A Relation of the Indian War, by Mr. Easton, of Rhode Island, 1675

John Easton  
*Deputy Governor of Rhode Island*

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Preface

John Easton (1617-1705) was deputy governor of Rhode Island in the winter of 1675-1676 when he wrote this account of the beginnings of King Philip’s War. One copy of the document was sent to Sir Edmund Andros, the governor of New York, and it was preserved in the state archives and is the original source of the version presented here. Jenny Hale Pulsipher writes that Easton “also may have sent copies of the narrative to England, proving to authorities that, contrary to Massachusetts’s repeated protests, the colonies, not the Indians, bore responsibility for the conflict.’ (See her “Subjects ... unto the same king’: New England Indians and the Use of Royal Political Power,” Massachusetts Historical Review 5 (2003); online @ http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/mhr/5/pul-sipher.html ).

The “Relation” apparently circulated among some influential persons in New England, because Increase Mather seems to make reference to it in the preface to his A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England (1676) (online at http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/libraryscience/31/ page 3 and note, page 90). Easton’s account is quite different from Mather’s: where Mather was at pains to demonstrate that the Indians attacked the English without provocations, Easton gives both a full statement of the Native perspective (as presented by their leaders in pre-war negotiations) and a candid, if perhaps jaundiced, view of the motives of the United Colonies (Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut) and their established Puritan clergies.

Easton was a Quaker who, along with his father, had been forced out of Massachusetts in 1638. His father, Nicolas Easton (1593–1675), was President of Rhode Island in 1650–1651 and 1654, Deputy Governor 1666-1669 and 1670-1671, and Governor in 1672–1674. John Easton served as Deputy Governor 1674–1676, and as Governor of Rhode Island 1690-1695.

Rhode Island was governed under a Royal Charter, granted by King Charles II in 1663, which guaranteed religious liberty, and protected the colony’s territorial claims against incursion from the Puritan colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. Slavery was prohibited in Rhode Island by statute, beginning in 1652, although this did not prevent its merchants and investors from engaging in the overseas trade.

Easton’s “Relation of the Indian War” was first printed in 1858, and was reprinted in 1913 by Charles Lincoln in his Narratives of the Indian Wars 1675–1699. Both of these editions reproduce Easton’s unorthodox spelling and orthography, and may appear somewhat opaque to the modern reader.

For the sake of greater clarity, this present edition renders Easton’s “Relation” in modern English, changing spelling and word order and adding punctuation and auxiliary words as needed. The original language, as reprinted in Lincoln’s compilation, is included as an appendix. Four paragraphs relating to Easton from Lincoln’s introduction are also reproduced.

Short excerpts from the “Relation” appear online already: at http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6226 and also mirrored at http://www.vcdh.virginia.edu/solguide/VUS02/VUS02a06.html as “Metacom Relates Indian Complaints about the English Settlers, 1675” and at http://www.mayflowerfamilies.com/enquirer/king_philips_view.htm as “King Philip’s Views Of The English.” The work is also reprinted in Negotiating Difference: Cultural Case Studies for Composition, ed. Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg (Bedford/St Martins, 1996).

A related document, Easton’s letter to Josiah Winslow of Plymouth Colony (dated “26th: 3m: 1675,” or May 26, 1675) regarding Weetamo, sachem of the Pocassets, and her husband, and requesting that Winslow hear the tribe’s case in Plymouth Colony’s court to determine and officially record the boundary of the Pocasset’s land, is online at http://www.newenglandancestors.org/libraries/manuscripts/winslow.asp

Paul Royster
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May 29, 2006
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A true relation of what I know and of reports, and my understanding concerning the beginning and progress of the war now between the English and the Indians.

In the winter in the year 1674 an Indian was found dead, and by a Coroner’s inquest of Plymouth Colony judged murdered. He was found dead in a hole through ice broken in a pond, with his gun and some fowl by him. Some English supposed him thrown in. Some Indians that I judged intelligible and impartial in that case did think he fell in, and was so drowned and that the ice did hurt his throat, as the English said it was cut; but they acknowledged that sometimes naughty Indians would kill others but not, as ever they heard, to obscure it, as if the dead Indian was not murdered. The dead Indian was called Sau-simun’ and was a Christian that could read and write. Report was that

