without the loss of so much as one of ours. And whereas, three Messengers from *Squaw-Sachem* of *Sakonet*, were gone to the *Governour* of *Plimouth*, offering to submit themselves, and engaging Fidelity to the English for the future, if they might but have a promise of life, and liberty; before the Messengers returned from their treaty, that *Squaw-Sachem* with about *ninety* persons, hearing that *Plimouth* Forces were approaching to them, came and tendred themselves to Major *Bradford*, wholly submitting to mercy, so that this day were killed, taken, and brought in no less then *an hundred and ten Indians*. And the providence of God herein is the more observable, in that the very day before this, the Lords People in *Plimouth* did unanimously consent to renew their Covenant with God, and one another, and a day of Humiliation was appointed for that end, that so a work so sacred and awful might be attended with the more solemnity: also in the week before these signal smiles from Heaven upon that *Colony*, most of the Churches there, had *renewed their Covenant*, viz. on the day of *Humiliation* which was last attended throughout that Jurisdiction. God then saith unto us, that if we will indeed hearken unto his voice, the haters of the Lord shall soon submit themselves.

July 8. Whereas the Council at *Boston* had lately emitted a Declaration, signifying, that such Indians as did within four-

teen dayes come in to the English, might hope for mercy, divers of them did this day return from among the *Nipmucks*. Amongst others, *James* an Indian, who could not only reade, and write, but had learned the Art of Printing, notwithstanding his Apostasie, did venture himself upon the mercy and truth of the English Declaration which he had seen and read, promising for the future to venture his life against the common Enemy. He and the other now come in, affirm that very many of the Indians are dead since this *War* began; and that more have dyed by the hand of God, in respect of Diseases, Fluxes, and Feavers, which have been amongst them, then have been killed with the Sword.

July 2. This day *Connecticut* Forces being in the *Narraganset* Country met with a party of Indians, pursued them into a Swamp, killed and took *an hundred and fourscore* of them (amongst whom was the old *Squaw-Sachem* of *Narraganset*) without the loss of one English-man. Only an Indian or two that fought for the English, was killed in this engagement. The English would gladly have gone further, and have joyned with *Boston* and *Plimouth* Companies to pursue *Philip* at *Mount-hope*, but the *Connecticut* Indians would by no means be perswaded thereunto, until such time as they had returned home with the booty they had taken. And as they were on their march homeward, they took and slaughtered *threescore* more *Indians*. In the mean while the other Colonies are sending out souldiers towards *Mount-Hope*, where *Philip* with a multitude of Indians lately flocked thither is reported to be, designing speedily to fall upon the neighbouring Towns.

July. 6. Five or six Indian *Sachems* did make peace with the English in the Eastern parts of this Colony. They have brought in with them three hundred men besides women and Children. One of the *Sachims* did earnestly desire, that the English would promise that no more *liquors* should be sold or given to the *Indians*, that so they might not be in a Capacity of making themselves drunk, having found by wofull experience, that

that hath been a ruining evill to many of them. This week also about *two hundred Indians* more came & submitted themselves to mercy, in *Plimouth Colony*, being partly necessitated thereunto by the distresses which God in his holy providence hath brought them into, and partly encouraged by a promise from the Government there, that all such Indians as would come in, and lay down their armes should have life and liberty granted to them, excepting only such as had been active in any of the murthers which have been committed. When these Indians were in the hands of the English, a certain *Squaw* amongst them, perceiving that it would be pleasing to the English, if the murderers were discovered, she presently told of one who had a bloody hand in the murthers which were done in Mr. *Clarks* house *March* the twelfth, the Indian immediately confessed the Fact, only said that there was another who had had as great an hand therein as he, which other Indian being examined, confessed the thing also; and he revealed a third Indian Murderer, who upon Examination owned the thing, whereupon they were all three forthwith executed, thus did God bring upon them the innocent blood which they had shed. Also the Indians who had surrendered themselves, informed that a bloody Indian called *Tuck-poo* (who the last summer murdered a Man of *Boston* at *Namasket*) with about *twenty Indians* more, was at a place within 16 miles of *Plimouth*, and manifested willingness to go and fetch him in, whereupon eight English with fourteen Indians, marched out in the night, and seized upon them all, none of ours receiving any hurt at this time. Justice was speedily executed upon the Indian, who had been a Murderer; the other having their lives granted them.

July 7. A small party of our Indians having some English with them, took and killed seven of the Enemy in the Woods beyond *Dedham*, whereof one was a petty *Sachem*. The two Indians which were then taken Prisoners, say that many of their men who were sent to *Albany* for a supply of Powder, were set upon

in the way by the *Mohawks*, and killed. It is certain, that about this time, some of those *Indians* who are in *Hostility* against the English (amongst whom the *Sachim* of *Springfield* Indians, was one) came to *Albany*, to buy Powder, and that they might effect their designe, they lyed and said, that now they had made peace with the English, and desired Powder only to go an hunting in the Woods: we hear, that the other Indians were very desirous to have slain them, but the Governour of *New-York* secured them, and gave notice to the Council at *Hartford*: since that we have intelligence that many of our enemies, yea and such as have been notorious Murderers, are fled for refuge to those about *Albany*.

July 11. A Party of Indians (tis conjectured that there were about two hundred of them) assaulted *Taunton*. And in probability, that Town had at this time been brought under the same desolation other places have experienced, had not the Lord in his gracious providence so ordered, that a Captive *Negro*, the week before escaped from *Philip* and informed of his purpose speedily to destroy *Taunton*; whereupon Souldiers were forthwith sent thither, so that the enemy was in a little time repulsed, and fled, after they had fired two Houses: but not one English Life was lost in this Engagement. What loss the enemy sustained is as yet unknown to us. There was a special providence in that *Negroes* escape, for he having lived many years near to the *Indians*, understood their Language, and having heard them tell one another what their designs were, he acquainted the English therewith, and how *Philip* had ordered his men to lie in *Ambuscadoes* in such and such places, to cut off the English, who by meanes of this intelligence escaped that danger, which otherwise had attended them.

About this time we hear that there are three hundred *Mohawks*, who have armed themselves, as being desirous to be revenged upon those Indians who have done so much harm to *New-England* (if they receive no discouragement as to their de-

signed Expedition) And that they purpose to *color* their heads and make them *yellow*, that so they may not upon their approach to any of our Plantations, be mistaken for other *Indians*.

There is another thing which though it doe not concern the Warr, yet hapning this week, it may not be amiss here to take notice of it. At *Saconesset* in *Plymouth* Colony, a female Child was born with two heads, perfectly distinct each from other, so that it had four eyes, and four ears, and two mouthes and tongues, &c.