* This name is written Sosoman, Sassamon, Sausaman, and Sausimun, all abbreviations of his own spelling Wussausmon. He was a preacher to the Indians and possibly to Philip himself. Sausaman was born in Punkapog (now Canton, Massachusetts), was given the Christian name of John, was brought up by the English, and used frequently by them as an interpreter in negotiations with the Indians. He was used also as a scribe by Alexander and by Philip, the former granting him lands near Assawomset pond in Middleborough, Plymouth County, Massachusetts. It was here, as stated in the text, that his dead body was found January 29, 1674/5. [Notes are from Charles Lincoln’s 1913 edition.]
he was a bad man; and that King Philip got him to write his will and that he made the writing for a great part of the land to be his, but read it as if it had been as Philip would have it; but it came to be known, and then he ran away from him. Now one Indian informed that three Indians had murdered him, and showed a coat that he said they gave him to conceal them; the Indians report that the informer had played away his coat, and these men sent him that coat, and afterwards demanded pay, and he, so as not to pay, accused them, and knowing it would please the English so, to think him a better Christian. And the report came, that the three Indians had confessed and accused Philip so to employ them, and that the English would hang Philip, so the Indians were afraid, and reported that the English had flattered them (or by threats) to believe Philip that they might kill him to have his Land; and that if Philip had done it, it was their Law so to execute whomever their kings judged deserved it, and that he had no cause to hide it.

So Philip kept his men in arms. The Plymouth Governor required him to disband his men, and informed him his jealousy was false. Philip answered he would do no harm, and thanked the Governor for his information. The three Indians were hanged, and to the last denied the fact; but one broke the halter, as it is reported, then desired to be saved, and so was a little while, then confessed they three had done the fact, and then he was hanged; and it was reported that Sausimun before his death had informed of the Indian plot, and that if the Indians knew it they would kill him, and that the heathen might destroy the English for their wickedness, as God had permitted the heathen to destroy the Israelites of old; so the English were afraid, and Philip was afraid, and both increased in arms, but for 40 years time reports and jealousies of war had been so very frequent that we did not think that now a war was breaking forth; but about a week before it did we had cause to think it would. Then to endeavor to prevent it, we sent a man to Philip to say that if he would come to the ferry, we would come over to speak with him. About four miles we had to come thither. Our messenger came to them; they not aware of it and behaved themselves as furious but suddenly were appeased when they understood who he was and what he came for. Philip called his council and agreed to come to us; he came himself unarmed and about 40 of his men armed. Then 5 of us went over; three were magistrates. We sat very friendly together.† We told him our business was to endeavor that they might not receive or do wrong. They said that was well—they had done no wrong, the English wronged them. We said we knew—the English said the Indians wronged them and the Indians said the English wronged them, but our desire was the quarrel might rightly be decided in the best way, and not as dogs decided their quarrels. The Indians owned that fighting was the worst way; then they propounded how right might take place, we said by arbitration. They said all English agreed against them, and so by arbitration they had had much wrong, many miles square of land so taken from them; for English would have English arbitrators, and once they were persuaded to give in their arms, that thereby jealousy might be removed, and the English having their arms would not deliver them as they had promised, until they consented to pay a 100 pounds, and now they had not so much land or money, that they were as good to be killed as to leave all their livelihood.‡ We said they might choose an Indian king, and the English might choose the Governor of New

† The reading is probably 5, possibly 50.
‡ No other contemporary historian has given an account of this conference. Possibly no other colony could have secured a conference with Philip at this time, but Rhode Island had been more friendly with the Indians than had Massachusetts or Plymouth.
‡ A reference to the treaty at Taunton, which the Indians had interpreted as meaning a temporary surrender of arms brought to the meeting-place but which the English had construed as a permanent giving up of all arms in possession of the various tribes represented. On Philip’s proposition a meeting of the New England Commissioners was held September 29, 1671, which resulted in the abandonment by the English of their construction of the treaty, conditional upon the payment by the Indians of £100 as stated in the text. This condition the Indians here declare to be impracticable.
York; that neither had cause to say either were parties in the difference. They said they had not heard of that way, and said we honestly spoke, so we were persuaded if that way had been tendered they would have accepted. We did endeavor not to hear their complaints, and said it was not convenient for us now to consider of; but to endeavor to prevent war, we said to them when in war against the English blood was spilt that engaged all Englishmen, for we were to be all under one king. We knew what their complaints would be, and in our colony had removed some of them in sending for Indian rulers insfar as the crime concerned Indians' lives, which they very lovingly accepted, and agreed with us to their execution, and said so they were able to satisfy their subjects when they knew an Indian suffered duly, but said in whatever was only between their Indians and not in townships that we had purchased, they would not have us prosecute, and that they had a great fear lest any of their Indians should be called or forced to be Christian Indians. They said that such were in everything more mischievous, only dissemblers, and that then the English made them not subject to their own kings, and by their lying to wrong their kings. We knew it to be true, and we promising them that however in government to Indians all should be alike and that we knew it was our king's will it should be so, that although we were weaker than other colonies, they having submitted to our king to protect them, others dared not other-wise to molest them; so they expressed that they took that to be well, that we had little cause to doubt but that to us under the king they would have yielded to our determinations in whatever any should have complained to us against them; but Philip charged it to be dishonesty in us to put off the hearing of their complaints; and therefore we consented to hear them. They said they had been the first in doing good to the English, and the English the first in doing wrong; they said when the English first came, their king's father was as a great man and the English as a little child. He constrained other Indians from wronging the English and gave them corn and showed them how to plant and was free to do them any good and had let them have a 100 times more land than now the king had for his own people. But their king's brother, when he was king, came miserably to die by being forced into court and, as they judged, poisoned. And another grievance was if 20 of their honest Indians testified that a Englishman had done them wrong, it was as nothing; and if but one of their worst Indians testified against any Indian or their king when it pleased the English, that was sufficient. Another grievance was when their kings sold land the English would say it was more than they agreed to and a writing must be proof against all them, and some of their kings had done wrong to sell so much that he left his people none, and some being given to drunkeness, the English made them drunk and then cheated them in bargains, but now their kings were forewarned not to part with land for nothing in comparison to the value thereof. Now whomever the English had once owned for king or queen, they would later disinherit, and make another king that would give or sell them their land, that now they had no hopes left to kepe any land. Another grievance was that the English cattle and horses still increased so that when they removed 30 miles from where the English had anything to do, they could not keep their corn from being spoiled, they never being used to fence, and thought that when the English bought land of them that they would have kept their cattle upon their own land. Another grievance was that the English were so eager to sell the Indians liquors that most of the Indians spent all in drunkenness and then ravened upon the sober Indians and, they did believe, often did hurt the English cattle, and their kings could not prevent it. We knew beforehand that these were their grand complaints, but then we only endeavored to persuade them that all complaints might be righted without war, but could get no other answer but that they had not heard of that way for the governor of New York and an Indian king to have the hearing of it. We had cause to think that had it been tendered, it would have been accepted. We endeavored however that they should lay down their arms, for the English

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7 Sir Edmund Andros.

8 Neither Roger Williams nor any other religious leader appears to have tried to Christianize the Narragansetts so persistently as John Eliot worked in Massachusetts.
were too strong for them. They said, then the English should do to them as they did when they were too strong for the English. So we departed without any discourtesy, and suddenly had a letter from Plymouth's Governor saying that they intended in arms to conform [i.e., subdue] Philip, but giving no information what it was that they required or what terms he refused to have their quarrel decided, and in a week's time after we had been with the Indians the war was thus begun. Plymouth soldiers had come to have their headquarters within 10 miles of Philip. Then most of the English thereabouts left their houses, and we had a letter from the Plymouth governor to desire our help with some boats, if they had such occasion, and for us to look to ourselves; and from the general at the quarters we had a letter telling of the day they intended to come upon the Indians, and desiring some of our boats to attend them, so we took it to be necessity for one half our Islanders to attend one day and night and the other half the next, so by turns for our own safety. In this time some Indians fell to pilfering some houses that the English had left, and a old man and a lad going to one of those houses did see 3† Indians run out thereof. The old man bid the young man shoot, so he did, and an Indian fell down but got away again. It is reported that then some Indians came to the garrison and asked why they shot the Indian. They asked whether he was dead. The Indians said yea. An English lad said it was no matter. The men endeavored to inform them it was but an idle lad’s words, but the Indians in haste went away and did not harken to them. The next day‡ the lad that shot the Indian and his father and five more English were killed; so the war began with Philip. But there was a queen§ that I knew was not a party with Philip, and the Plymouth Governor recommended to her that if she would come to our Island it would be well; and she desired she might if it were but with six of her men. I can sufficiently prove, but it is to large here to relate, that she had done much so that the quarrel might be decided without war, but some of our English, also in fury against all Indians, would not consent that she should be received to our Island, although I offered to be at all the charge to secure her and those she desired to come with her; so at length I prevailed that we might send for her, but one day accidentally we were prevented, and then our men had seized some canoes on her side, supposing they were Philip’s, and the next day an English house there was burned, and mischief endeavored of either side to the other and much done, and her houses burned, so we were prevented from any means to attain her. The English army did not come down as we were informed they would,’ so Philip got away and they could not find him. Three days after they came down, we had a very stormy night, so that in the morning the foot-soldiers were unable to return before they had refreshment. They were free to accept as we were willing to relieve them, but the Boston troopers said by their captain† that they despised it and so left the foot-soldiers. After the foot-soldiers had refreshed themselves, they too returned to their headquarters. And after hunting Philip from all the sea shores so that they could not tell what was become of him, the Narragansett kings informed us that the queen aforesaid must be in a thicket starving or conformed to Philip. But they knew she would be glad to be away from them, so from us they had encouragement to get her, and as many others as they could, away from Philip. After the English army, without our consent or informing us,

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† Better known as Major James Cudworth. He was commander-in-chief by virtue of his command of the Plymouth forces representing the colony most interested.