July 22. Some of our Companies returned from *Mount-hope* to *Boston*, And albeit they have not attained that which was the main end proposed in their going forth, *sc.* the Apprehension of *Philip*, nevertheless God was in a gracious measure present with them: for they killed and took about an hundred and fifty *Indians* in this expedition, with the loss of but one *English-man*. One night they lodged very near unto *Philip*, but he kept himself private and still in a *Swamp*, ours not imagining that he had been so near, as afterwards (by *Indian* Captives) they perceived he was: after this an *Indian* that was taken Prisoner engaged that if they would spare his life, he would forthwith bring them to *Philip*, but our Souldiers were not able to go the nearest way towards him, yet in about two hours space, they came whither the *Indian* conducted them, and found that a great many Indians were newly fled, having for hast left their *Kettles* boyling over their fires, and their Belts, and Baskets of *Wampampeag*, yea and their dead unburied. At that time did the English take and kill about seventy persons: since an *Indian* that came into *Rhode-Island*, informeth, that *Philip* is gone to a *Swamp* near *Dartmouth*: and that when our Forces were pursuing of him, he with a few hid himself in *Squanakunk* *Swamp*, till our Souldiers were past, and then with one *Indian* in a *Canoo* crost the river to *Pocasset*. It seems the body of the Indians belonging to him, went over on two Rafts, in which passage they lost several Guns, and wet much of their Ammunition. The reason why *Philip* fled to this place, was because if he went *Northward*, the *Mohawks* would be

upon him, if *Southward* he was in danger of the *Monhegins*, and he durst not hide himself any longer about *Metapoisit*, because the Woods thereabouts were filled with Souldiers. This week also, Captain *Church* of *Plimouth*, with a small party consisting of about eighteen English, and two and twenty Indians, had four several engagements with the Enemy, and killed and took Captive seventy nine Indians, without the loss of so much as one of ours; it having been his manner, when he taketh any Indians by a promise of favour to them, in case they acquit themselves well, to set them an hunting after more of these Wolves, whereby the worst of them, sometimes do singular good service in finding out the rest of their bloody fellows. In one of these skirmishes, *Tiashq Philips* chief Captain ran away leaving his Gun behind him, and his *Squam*, who was taken. They came within two miles of the place where *Philip* hideth himself, and discerned at a distance about fifty Indians with Guns, thought to be *Philips* Hunters for Provision, and were desirous to have engaged with them, but being loaden with Captives and Plunder, they could not then attend it. Also a *Sachim* of *Pocasset* hath submitted himself with forty Indians more, to the Governour of *Plymouth*. So that there is of late such a strange *turn of providence* (especially in *Plimouth* Colony, since the Churches in that Colony (being thereunto provoked by the godly advice and Recommendation of the civil Authority in that Jurisdiction) did solemnly *renew their Covenant with God and one another*) as the like hath rarely been heard of in any age. Whereas formerly almost every week did conclude with sad tydings, now the Lord sends us good news weekly. Without doubt, there are in the World who have been praying for us, and God hath heard them. If our poor prayers may be a means to obtain mercy for them also, who have prayed for us, how shall we rejoyce, when we meet together before Jesus Christ at the last and great day?

July 25. Thirty and six English-men who went out of *Medfield* and *Dedham*, having nine of the *Praying Indians* with them, pur-

sued and overtook a party of the Enemy, killed and took alive fifty of them, without the loss of any of ours. The nine Indians stored themselves with plunder when this exploit was done: For besides Kettles, there was about half a Bushel of *Wampampeag*, which the Enemy lost, and twelve pound of Powder, which the Captives say they had received from *Albany*, but two dayes before. At this time, another of the *Narraganset Sachims* was killed, whose name was *Pomham*, and his Son was taken alive, and brought Prisoner to *Boston*. This *Pomham* 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 Souldiers were pursuing others) to crawl a little out of the way, but was found again, and when an *English-man* drew near to him, though he could not stand, he did (like a dying Beast) in rage and revenge, get hold on that Souldiers head, and had like to have killed him, had not another come in to his help, and rescued him out of the intraged dying hands of that bloody *Barbarian*, who had been a great promoter of the *Narraganset War*.

July 27. One of the *Nipmuck Sachims* (called Sagamore *John*) came to *Boston*, and submitted himself to the mercy of the *English*, bringing in *about an hundred and fourscore Indians* with him. And that so he might ingratiate himself with the *English*, he apprehended *Matoonas* and his Son, and brought them with him to *Boston*, which *Matoonas* was the beginner of the *War* in this Colony of *Massachusetts*; for it was he that committed the murders which were done at *Mendam*, *July 14. 1675*. Being thus taken and examined before the Council, he had little to plead for himself, and therefore was condemned to immediate death. Sagamore *John* was desirous that he and his men might be the Executioners; wherefore *Matoonas* was carried out into the Common at *Boston*, and there being tied to a Tree, the *Sachim* who had now submitted himself, with several of his men, shot him to death. Thus did the Lord (a year after) retaliate upon him the innocent blood which he had shed, as he had done so God hath re-

quited him: And inasmuch as *Matoonas* who began the War and Mischiefs which have followed thereon, in this Colony of *Masachusetts* is taken, and Justice glorified upon him, it seems to be a good *Omen*, that ere long *Philip* who began the *War* in the other Colony, shall likewise be delivered up unto Justice. In due time his foot shall slide, and the things which shall come upon him seem to make haste.

July 31. A small party of Souldiers, whose hearts God had touched, marched out of *Bridgewater*, in order to pursuing the Enemy. And (about 3 *h p.m.*) not far from *Tetignot River*, they unexpectedly to themselves, and undiscerned by the Enemy, came upon a company of Indians, amongst whom *Philip* himself was, though his being there was not known to our men, until the engagement was over. They shot down ten Indians, they were well armed, and at first snapped their Guns at the English, but not one of them took fire, wherefore, the terrour of God fell upon the Indians, that fifteen of them threw down their Guns, and submitted themselves to the English, the rest fled ; *Philip* himself escaped very narrowly with his life. He threw away his stock of Powder into the Bushes, that he might hasten his escape, albeit some of his men the next day found it again. Our Souldiers took above twenty pound of Bullets, and Lead, and seven Guns, five of which were loaden and primed : yea they took the chief of *Philips Treasure*, not being able to carry away all their Plunder that day, for they found much English goods which *Philip* had stolen. *Philip* made his escape with three men, one of which was killed. And although he himself got clear, yet his Uncle whose name was *Uncompoen*, being one of his chief Councillors was slain, and *Philips* own sister was taken Prisoner : not so much as one English man received any hurt at this time. Thus did God own *Bridgewater*, after the People therein had subscribed with their hands, and solemnly renewed their holy Covenant with God, and one another, that they would reform those evils which were amongst them, and

endeavour for the future, to walk more according to the will of God in Jesus Christ.

August 1. Captain *Church* with thirty *English-men*, and twenty *Indians* following *Philip* and those with him, by their track, took twenty and three Indians. The next morning they came upon *Philips* head quarters, killed and took about an hundred and thirty Indians, with the loss of but one English-man. In probability, many of the English-Souldiers had been cut off at this time, but that an Indian called *Matthias*, who fought for the English, when they were come very near the Enemy, called to them in their own Language with much vehemency, telling them they were all dead men if they did but fire a Gun, which did so amuse and amaze the Indians that they lost a great advantage against the English. *Philip* hardly escaped with his life this day also. He fled and left his *Peag* behind him, also his *Squaw* and his Son were taken Captives, and are now Prisoners in *Plimouth*. Thus hath God brought that grand Enemy into great misery before he quite destroy him. It must needs be bitter as death to him, to loose his Wife and only Son (for the Indians are marvellous fond and affectionate towards their Children) besides other Relations, and almost all his Subjects and Country too.

August 3. This day the Lord smiled upon this Land by signal fauour, in another respect which concerns not the present War. For whereas in the month of *July*, there had been a sore Drought, which did greatly threaten the Indian Harvest, God opened the bottles of Heaven and caused it to rain all this night, and the day after, so as that the Indian corn is recovered to admiration ; the English Harvest being already gathered in, and more plentiful then in some former years, insomuch that this which was expected to be a year of Famine, is turned to be a year of plenty as to provision.

Whilst I am writing this, good information is brought to me, that in some parts of *Connecticut* Colony, the Drought was sor-

er then in this Colony, inasmuch as the Trees began to languish, and the Indians to despair of an harvest, wherefore *Uncas* (for although he be a friend to the English, yet he and all his men continue *Pagans* still) set his *Powaws* on work to see if they could by powawing (i.e. conjuring) procure rain, but all in vain; He therefore sent Westward to a noted *Powaw*, to try his skill, but neither could that Wizzard by all his hideous and diabolical howlings, obtain Showers. Whereupon he (i.e. *Uncas*) applyed himself to Mr. *Fitch* (the faithfull and able Teacher of the Church in *Norwich*) desiring that he would pray to God for rain. Mr. *Fitch* replied to him; that if he should do so, and God should hear him, as long as their *Powaws* were at work, they would ascribe the rain to them, and think that the Devill whome the Indians worship, and not God had sent that rain, and therefore he would not set himself to pray for it, untill they had done with their vanities and witcheries. *Uncas* and his son *Oweneco* declared that they had left off *Powawing*, despairing to obtain what they desired. Mr. *Fitch* therefore called his Church together, and they set themselves by Fasting and Prayer, to ask of the Lord Rain in the time of the latter Rain, and behold! that very night, and the next day, He that saith to the small rain, and to the great rain of his Strength, be thou upon the earth, gave most Plentifull Showers, inasmuch as the Heathen were affected therewith, acknowledging that the God whom we serve is a great God, and there is none like unto him.

August 6. An Indian that deserted his Fellows, informed the inhabitants of *Taunton* that a party of Indians who might be easily surprised, were not very far off, and promised to conduct any that had a mind to apprehend those Indians, in the right way towards them; whereupon about twenty Souldiers marched out of *Taunton*, and they took all those Indians, being in number thirty and six, only the *Squaw-Sachem* of *Pocasset*, who was next unto *Philip* in respect of the mischief that hath been done, and the blood that hath been shed in this Warr, escaped alone;

but not long after 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 *Queens* head. Now here it is to be observed, that God himself by his own hand, brought this enemy to destruction. For in that place, where the last year, she furnished *Philip* with Canoes for his men, she her self could not meet with a Canoo, but venturing over the River upon a Raft, that brake under her, so that she was drowned, just before the English found her. Surely *Philips* turn will be next.

August. 10. Whereas *Potock* a chief Counsellor to the old Squaw-Sachem of *Narraganset*, was by some of Road-Island brought into *Boston*, and found guilty of promoting the War against the English, he was this day shot to death in the Common at *Boston*. As he was going to his execution, some told him that now he must dy, he had as good speak the truth, and say how many Indians were killed at the Fort-Fight last winter. He replied, that the English did that day kill above seven hundred fighting men, and that three hundred who were wounded, dyed quickly after, and that as to old men, women and Children, they had lost no body could tell how many; and that there were above three thousand Indians in the Fort, when our Forces assaulted them, and made that notable slaughter amongst them.

August. 12. This is the memorable day wherein *Philip*, the perfidious and bloody Author of the War and wofull miseryes that have thence ensued, was taken and slain. And God brought it to pass, chiefly by Indians themselves. For one of *Philips* men (being disgusted at him, for killing an Indian who had propounded an expedient for peace with the English) ran away from him, and coming to Road-Island, informed that *Philip* was now returned again to *Mount-Hope*, and undertook to bring them to the Swamp where he hid himself. Divine Providence so dis-

posed, as that Capt. *Church* of *Plymouth* was then in Road-Island, in order to recruiting his Souldiers, who had been wearied with a tedious march that week, But immediately upon this Intelligence, he set forth again, with a small company of English and Indians. It seemeth that night *Philip* (like the man, in the Host of *Midian*) dreamed that he was fallen into the hands of the English; and just as he was saying to those that were with him, that they must fly for their lives that day, lest the Indian that was gone from him should discover where he was; Our Souldiers came upon him, and surrounded the *Swamp* (where he with seven of his men absconded) Thereupon he betook himself to flight; but as he was coming out of the *Swamp*, an English-man and an Indian endeavoured to fire at him, the English-man missed of his aime, but the Indian shot him through the heart, so as that he fell down dead. The Indian who thus killed *Philip*, did formerly belong to Squaw-Sachim of *Pocas-set*, being known by the name of *Alderman*. In the beginning of the war, he came to the Governour of *Plymouth*, manifesting his desire to be at peace with the English, and immediately withdrew to an Island, not having ingaged against the English nor for them, before this time. Thus when *Philip* had made an end to deal treacherously, his own Subjects dealt treacherously with him. This Wo was brought upon him that spoiled when he was not spoiled. And in that very place where he first contrived and began his mischief, was he taken and destroyed, and there was he (like as *Agag* was hewed in pieces before the Lord) cut into four quarters, and is now hanged up as a monument of revenging Justice, his head being cut off and carried away to *Plymouth*, his Hands were brought to *Boston*. So let all thine Enemies perish, O Lord! When *Philip* was thus slain, five of his men were killed with him, one of which was his chief Captains son, being (as the Indians testifie) that very Indian, who shot the first gun at the English, when the War began. So that we may hope that the War in those parts will dye with *Philip*.

A little before this, the Authority in that Colony had appointed the seventeenth of this instant to be observed as a day of publick *Thanksgiving* throughout that Jurisdiction, on the account of wonderful success against the Enemy, which the Lord hath blessed them with, ever since they renewed their Covenant with him; and that so they might have hearts raised and enlarged in ascribing praises to God, he delivered *Philip* into their hands a few dayes before their intended *Thanksgiving*. Thus did God break the head of that Leviathan, and gave it to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness, and brought it to the Town of *Plimouth* the very day of their solemn Festival: yet this also is to be added and considered, that the Lord (so great is the divine faithfulness) to prevent us from being lifted up with our successes, and that we might not become secure, so ordered as that not an *English-man* but an *Indian* (though under *Churches* influence) must have the honour of killing *Philip*. And the day before this, was attended with a doleful Tragedy in the Eastern parts of this Country, viz. at *Falmouth* in *Casco-bay*, where some of those treacherous and bloody Indians who had lately submitted themselves, and promised Fidelity to the English, killed and took Captive above thirty Souls. The chief Author of this mischief, was an Indian called *Simon*, who was once in the hands of the English, and then known to have been active in former Murders, having bragged and boasted of the mischief and murders done by him: we may fear, that God, who so awfully threatned *Ahab*, when he had let go out of his hand a Blasphemous, Murderous Heathen, whom the Lord had devoted to destruction, was not well pleased with the English for concluding this, and other bloody Murderers, in the late Eastern peace. What the issue of this new flame thus breaking forth, shall be, or how far it shall proceed; is with him whose wisdom is infinite; and who doth all things well; inasmuch as it is too evident that a *French* Coal hath kindled this unhappy fire (blood and fire being the Elements which they delight to swim in) it is not like to be ex-

tinguished in one day. But we must leave it to God and time, fully to discover what hath been, and what shall be.

Thus have we a brief, plain, and true Story of the *War* with the Indians in *New-England*, how it began, and how it hath made its progress; and what present hopes there are of a comfortable closure and conclusion of this trouble; which hath been continued for a whole year and more. Designing only a *Breviary of the History of this war*, I have not enlarged upon the circumstances of things, but shall leave that to others, who have advantages and leisure to go on with such an undertaking.