† The reading is probably 3, possibly 30.

‡ June 24. On this same day an attack was made upon an Englishman at Rehoboth and on June 25 two Englishmen were killed at Fall River.

§ Weetamoo, queen of Pocasset, widow of Alexander the elder brother and predecessor of Philip.

† The “English army” refers probably to the troops from Boston. Massachusetts at first thought that trouble would be averted by mediation, but on June 26, troops were sent to aid the Plymouth forces. They reached Swansey two days later, delayed by bad weather and some small engagements.

† Probably Captain Thomas Prentice.
The troops from Plymouth and Boston seem to have aroused the jealousy of the Rhode Islanders by their independent action. The treaty referred to is the so-called treaty of July 15, 1675.

† After the destruction of Dartmouth or New Bedford in July, 1675, Indians who had no part in the attack were persuaded to surrender by promises of protection from the whites. They were then taken to Plymouth where, as stated in the text, the whole party to the number of about 160 were ordered to be sold as slaves. It was not the only instance of the treatment here mentioned.

When winter was come we had a letter from Boston of the United Commissioners that war against the Narragansetts was not declared until November.

† This is considered by some as an unjust statement of the case of Wonolancet and the Indians in the Merrimac country, and the claim is made that the offense was on the side of the whites.
they were resolved to reduce the Narragansetts to conformity, so as not to be troubled with them anymore, and desired some help of boats and otherwise if we saw cause, and that we should keep secret concerning it. Our governor sent them word that we were satisfied the Narragansetts were treacherous and had aided Philip, and as we had assisted to relieve their army before, so we should be ready to assist them still, and advised that terms might be tendered that such might expect compensation that would not accept to engage in war and that there might be a separation between the guilty and the innocent, which in war could not be expected, we were not in the least expecting that they would have begun the war and not before proclaimed it or not give them defiance—I having often informed the Indians that English men would not begin a war otherwise, it was brutish so to do. I am sorry that the Indians have cause to think me deceitful, for the English thus began the war with the Narragansetts after we had sent off our Island many Indians and informed them, if they kept by the watersides and did not meddle, that the English would do them no harm; although it was also not safe for us to let them live here. The army first took all those prisoners, then fell upon the Indian houses, burned them, and killed some men. The war began without proclamation; and some of our people did not know the English had begun mischief to the Indians, and being confident and having cause to be so, believed that the Indians would not hurt them before the English began. So they did not keep their garrison exactly. But the Indians, having received that mischief, came unexpectedly upon them and destroyed 145 of them beside other great loss. But the English army commanders say that they supposed Connecticut forces would have been there. They sold the Indians that they had taken as aforesaid, for slaves, except for one old man that was carried off our Island upon his son’s back. He was so decrepit he could not go, and when the army took him, his son upon his back carried him to the garrison. Some would have had him devoured by dogs, but the tenderness of some of them prevailed to cut off his head. And afterwards they came suddenly upon the Indians where the Indians had prepared to defend themselves, and so received and did much mischief. And for about six weeks since, the time has been spent by both parties to recruit; and now the English army is out to seek after the Indians, but it is most likely that those most able to do mischief will escape, and the women and children and impotent may be destroyed; and so the most able will have the less encumbrance to doing mischief.

But I am confident it would be best for English and Indians that a peace were made upon honest terms for each to have a due propriety and to enjoy it without oppression or usurpation by one to the other. But the English dare not trust the Indians’ promises; neither the Indians to the English’s promises; and each has great cause therefore. I see no way likely unless a cessation from arms might be procured until it might be known what terms King Charles would propound, for we have great cause to think the Narragansett kings would trust our king and that they would have accepted him to be umpire if it had been tendered about any difference, for we do know the English have had much contention against those Indians to invalidate the kings determination for Narragansett to be in our colony, and we have cause to think it was the greatest cause of the war against them. I see no means likely to procure a cessation from arms unless the Governor of New York can find a way to intercede; and so it will be likely a peace may be made without troubling our king. It has always been a principle in our Colony that there should be but one supreme authority for Englishmen both in our native country and wherever English have jurisdiction; and so we know that no English should begin a war and not first offer for the king to be umpire, and not persecute those that will not conform to their worship, even if their worship be what is not owned by the king. The king would not mind to have such things redressed; some may take it that he has not the power, and that there may be a
way for them to take power in opposition to him. I am persuaded that New England’s priests are so blinded by the spirit of persecution and anxious to have their hire [i.e., their public salaries] and to have more room to be mere hirelings, that they have been the cause that the law of nations and the law of arms have been violated in this war, and that the war would not have been started if there had not been a hireling who, for his management of what he calls the gospel, to have it spread by violence, and to have his gain from his quarters paid for; and if any magistrates are unwilling to act as their pack horses, they will be trumpeting for innovation or war.

5th of 12th month 1675. * Rhode Island.

JOHN EASTON

* By modern dating, this would have been the 5th of February 1676, since calendars at that time began the new year in March. [PR note]


It is most fitting that the first narrative of this Indian war series should be that of a Rhode Islander. That colony had been denied admittance into the New England Confederation of 1643, and feared that an Indian war would give Plymouth or Connecticut an opportunity to encroach upon her boundaries. Rhode Island was the home of the Narragansetts, the most important of Philip’s allies and whose chief, Canonchet, was at least the equal of Philip in conducting the war, if not the foremost to arouse the various tribes for a united assault upon New England. In Rhode Island occurred the Swamp Fight, perhaps the most important battle of the war, and in the same colony was located Mount Hope, or Montop, the capital of Philip and the scene of his final defeat.

In no contemporary account of the war do we find more evidence of a desire to be impartial. Some have found the reason for John Easton’s impartiality in his aversion to all fighting and in Rhode Island’s equal fear of Massachusetts and of Indian conquest. Increase Mather indeed accused Easton of favoring the Indians, remarking that this narrative was “written by a Quaker in Road Island, who pretends to know the Truth of Things”; but that it was “fraught with worse Things than meer Mistakes.” A more moderate view is that the boundary disputes may have urged Easton to emphasize the possibility of maintaining peace with the Indians by arbitration were it not for the indiscretion of their white neighbors. Easton regarded the Indians more kindly than did Mather or the authors of our other narratives,
but we shall not be far astray if we consider him as expressing the Rhode Island rather than the Indian point of view. His condemnation of the colonists in certain acts is shown, as in his account of the conference between Indian and white, but this is not accompanied by indiscriminate praise of Indian motives and methods. The Rhode Island writer intends to be fair and is reasonably successful in this intent.

Easton’s birth and surroundings aided him in this effort. He was the son of Nicholas Easton, a Friend, who came to New England in 1634 and settled at Ipswich. From this Massachusetts town he moved successively to Newbury and Hampton, where he is said to have built the first English house. In 1638 Nicholas Easton was driven from Massachusetts by religious intolerance; he settled a year later at Newport, again building the first English house. There he held important positions until 1675, dying in Newport soon after his last term as governor of the colony. His son John, the author of our narrative, was born in 1617 and accompanied his father in his various removes. He was attorney-general of Rhode Island for much of the time between 1652 and 1674, and fifteen years after the death of his father John Easton also became governor of the colony.

Easton was about sixty years old at the time of the events recounted in the narrative. It was written by a person of mature years and of conservative temperament, a person well fitted to give a judicial account of the origin of the war and a careful estimate of its participants. The original narrative remains in manuscript form in the New York State Library. We are indebted to Mr. Peter Nelson, of the archives of that state, for collation of our text with the original. A printed edition limited to one hundred copies was published in Albany in 1858 under the careful editing of Franklin B. Bough. The importance of the narrative and inaccessibility of this edition warrant its republication at this time. The care with which it was written may lead the reader to wish that the record covered a greater period of the war, but the fact that Easton’s father was governor of Rhode Island from 1672 to 1674 and that the son was deputy governor (1674–1676) when the war opened may have given the son a peculiar fitness as a historian of the war’s beginning which he would not have retained for its later history.
A RELACION OF THE INDYAN WARRE, BY
MR. EASTON, OF ROADE ISLD., 1675

a true relation of wh I kno and of reports, and my understanding
Concerning the begining and progres of the war now between
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In the winter in the year 1674 an indian was found dead,
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murdered. the dead indian was caled Sausimun[2] and a
Christian that could read and write. report was he was a
bad man that king Philop got him to write his will and he
made the writing for a gret part of the land to be his but read
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then he run away from him. now one indian informed that
3 indians had murdered him, and shewed a Coat that he said
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informer had played away his Coate, and these men sent him