*Magna dabit, qui magna potest, mihi parva potenti,
Parvaque poscenti, parva dedisse sat est,*

There is one thing admirable to consider; I mean the providence of God in keeping one of these three *United Colonies*, in a manner untouched all this while: For *Connecticut Colony* hath not been assaulted by this Enemy, only a few houses in one deserted Plantation were burnt; and it is possible that one Indian alone might do that. Whether God intends another tryal for them, or for what reason he hath hitherto spared them, no one may as yet determine. Christ said unto *Peter*, *What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter*: even so, although we do not at present fully perceive the meaning of this providence, yet hereafter it will be manifest. And albeit the same sins and provocations have been found with them that are to be charged upon others; nevertheless, it must needs be acknowledged (for why should not that which is praise-worthy in Brethren be owned, that so God may have the glory of his grace towards and in his Servants?) they have in the management of this affair, acquitted themselves like men, and like Christians. It was prudently done of them, not to make the *Indians* who lived amongst them their Enemies, and the Lord hath made them to be as a Wall to them, and also made use of them to do great service against the com-

mon Enemies of the English. The Churches there have also given proof of their charity and Christianity, by a liberal Contribution towards the necessity of the Saints impoverished by this *War* in the other two Colonies, having collected and transported above a thousand Bushels of Corn, for the relief and comfort of those that have lost all through the Calamity of War; God will remember and reward that pleasant fruit. Nor have some of the Churches in this Colony (especially in *Boston*, which the Grace of Christ hath always made exemplary in works of that nature) been unwilling to consider their poor Brethren according to their Ability.

To *Conclude* this *History*, it is evident by the things which have been expressed, that our deliverance is not as yet perfected; for the *Nipmuck* Indians are not yet wholly subdued: Moreover, it will be a difficult thing, either to subdue, or to come at the *River Indians*, who have many of them withdrawn themselves, and are gone far westward, and whilst they and others that have been in hostility against us, remain unconquered, we cannot enjoy such perfect peace as in the years which are past. And there seems to be a dark Cloud rising from the East, in respect of Indians in those parts, yea a Cloud which streameth forth blood. But that which is the saddest thought of all, is; that of late some unhappy scandals have been, which are enough to stop the current of mercy, which hath been flowing in upon us, and to provoke the Lord to let loose more Enemies upon us, so as that the second error shall be worse then the first. Only God doth deliver for his own Names sake: the Lord will not forsake his people for his great Names sake; because it hath pleased the Lord to make us his people. And we have reason to conclude that *Salvation is begun*, and in a gracious measure carried on towards us. For since last *March* there are two or 3000. *Indians* who have been either killed, or taken, or submitted themselves to the English. And those *Indians* which have been taken Captive; & others also, inform that the *Narragansets* are in a manner ruined, there

being (as they say) not above an hundred men left of them, who the last year were the greatest body of Indians in *New-England*, and the most formidable Enemy which hath appeared against us. But God hath consumed them by the Sword, & by Famine and by Sickness, it being no unusual thing for those that traverse the woods to find dead Indians up and down, whom either Famine, or sickness, hath caused to dy, and there hath been none to bury them. And *Philip* who was the *Sheba*, that began & headed the Rebellion, his head is thrown over the wall, therefore have we good reason to hope that this *Day of Trouble*, is near to an end, if our sins doe not undoe all that hath been wrought for us. And indeed there is one sad consideration, which may cause humble tremblings to think of it, namely in that the *Reformation* which God expects from us is not so hearty and so perfect as ought to be. Divines observe, that whereas upon *Samuels Exhortations*, the people did make but imperfect work of it, as to the *Reformation* of provoking evils, therefore God did only begin their deliverance by *Samuel*, but left scattered *Philistines* unsubdued, who afterwards made head and proved a sore scourge to the Children of Israel; untill *Davids* time, in whose Reign there was a full Reformation, and then did the Lord give unto his people full deliverance. Nevertheless a sad *Catastrophe* will attend those that shall magnifie themselves against the people of the Lord of Hosts. It hath been observed by many, that never any (whether Indians or others) did set themselves to do hurt to *New-England*, but they have come to lamentable ends at last. *New-England* hath been a burthensome stone, all that have burthened themselves with it, have been cut in pieces. The experience of the present day, doth greatly confirm that observation, and give us ground to hope, that as for remaining enemies, they shall fare as others that have gone before them, have done. Yet this further must needs be acknowledged, that as to *Victories* obtained, we have no cause to glory in any thing that we have done, but rather to be ashamed and confounded for our own

ways. The Lord hath thus far been our Saviour for his Names sake, that it might not be profaned among the Heathen whither he hath brought us. And God hath let us see that he could easily have destroyed us, by such a contemptible enemy as the Indians have been in our eyes; yea he hath convinced us that we our selves could not subdue them. They have advantages that we have not, knowing where to find us, but we know not where to find them, who nevertheless are always at home, and have in a manner nothing but their lives and souls (which they think not of) to loose; every Swamp is a Castle to them, and they can live comfortably on that which would starve English-men. So that *we have no cause to glory*, for it is God which hath thus saved us, and not we our selves. If we consider the time when the enemy hath fallen, we must needs own that the Lord hath done it. For we expected (and could in reason expect no other) that when the Summer was come on, and the bushes and leaves of trees come forth, the enemy would do ten times more mischief then in the winter season; whenas since that, the Lord hath appeared against them, that they have done but little hurt comparatively. Had there not been, *Θεός από μηχανής* a divine hand beyond all expectation manifested, we had been in a state most miserable this day. Also if we keep in mind the means and way whereby our deliverance hath thus been accomplished, we must needs own the Lord in all. For it hath not been brought to pass by our numbers, or skill, or valour, *we have not got the Land in possession by our own Sword, neither did our own arm save us*. But God hath wasted the Heathen, by sending the destroying Angell amongst them, since this War began; and (which should always be an humbling consideration unto us) much hath been done towards the subduing of the enemy, by the Indians who have fought for us, sometimes more then by the English. And no doubt but that a great reason why many of them have, of late been desirous to submit themselves to the English, hath been, because they were afraid of the *Mohawgs* who have a long time been a Terror to the

other Indians. I have received it from one who was returned out of Captivity this Summer, that the Indians where he was, would not suffer any fires to be made in the night, for fear lest the *Mohawgs* should thereby discern where they were, and cut them off.

Now, as the Lord, who doth redeem Israel out of all his troubles, hath graciously and gloriously begun our Salvation, so let him perfect it, in such a way, as that no honour at all may come unto us, but that great glory may be to his own blessed Name for ever. Let him bring health and cure unto this *Ferusalem*, and reveal the abundance of peace and truth: And it shall be unto him a Name of joy, a Praise and an honour before all the Nations of the earth, which shall hear all the good that he will doe unto us, and they shall fear and tremble for all the goodness, and for all the prosperity that he will procure. If wee hearken to his voice in these his solemn Dispensations, it surely shall be so. *Not unto us O Lord; not unto us, but unto thy Name give Glory for thy mercy and for thy Truths sake, Amen!*

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίσοις Θεῶ.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since I wrote the preceding Narrative, I hear that there are who make a scruple of using the word *Army*, when applied to such inconsiderable *Forces*, as those which have been raised and sent forth by us, in the late War. I pretend not to any skill or accuracy of speaking as to modern platforms of *Military Discipline*; but sure I am that of old, a few *Cohorts* being under the command of a chief Captain, though in all there were not above four or five hundred souldiers, this was called *σραζευμα* an *Army*, Acts. 23.27. Yea those three hundred Souldiers who were under *Gideon* as their *General*, are styled an *Army*, Judg. 8.6. The Hebrew word there used cometh from צבא which signifies *turmatim congregari ad militandum*, when Troopes are assembled together, this did the Hebrews call an *Host* or an *Army*. There are small *Armies* as well as great ones, 2 Cron. 24. 24. תיז which is the word used in that place signifies, *Forces*: that Term have I commonly chosen, though the other being of most frequent use, and aptly enough expressing what is meant by it, I have not wholly declined it. For amongst us

— *Sic voles usus*

Quem penes Arbitrium est et jus et Norma loquendi.

And Reason saith, that those *Forces* may pass for *Armies* in one part of the world, that will not do so in another. But my design in this *Postscript* is not to Criticize or Apologize about the use of a Term. There is another matter of greater importance, sc. *That which doth concern the Grounds of this Warr, and the justness of it on our part*: concerning which I shall here adde a few words. It is known

to every one, that the *Warr* began not amongst us in *Mattachusetts* Colony; nor do the Indians (so far as I am informed) pretend that we have done them wrong. And therefore the cause on our part is most clear, and unquestionable : For if we should have suffered our Confederates, and those that were ready to be slain, to be drawn to death, & not have endeavoured to deliver them, when they sent unto us for that end, the Lord would have been displeas'd ; nor should we have acted like the Children of Abraham, Gen. 14.14. Yea, all the world would justly have condemned us. And as for our Brethren in that Colony, where there tumults first hapned, It is evident that the Indians did most unrighteously begin a Quarrel, and take up the Sword against them.

I said at the beginning, I would not inlarge upon that Argument, which concerns the *Grounds of the Warr*, neither will I, because that would make the *History* too voluminous, contrary to my design. Nevertheless, inasmuch as some are dissatisfied thereabouts, so as to receive impressions and prejudices in their minds, concerning our Brethren in *Plymouth* Colony (as it is natural for men in trouble to lay blame upon every body but themselves) supposing that they have without just cause, engaged themselves and all these united Colonies in an unhappy *War*. Yea and that the *Indians* were provoked to do what they did, whenas (whatever may be said of some private persons, of whose injurious dealings no complaint was made & proved) it seems very manifest to impartial Judges, that the *Government* in that Colony is *innocent* as to any *wrongs* that have been *done* to the Heathen, by those *where the Warr began*. And therefore for their vindication, and for the satisfaction of those amongst our selves, (or else where) who are cordially desirous to have things cleared, respecting *the Grounds of the Warr*, I shall here subjoyn a Letter; which I received from *Generall Winslow* (whose integrity, and peculiar capacity, (as being *Governour* of *Plymouth* Colony) to give information in this affair is well known) together with a *Narrative of the beginning of these Troubles* as it was presented to

the *Comissioners* of the *united Colonyes*, in September last, for the satisfaction of confederate Brethren.

Reverend Sir,

THe many Testimonies you have given, not only of your good respects to my unworthy self personally, but also to this whole Colony, manifested in your endeavours to vindicate us from undeserved aspersions, that some ignorant or worse then uncharitable persons would lay upon us, respecting the Grounds of these troubles, calls for a greater Retribution then a bare acknowledgment. But Sir, my present design is only to give you further trouble, by enabling you to say something more particularly on our behalfe ; to that end I have sent you the enclosed Paper which is an exact *Narrative* given in by Mr. *Hinkly* and my self, to the first Sessions of the *Comissioners* of the *Confederate Colonyes*, September last ; from which the *Commissioners* and the *Councill* of your Colony, and afterwards your *General Court*, took full satisfaction, as you see by their subsequent acts and actions. Yet much more we can truly say in our Vindication, (viz) that we have endeavoured to carry it justly and faithfully towards them at all times, and friendly beyond their deserts. I think I can clearly say, that before these present troubles broke out, *the English did not possess one foot of Land in this Colony, but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian Proprietors* : Nay, because some of our people are of a covetous disposition, and the Indians are in their Streits easily prevailed with to part with their Lands, we first *made a Law that none should purchase or receive of gift any Land of the Indians, without the knowledge and allowance of our Court*, and penalty of a fine, five pound per Acre, for all that should be so bought or obtained. And lest yet they should be streightned, we ordered that *Mount-Hope, Pocasset & several other Necks*

of the best Land in the Colony, (because most suitable and convenient for them) should never be bought out of their hands, or else they would have sold them long since. And our neighbours at *Rehoboth* and *Swanzy*, although they bought their Lands fairly of this *Philip*, and his Father and Brother, yet because of their vicinity, that they might not trespass upon the *Indians*, did at their own cost set up a very substantial fence quite cross that great Neck between the English and the Indians, and *payed due damage if at any time any unruly horse or other beasts broke in and trespassed*. And for diverse years last past (that all occasion of offence in that respect might be prevented) the English agreed with *Philip* and his, for a certain Sum yearly to maintain the said Fence, and secure themselves. And *if at any time they have brought complaints before us, they have had justice impartial and speedily, so that our own people have frequently complained, that we erred on the other hand in shewing them overmuch favour*. Much more I might mention, but I would not burden your patience ; yet we must own that God is just and hath punished us far less than our iniquities have deserved ; yea just in using as a Rod, whose enlightning and Conversion we have not endeavoured as we might & should have done, but on the contrary have taught them new sins that they knew not. The Lord *Humble* us and *Reform* us, that he may also save and deliver us, as in his own time I trust he will. Sir, I have nothing of Intelligence worthy your knowledge. The Colds are very general amongst us and some very afflictive. The Lord rebuke the mortal Distemper that prevails so much in your Town, and sanctifie all his Visitations to us.

Thus craving the benefit of your Prayers, in this day of Gods Visitation, I rest

Your obliged friend to serve you,

Marshfield May 1.

1676.

Jos, Winslow.

A brief Narrative of the beginning and progress of the present Troubles between us and the Indians, taking rise in the Colony of *New-Plimouth* June 1675. Given by the Commissioners of that Colony, for the satisfaction of their Confederate Brethren, and others.