1 Naughty, i. e., wicked.
2 This name is written Sosoman, Sassamon, Sausaman, and Sausimun, all abbreviations of his own spelling Wussausmon. He was a preacher to the Indians and possibly to Philip himself. Sausaman was born in Punkapog (now Canton, Massachusetts), was given the Christian name of John, was brought up by the English, and used frequently by them as an interpreter in negotiations with the Indians. He was used also as a scribe by Alexander and by Philip, the former granting him lands near Assawomset pond in Middleborough, Plymouth County, Massachusetts. It was here, as stated in the text, that his dead body was found January 29, 1674/5.
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Of the manner in which the Indians had come to kill Sausimun see The Present State of New England, p. 24, post. It is not certain that the three men were hanged. One is reported to have been reprieved for a time and shot later. The jury trying the accused consisted of four Indians and twelve whites. One bit of evidence is stated by Increase Mather: “When Tobias came near the dead body, it fell a bleeding on fresh, as if it had been newly slain.”

Three years earlier peace had been made at Taunton on April 112, 1671, but since that time the Indians had been reported as dissatisfied with the conditions imposed upon them and as preparing for a renewal of the war.
if that way had bine tendered thay wold have accepted. we did indever not to here ther Cumplaits, saied it was not Convenient for us now to Consider of, but to indever to pre-vent war, saied to them when in war against English blud was spilt that ingadged all Englishmen for we wear to be all under one king. we knew 'what ther Cumplaits wold be, and in our Colony had removed sum of them in sending for indian rulers in what\(^1\) the Crime Conserned indians lives which thay veri lovingly accepted and agreed with us to ther execution and saied so thay wear abell to satesifie ther subjects when thay knew an indian sufered duly, but saied in what was only betwen ther indians and not in townships that we had purchased, thay wold not have us prosecute and that thay had a great fear to have\(^2\) ani of ther indians should be Caled or forsed to be Christian indians.\(^3\) thay saied that such wer in everi thing more mischivous, only disemblers, and then the English made them not subject to ther kings, and by ther lying to rong their kings. we knew it to be true, and we promising them that however in government to indians all should be allice and that we knew it was our kings will it should be so, that altho we wear wecker then other Colonies, thay having submited to our king to protect them others dared not other-wise to molest them, so thay expresed thay tooke that to be well, that we had litell Case to doute but that to us under the king thay wold have yelded to our determinations in what ani should have Cumplained to us against them, but Philop Charged it to be disonesty in us to put of the hering the complaints therfore we Consented to here them. thay saied thay had bine the first in doing good to the English, and the English the first in doing rong, saied when the English first Came their kings father was as a great man and the English as a litell Child, he Constraened other indians from ronging the English and gave them Coren and shewed them how to plant and was free to do them ani good and had let them have a 100 times more land, then now the king had for his own peopell, but ther kings brother when he was king Came miser-ably to dy by being forsed to Court as thay judged poysioned,\(^1\) and another greavanc was if 20 of there onest indians testefied that an Englishman had dun them rong, it was as nothing, and if but one of ther worst indians testefied against ani indian or ther king when it plesed the English that was sufittian. another grievanc was when ther kings sold land the English wold say it was more than thay agreed to and a writing must be prove\(^2\) against all them, and sum of ther kings had dun rong to sell so much he left his peopell none and sum being given to drunknes the English made them drunk and then cheted them in bargens, but now ther kings wear forewarned not for to part with land for nothing in Cumpareson to the valew therof. now home\(^3\) the English had owned for king or queen thay\(^4\) wold disinhert, and make a nother king that wold give or seell them there land, that now thay had no hopes left to kepe ani land. another grievanc the English Catell and horses still incresed that when they removed 30 mill from when English had anithing to do, thay Could not kepe ther coren from being spoyled, thay never being iused to fence, and thoft when the English boff\(^5\) land of them that thay wold have kept ther Catell upone ther owne land. a nother grevanc the English wear so eger to sell the indians lickers that most of the indians spent all in drunknes and then ravened upone the sober indians and thay did belive often did hurt the English Catell, and ther kings Could not prevent it. we knew before these were ther grand Cumplaits, but then we only indevered to perswaid that all Cumplaits might be righted without war, but Could have no other answer but that thay had not herd of that way for the Governer of yorke and a indian king to have the hering of it. we had Case to thinke in\(^6\) that had bine tendred it wold have bine accepted. we indevered that however thay should lay doune ther aremes for the English wear to strong for them. thay saied then the English should do to them as thay did when thay wear to strong for the english. so we departed without ani discurious-neB, and sudingly had letter from Plimoth Governer thay intended in aremes to Conforem\(^7\) philop, but no information what that was thay required or what termes he refused to

\(^{1}\) In so far as.  
\(^{2}\) Lest.  
\(^{3}\) Neither Roger Williams nor any other religious leader appears to have tried to Christianize the Narragansetts so persistently as John Eliot worked in Massachusetts.