NOT to look back further then the Troubles that were between the Colony of *New-Plimouth*, and *Philip*, Sachem of *Mount-Hope*, in the Year 1671. It may be remembered, that the settlement and issue of that controversie was obtained and made (principally) by the mediation and interposed advice, and counsel of the other two confederate Colonies, who upon a careful enquiry and search into the grounds of that trouble, found that the said *Sachems* Pretences of wrongs and injuries from that Colony were groundless and false, and that he (although first in Arms) was the peccant offending party, and that *Plimouth* had just cause to take up Arms against him: and it was then agreed that he should pay that Colony a certain summe of Mony, in part of their Damage and Charge by him occasioned, and he then not only renewed his ancient Covenant, of Friendship with them, but made himself and his People absolute Subjects to our Sovereign Lord King *Charles* the II. and to that his Colony of *New-Plimouth*, since which time, we know not that the English of that, or any other of the Colonies have been injurious to him or his, that might justly provoke them to take up Arms against us: But sometime last winter, the Governour of *Plimouth* was informed, by *Sausaman* a faithful Indian, that the said *Philip* was undoubtedly endeavouring to raise new troubles, and to engage all the *Sachems* round about in War against us. Some of the English also that lived near the said *Sachem*, communicated their fears and jealousies concurrent with what the Indian had informed: About a week after *John*

Sausaman had given his Information, he was barbarously Murdered by some Indians, for his faithfulness (as we have cause to believe) to the Interest of God, and of the English. Sometime after *Sausamans* death, *Philip* having heard that the Governour of *Plimouth* had received some information against him, and purposed to send to him to appear at the next Court, that they might enquire into those Reports, came down of his own accord to *Plimouth*, a little before the Court, in the beginning of *March* last, at which time the Councill of that Colony, upon a large debate with him, had great reason to believe that the information against him might be in substance true : But not having proof thereof, and hoping that very discovery of it so far would cause him to desist, they dismiss him friendly, giving him only to understand, that if they heard further concerning that matter, they might see reason to demand his Arms to be delivered up for their security, (which was according to former agreement between him and them) and he engaged on their demand they should be surrendred to them or their order. At that Court we had many Indians in Examination concerning the Murder of *John Sausaman*, but had not then testimony in the case, but not long after an Indian appearing to testifie, we apprehended three by him charged, to be the Murderers, and secured them, to a tryal at our next Court holden in *June*, at which time, and a little before the Court, *Philip* began to keep his men in arms about him, and to gather Strangers to him, and to march about in Arms towards the upper end of the Neck in which he lived; and near to the English houses, who began thereby to be something disquieted, but took as yet no further notice, but only to set a Military Watch, in the next Towns of *Swanzy* and *Rehoboth*. Some hints we had that *Indians* were in *Arms*, whilst our Court was sitting, but we hoped it might arise from a guilty fear in *Philip*, that we

would send for him, and bring him to tryal with the other Murderers, and that if he saw the Court broke up, and he not sent for, the cloud might blow over. And indeed our Innocence made us very secure, and confident it would not have broke into a *War*. But no sooner was our Court dissolved, but we had intelligence from Lieut. *John Brown* of *Swanzy* that *Philip* and his men continued constantly in *Arms*, many strange *Indians* from several places flocked in to him, that they sent away their Wives to *Narraganset*, and were giving our People frequent Alarums by Drums, and Guns in the night, and had guarded the passages towards *Plimouth*, and that their young *Indians* were earnest for a *War*. On the seventh of *June*, Mr. *Benjamin Church* being on Rhode-Island, *Weetamoe* (the *Squaw-Sachim* of *Pocasset*) and some of her chief men told him, that *Philip* intended a *War* speedily with the English; some of them saying, that they would help him, and that he had already given them leave to kill English-mens Cattle, and rob their Houses. About the 14. and 15th of *June*, Mr. *James Brown* went twice to *Philip* to perswade him to be quiet, but at both times found his Men in Arms, and *Philip* very high and not perswadable to peace. On the 14th of *June*, our Council writ an amicable, friendly Letter to him, shewing our dislike of his practises, and advising him to dismiss his strange *Indians*, and command his own men to fall quietly to their business, that our people might also be quiet, and not to suffer himself to be abused by reports concerning us, who intended no hurt towards him; but Mr. *Brown* could not obtain any Answer from him. On the 17th of *June*, Mr. *Pain* of *Rehoboth*, and several English going unarmed to *Mount-hope* to seek their Horses, at *Philips* request; the *Indians* came and presented their Guns at them, and carried it very insolently, though no way provoked by them. On the 18. or 19th of *June*, *Job Winslow's* House was broke open at *Swanzy*, and rifled by

Philips men. *June* 20. being Sabbath day, the People of *Swanzy* were Alarmed by the *Indians*, two of our Inhabitants turned out of their Houses, and their Houses rifled, and the *Indians* were marching up (as they judged) to assault the Town, and therefore intreated speedy help from us. We thereupon, the 21st. of *June*, sent up some to relieve that Town, and dispatched more with speed, On Wednesday 23^d. of *June* twelve more of their Houses at *Swanzy* were rifled. On the 24th *Layton* was slain at the Fall River near *Pocasset*. On the 25th of *June*, divers of our people at *Swanzy* were slain, and many Houses burned: until which time, and for several dayes after, though we had a considerable force there, both of our own, and of the *Massachusetts* (to our grief and shame) they took no revenge on the Enemy. Thus slow were we and unwilling to engage our selves and Neighbours in a *War*, having many insolencies, almost intollerable, from them, at whose hands we had deserved better;

Josiah Winslow.
Thomas Hinckley.

At a Meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies held
at *Boston* September 9th. 1675.

WE having received from the Commissioners of *Plimouth*, a Narrative, shewing the rise and several steps of that Colony, as to the present *War* with the *Indians*, which had its beginning there, and its progress into the *Massachusetts*, by their insolencies, and outrages, Murthering many persons, and burning their Houses in sundry Plantations in both Colonies. And having duely considered the same, do Declare, That the said *War* doth appear to

be both just and necessary, and its first rise only a *Defensive War*. And therefore we do agree and conclude, that it ought now to be joyntly prosecuted by all the United Colonies; and the charges thereof to be born and paid as is agreed in the Articles of Confederation.

<i>John Winthrop.</i>	<i>Thomas Danforth.</i>
<i>James Richards.</i>	<i>William Stoughton.</i>
	<i>Josiah Winslow.</i>
	<i>Thomas Hinckley.</i>

The above expressed Letter and Narrative will (I hope) tend to remove Prejudices out of the spirits of dissatisfyed persons, touching the grounds of the present *Warr*. Some have thought that if *Philip* (the Ring-leader of all the mischief & misery which hath hapned by this *War*) his solemn ingagement to the English, above four years before these Troubles began, were published, it would farther clear the justice of the *Warr* on our part; and the more, in that he doth desire, that that Covenant might testifie against him to the world, if ever he should prove unfaithfull therein. I shall therefore here subjoyn what was by him together with his Council, subscribed, (in the presence of sundry appertaining to this Jurisdiction) and doth still remain with their Names set to it, in the publick Records of the Colonies.

It is that which followeth.

Taunton, Apr. 10th. 1671.

WE Hereas my Father, my Brother and my self have formerly *submitted our selves and our people unto the Kings Majesty of England, and to this Colony of New-Plymouth*, by folemn Covenant under our Hand; but I having of late through my indiscretion, and the naughtiness of my heart violated and broken this my Covenant with my friends by

taking up Armes, with evill intent against them, and that groundlessly; I being now deeply sensible of my unfaithfulness and folly, do desire at this time solemnly to renew my Covenant with my ancient Friends, and my Fathers friends above mentioned; and doe desire this may testifie to the world against me, if ever I shall again fail in my faithfullness towards them (that I have now and at all times found so kind to me) or any other of the English Colonyes; and as a reall Pledge of my true Intentions, for the future to be faithfull and friendly, I doe freely ingage to resign up unto the Government of New-Plymouth, all my English Armes to be kept by them for their security, so long as they shall see reason. For true performance of the Premises I have hereunto set my hand together with the rest of my Council.

In the Presence of	The Mark of P. Philip
William Davis.	chief Sachem of <i>Pocanoket.</i>
William Hudson.	The Mark of V <i>Tavoser.</i>
Thomas Brattle.	The Mark of M Capt. <i>Wisposke</i>
	The Mark of T <i>Woonkaponehunt</i>
	The Mark of S <i>Nimrod.</i>

By all these things it is evident, that we may truly say of *Philip*, and the *Indians*, who have sought to dispossess us of the Land, which the Lord our God hath given to us, as sometimes *Jephthah*, and the Children of *Israel*, said to the King of *Ammon*, *I have not sinned against thee, but thou dost me wrong to war against me; the Lord the Judge, be Judge this day between the Children of Israel, and the Children of Ammon.* And as *Iehoshaphat* said, when the Heathen in those dayes, combined to destroy the Lords People; *And now behold the Children of Ammon, and Moab and Mount Seir, whom thou wouldest not let Israel invade when they came out of the Land of Egypt, but they turned from them, and destroyed them not, behold how they re-*

ward us, to come to cast us out of thy Possession, which thou hast given us to inherit, O our God wilt thou not judge them? Even so, when Philip was in the hands of the English in former years, & disarmed by them, they could easily but would not destroy him and his men. The Governours of that Colony have been as careful to prevent injuries to him as unto any others; yea, they kept his Land not from him but for him, who otherwise would have sold himself out of all; and the Gospel was freely offered to him, and to his Subjects, but they despised it: And now behold how they reward us! will not our God Judge them? yea he hath and will do so.

F I N I S.

NOTES

- 1.21-22 Segnius . . . *Horat.*] “Minds are stirred more slowly by what enters through the ears than by what is done before the trustworthy eyes.” Horace, *Ars Poetica*, ll. 180-181.
- 1.23 Lege . . . *Cic.*] “Study history so that you do not become history.” Mather ascribes this proverb to Cicero, although it is not found in his attributed works.
- 3.9-11 *Narrative . . . London*] N[athaniel] S[altonstall], *The Present State of New-England with Respect to the Indian War, Wherein Is an Account of the True Reason thereof, (as far as can be judged by Men), Together with most of the Remarkable Passages that have happened from the 20th of June, till the 10th of November, 1675. Faithfully Composed by a Merchant of Boston and Communicated to his Friend in London* (London, 1675).
- 3.14 (σὺν Θεῷ)] “(with God’s help)”
- 3.15 *Hora subsecivæ*] spare hours
- 3.16-17 another *Narrative . . . Road-Island*] “A Relacion of the Indian Warre, by Mr. Easton, of Roade Isld., 1675” remained unpublished until 1858. John Easton, a Quaker, was the deputy governor of Rhode Island 1674-1676, and his father, Nicholas Easton, was governor 1672-1674. Mather may have seen this work (or a copy of it) in manuscript.
- 3.21-22 *Ab alio . . . nemine.*] “I would prefer that it were done better by someone else, nonetheless, better it were done by me than by no one.” Quoted in John Owen, *Salus Electorum, Sanguis Jesu; or, the Death of Death in the Death of Christ* (1647).
- 3.28-4.1 ἀθηνωτάτην . . . γυμνασίαν.] “The soundest education and training for a life of active politics is the study of History.” Polybius, *Histories*, 1:1.
- 4.3-4 Book of *Jasher . . . Samuel*] Mentioned in Joshua 10:13 and 2 Samuel 1:18.
- 4.4 Book of the *Cronicles*] Mentioned in 1 Kings 14:19.

- 4.16-17 πλεόνων ἔργον ἄμεινον] “The better work shall have the advantage.” Cf. Thucydides, *History*, II, 87:6.
- 6.14-15 *Voetius . . . dévocatione Gentium*] “On the calling (or conversion) of the Gentiles.” Gijsbert Voet, *Selectarum disputationum ex priori parte theologiae, duodecima, de gentilismo & vocatione gentium* (Utrecht, 1638).
- 7.17-18 *Voetius . . . de plantatoribus Ecclesiarum*] “On the planting of churches.” In his *Politicae ecclesiasticae* (Amsterdam, 1663).
- 7.23 *infanda . . . referre.*] “these unspeakable things are of no importance here.”
- 8.3-4 *Sed meliora speramus.*] “But we hope for better.”
- 9.14 (*nec injuriâ*)] “(and not because of injury)”
- 16.31 lives . . . for a prey.] Jeremiah 21:9.
- 18.19 smoaked] smoke: to be angry (obs.)
- 26.5 *Blessed . . . Lord.*] Psalms 118:26.
- 30.22-24 I will send wild Beasts . . . number,] Leviticus 26:22
- 30.24-26 *I will bring . . . Odours.*] Leviticus 26:31
- 32.27 Mr. *Fox*] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Days, touching Matters of the Church*, popularly known as Fox’s Book of Martyrs, first published in 1563.
- 32.31 *Muscleburrough*] Also known as the Battle of Pinkie Cleugh, fought along the banks of the River Esk near Musselburgh on September 10, 1547.
- 33.10-11 *the Harvest . . . not saved.*] Jeremiah 8:20
- 37.9 *removing Candlesticks*] Revelation 2:5
- 37.15 (σὺν Θεῷ)] “(with God’s help)”
- 37.26 Ground-nuts] Small edible tubers produced by the wild bean vine, *Apios tuberosa*.
- 39.1-3 *though Noah . . . delivered,*] Ezekiel 14:20
- 40.32 *h.e.*] *hoc est*: that is

- 41.7-10 *O God, . . . bosome.*] Psalms 74:10-11
- 41.15 conclusion of the year 1675.] Under the old-style calendar, the new year began on March 21.
- 42.12-13 *O Lord . . . Enemies ?*] Joshua 7:8
- 45.15 *Ordinary*] tavern
- 47.10-11 the Lord . . . Thunder and Rain] Mather's "Errata" to the first editon says of this sentence: "That passage relating to the Thunder and Rain, hapning on May 8. hath respect to *Bridgewater*, whenas it is by an oversight printed, as though it referred to what was done at *Taunton*."
- 48.34-49.2 *The River Kishon . . . strength.*] Judges 5:21
- 49.9 (*Famá bella stant*)] "Wars stand on fame." Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis*: "Fama bella stare et eum, qui recedat, fugere credi."
- 49.11 Πολλά κενά τὸ πολέμῳ.] "For war (as the saying is) is full of false alarms." Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book 3, VIII, 6.
- 52.22-23 Sword . . . Sword] Cf. Matthew 26:52
- 55.21 *Membrum virile*] male member
- 56.3 Familistical Opinions] A reference to the Familia Caritatis ("Family of Love") founded by Hendrik Niclaes (1502-1580) of Munster and Emden in Germany; but more specifically to the so-called "Antinomians" and especially to Anne Hutchinson, expelled from the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1637.
- 56.5-7 Mr. Welds . . . Mr. Clarks Examples] Thomas Weld, *A short story of the rise, reign, and ruin of the Antinomians, Familists & libertines, that infected the churches of New-England: and how they were confuted by the assembly of ministers there: as also of the magistrates proceedings in court against them. Together with Gods strange and remarkable judgements from Heaven upon some of the chief fomenters of these opinions; and the lamentable death of Ms. Hutchison* (London, 1644), also published as *Antinomians and Familists condemned by the Synod of Elders in New England. With the proceedings of the magistrates against them, and their apology for the same, etc.* (London, 1644); and Samuel Clarke, *A mirrour or looking-glass both for saints and sinners held forth in some thousands of exam-*

ples: wherein is presented as Gods wonderful mercies to the one, so his severe judgments against the other: collected out of the most classique authors both ancient and modern with some late examples observed by myself and others: whereunto are added a Geographical description of all the countries in the known world as also the wonders of God in nature and the rare stupendious and costly works made by the art and industry of man. 4th edition. 2 volumes (London, 1671).