\(^{1}\) See post, p. 26, note 2 Proof.  
\(^{2}\) Whom.  
\(^{3}\) The English.  
\(^{4}\) The English.  
\(^{5}\) Thought; bought.  
\(^{6}\) It.  
\(^{7}\) Conform, subdue.
have their quarrel desired, and in a week's time after we had bine with the indians the war began. Plimoth soldiers were Cum to have their head quarters within 10 mile of philop, then most of the English therabout left their houses and we had letter from Plimoth governor to desier our help with sum boats if they had such occasion and for us to looke to our selves and from the generall at the quarters we had letter of the day they intended to Cum upon the indians and desier for sum of our boats to attend, so we took it to be of nesesetey for our leslanders one halef one day and night to attend and the other halef the next, so by turnens for our oone safti. in this time sum indians fell a pilfering sum houses that the English had left, and a old man and a lad going to one of those houses did see 3 indians run out of ther. the old man bid the young man shoote so he did and a indian fell doune but got away again. it is reported that then sum indians Came to the gareson asked why thay shot the indian. thay asked whether he was dead. the indians said yea. a English lad said it was no mater. the men indevered to inforem them it was but an idell lads words but the indians in hast went away and did not harken to them. the next day the lad that shot the indian and his father and fief English more wear killed so the war begun with philop. but ther was a queen that i knew was not a party with philop and Plimoth Governer recumended her that if she wold Cum to our lesland it wold be well and shee desired shee might if it wear but with six of hir men. I Can suftianitly prove, but it is to large here to relate, that shee had practised much the quarrell might be desided without war, but sum of our English allso in fury against all indians wold not Consent shee should be reseved to our lesland alltho I profered to be at all the Charg to secure

hier and those shee desiered to Cum with hier, so at length pre. vailed we might send for hier, but one day acsedentaly we" wear prevented, and then our men had seased sum Cannos on hier side supposing they wear philops and the next day a English house was there burned and mischief of ether side indevered to the other and much dun, hier houses burned, so we wear prevented of ani menes to attain hier. the English army Cam not doune as informed thay wold so philop got over and thay could not find him. 3 days after thay came doune had a veri stormy night, that in the morning the footes wear disabled to returen before thay had refreshment. thay wear free to accept as we wear willing to relive them, but [boston] trupers Sayed [by] thay despised it and so left the footes. after the footes had refreshed themeselves thay also returned to ther head quarters, and after hunt[ing] philop from all sea shors that thay Could not tell what was becum of him, the naroganset kings infornde us that the queen aforesaid must be in a thicket a starving or conformed to philop, but thay knew shee wold be glad to be from them, so from us we had in- curedgment to get hier and as mani as thay Could from philop. after the English army with our our Consent or inforning us came into our colonye, broft the naroganset indians to artickels of agreement to them philop being flead about a 150 indians Came in to a Plimoth gareson volentarely. Plimoth authority sould all for slaves (but about six of them) to be Caried out of the Cuntry. it is true the indians genaraly ar very barbarus peopell but in this war I have not herd of ther tormenting ani

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1 Better known as Major James Cudworth. He was commander-in-chief by virtue of his command of the Plymouth forces representing the colony most interested.

2 The reading is probably 3, possibly 30.

3 June 24. See post, p. 28. On this same day an attack was made upon an Englishman at Rehoboth and upon June 25 two Englishmen were killed at Fall River.

4 Five.

5 The queen referred to was Weetamoo, queen of Pocasset, widow of Alexander the elder brother and predecessor of Philip.

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1 The “English army” refers probably to the troops from Boston. Massachusetts at first thought that trouble would be averted by mediation, but on June 26 troops were sent to aid the Plymouth forces. They reached Swansea two days later, delayed by bad weather and some small engagements.

2 The words in brackets are conjectural; the manuscript seems to read “boston.”

3 Probably Captain Thomas Prentice is meant.

4 The troops from Plymouth and Boston seem to have aroused the jealousy of the Rhode Islanders by their independent action. The treaty referred to is the socalled treaty of July 15, 1675. “Broft” means brought.