- 58.5 brands plucked out of the fire] Amos 4:11; Zechariah 3:2
- 60.9-11 the Lord . . . *Higgaion*. Selah.] Psalms 9:16; "Higgaion" indicates a sound of the harp to accompany meditation, "selah" indicates a musical pause.
- 67.16-18 In due time . . . haste.] Deuteronomy 32:35
- 69.30-31 saith to the small rain . . . earth] Job 37:6
- 71.14-15 the man, in the Host of *Midian*] Judges 7:13-15
- 71.34-72.1 as Agag . . . Lord] 1 Samuel 15:33
- 72.16-18 break the head of that Leviathan . . . wilderness,] Psalms 74:14
- 72.33-73.1 *Ahab* . . . destruction,] 1 Kings 20:42
73. 19-20 *Magna . . . sat est*,] "He gives great things who has great power; to me little is given and little is asked, but to give my little is enough." Ovid, *Tristia*, i.1.1
- 73: 28-29 Christ . . . *hereafter*.] John 13:7
- 75.14-15 *Sheba* . . . wall,] 2 Samuel 20:21
76. 17-18 God . . . our selves.] Cf. Psalms 100:3
- 76.25 Θεός ἀπό μηχανῆς] *Deus ex machina*; by the miraculous intervention of God.
- 76.30-32 *we have not . . . save us.*] Psalms 44:3
- 77.21-23 *Not unto . . . Truths sake*,] Psalms 115:1
- 77.24 Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ.] "Glory to God in the highest." Luke 2:14
- 79.11 στρατευμα] A body of troops, more or less extensive or systematic.

- 79.14-15 *turmatim . . . militandum*] “soldiers gathered troop by troop”
- 79.22-23 *Sic voles . . . loquendi*.] “if usage so wills it, which is the power and control and law and rule of speaking.” Horace, *Ars Poetica*, ll. 71-72.
- 89.29-90.1 *I have not sinned . . . Ammon*.] Judges 11:27
- 90.3-8 *And now behold . . . judge them ?*] 2 Chronicles 20:10-12

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Note on the Text

This electronic online edition of Increase Mather's *A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England* is based on the first edition published in Boston in 1676. It was transcribed from page images from the Early American Imprints, Series I, Evans # 220, derived from microfilm images of a copy held by the American Antiquarian Society. Spelling, punctuation, italics, and orthography have not been altered, except for the correction of obvious typographical errors, and a list of all editorial emendations is given below.

Mather's *Brief History* was republished in London the same year (1676) "according to the Original Copy Printed In New-England." That edition is available in the Early English Books Online series, and has been consulted for clarification of occasional obscure passages, particularly the Greek.

A third edition of the *Brief History* was prepared and published by Samuel G. Drake as *The History of King Philip's War* (Boston, 1862). That edition takes its text of the *Brief History* from the London (second) edition, regularizes Mather's spelling, grammar, and orthography, and makes numerous minor changes. It also incorporates passages from Cotton Mather's description of the war in the *Magnalia Christi Americana* interwoven with the elder Mather's account.

A fourth edition of the *Brief History* was prepared by Richard Slotkin and James K. Folsom, and published in *So Dreadfull a Judgment: Puritan Responses to King Philip's War, 1676-1677*, published by Wesleyan University Press (Middletown, Ct., 1978). That edition takes its source from the first edition and generally retains the original spelling and punctuation of its source. It also contains an introductory essay on Mather as a Puritan mythologist and a set of excellent notes.

The first edition of *A Brief History* was a quarto volume of 66 pages and was bound with Mather's *An Earnest Exhortation to the Inhabitants of New-England, to Hearken to the Voice of God in his Late and Present Dispensations as Ever They Desire to Escape Another Judgement, Seven Times Greater than Any Thing Which as Yet Hath Been* (Boston, 1676), Evans # 221, which is mentioned on the title page of the first edition of the *Brief History*.

The *Earnest Exhortation* was not included in the London edition (although it is mentioned on the title page there as well) or in Drake's 1862 reprint, nor is it included in this electronic online edition. It is, however, contained in Slotkin's and Folsom's *So Dreadfull a Judgment*, and it is hoped that it will eventually be published online in a digital format as well.

The typeface used in this edition is IM Fell English, digitized and furnished by Iginio Marini (<http://iginomarini.com>), based on seventeenth-century originals probably cut by Christoffel van Dijk (roman) and Robert Granjon (italic). The Greek type is from the Georgia Unicode set. In deference to modern readers the long s has not been used; and, for the sake of more accurate searching and excerpting, the ligatures for sh, st, ct, fi, fl, ff, ffi, and ffl have not been employed. Paragraph-length quotations have been rendered in the modern style, rather than beginning each line with quotation marks. The page design and layout follow the original edition, although adapted to a smaller page size. The *memento mori* headpiece on page 9 is a copy of the one in the first edition.

The following emendations have been made in the text in accordance with the "Errata" printed at the end of the first edition. Page and line numbers refer to this edition; the line count includes chapter headings, but not running heads or hairlines.

Page.line	1676 (Boston)	emended to
18.24	עֲשֵׂבָה	עֲשֵׂבָה
26.18-19	principle	principal
32.32	Committer	Committee
44.25	of their	their

The following typographical errors have been corrected:

Page.line	1676 (Boston)	emended to
4.6	<i>Cronicles</i>)	<i>Cronicles</i>):
10.32	light, ,	light,
12.14	expedition	expedition
12.20	six	six
12.22	Thus	[¶]Thus
12.26	expects	expects

13.5	town	own
13.16	enemy,	enemy.
13.17	Souldie,rs	Souldiers
13.17	iu	in
15.8	<i>troublenow</i>	<i>trouble now</i>
16.13	them	them.
17.29-30	whis is	which is
19.31	Expressions	Expressions
19.33	already.:	already:
20.14	Aug 24	Aug. 24
22.5	Capt,	Capt.
24.26	<i>Grapes,,</i>	<i>Grapes,</i>
25.1	extream	extream
25.34	Indians	Indians.
27.8	they they	they
31.1	<i>Sactuaries</i>	<i>Sanctuaries</i>
34.26	hapned.	hapned,
34.29	Boston..	Boston.
35.12	abont	about
36.17	'Also	Also
36.27	thatit	that it
37.6-7	deliverance	deliverance.
39.7	of	of
41.30	<i>Malbery</i>	<i>Malbery</i>
49.17	Expedition	Expedition.
49.22	<i>πολέμῳ</i>	<i>πολέμῳ.</i>
54.7	beentaken	been taken
54.18	Slaughtee,	Slaughter,
56.21	mr <i>Welds</i>	Mr <i>Welds</i>
56.33	but	but
60.9	Mohawks)	Mohawks;
62.22	took	took
62.23	slaughttred	slaughtered
63.4	the	the
63.16	confessed;the	confessed the
69.13	Indians	Indians
71.22	Children	Children
72.3	immediaely	immediately
75.33	Captive;(&	Captive; &

76.5	aud	and
76.22	<i>Catastphe</i>	<i>Catastrophe</i>
77.20	Θεῶ	Θεός
80.20	just	just
84.11	belive	believe
85.29	from	from
86.7-8	wednesday	Wednesday

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 March 20, 2006