5 After the destruction of Dartmouth or New Bedford in July, 1675, Indians who had no part in the attack were persuaded to surrender by promises of protection from the whites. They were then taken to Plymouth where, as stated in the text, the whole party to the number of about 160 were ordered to be sold as slaves. It was not the only instance of the treatment here mentioned.
but that the English army Cote an old indian and tormented him. he was well knone to have bine a long time a veri decreped and haremless indian of the queens. as Philop fled the fore said queen got to the narogansets and as mani of hi men as shee could get, but one part of the narogansets agreement to boston was to kill or deliver as mani as they Could of philops peoppell, therefor boston men demanded the fore said queen and others that they had so resaved for which the indians wear unfree and made mani excuses as that the queen was none of them and sum others wear but sudieners with philop because removed by the English having got ther land and wear of ther kindred which we kno is true. not but we think they did shelter mani they should not, and that they did kno sum of ther men did asist Philop, but acording to ther barbarus ruells they acounted so was no rong or they could not help it, but sum enemis heds they did send in and told us they wear informed that however when winter Came they might be suer the English wold be ther enemies, and so they stood doutful for about 5 months. the English wear jelous that ther was a genarall plot of all indians against Eng- lish and the indians wear in like maner jelous of the english. I think it was genarall that they wear unwilling to be ronged and that the indians do judg the English partiall against them and among all a philthy Crue that did desier and indever for war and those of ani solidety wear against it and indevered to prevent the war, for concerning Philop we have good intelegenc that he advised sum English to be gon from ther outplases wher they lived or they wear in danger to be killed, whether it wear to prevent a war, or by ther prests informed if they begun they should be beaten and otherwise not so we have good intelegenc for I do think most of them had a desier the English wold begin, and if the English be not carefull to manefest the indians mai expect equity from them, they mai have more enemies then they wold and more Case of Jelosy, the report is that to the estward the war thus began, by suposing that sum of those indians wear at a fight in thes parts and that they sa a man wonded, so authority sent sum forth to discufer, having before disarmed those indians and confined them to a place, which the indians wear not ofended at, but those men Coming upon them in a warlike postuer thay fled that the men Cote but 3 of them. those in authority sent out againe to excuse them selef, but they could only cum to the spech with one man as he kept out of ther reach. thay excused them selef and saied his father was not hurt, one of them thay had taken. he saied he could not be live them, for if it wer so thay wold have broht him, thay had bin desaitfull to disarem them and so wold have killed them all, and so he run away, and then English wear killed, and the report is that up in the countri here away thay had demanded the indians arems and went againe to parell with them and the indians by ambushcade tretcherously killed 8 that wear going to treat with them. when winter was Cum we had later from boston of the united Comitioners that thay wear resolved to reduce the narogansets to Conformity not to be troubled with them ani more and desiered sum help of botes and otherwise if we sa Case and that we should kepe secret concerning it. our governor sent them word we wear satesfied narogansets wear tretcherous, and had ayded Philop, and as we had asisted to relive ther army before so we should be redy to asist them still, and advised that terems might be tendered that such might expect Cumpation that wold accept not to ingag in war and that ther might be a seperation betweene the gilty and the inosent which in war Could not be expected, wenot in the lest expecting thay wold have begun the war and not before proclaimed it or not give them Defianc. I having often informed the indians that English men wold not begin a war otherwise it was brutish so to do. i am sory so the indians have Case to think me desaitfull for the English thus began the war with the narogansets we having sent ofe our lesland mani indians and informed them if they kept by the water sides and did not medell that however the English

1 Parley. The lines following are considered by some as an unjust state-ment of the case of Wonolancet and the Indians in the Merrimac country, and the claim is made that the offense was on the side of the whites.

2 Compensation.

3 War was declared by the Commissioners at Boston on September 9, 1675. In October the size of the war force was increased and Josiah Winslow of Plymouth placed in command.
and we have Case to think it was the greatest Case of the war against them. I see no menes licky to procuer a sesation from ares except the governer of new york can find a way so to intersete and so it will be licky a pease mai be made without trubling our king, not but it allwais hath bine a prinsipell in our Colony that ther should be but one supreme to English men and in our natief Cuntry wher ever English have jurisdiction and so we know no English should begin a war and not first tender for the king to be umpier and not persecute such that will not Conforem to ther worship, and ther worship be what is not owned by the king, the king not to mind to have such things redresed, sum mai take it that he hath not pouer, and that ther mai be a wai for them to take pouer in oposition to him. I am so perswaided of new England prists thay ar so blindaed by the spiret of persecution and to maintaine to have hyer, and to have rone to be mere hyerlings that thay have bine the Case that the law of nations and the law of ares have bine vioilated in this war, and that the war had not bine if ther had not bine a hyerling that for his maneging what he Caleth the gospell, by voiolenc to have it Chargabell for his gaine from his quarters and if ani in magestrasy be not so as ther pack horses thay will be trumpating for inovation or war.

5th : 12m : 1675. Roadiesland.

John Easton