

# Early Rehoboth

RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN





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Miss Martha Peebles

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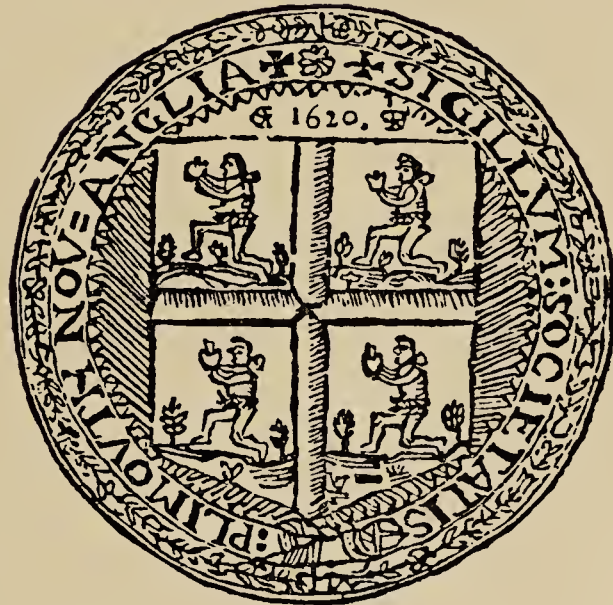
Oline B. Wearill

With Happy Memories of School-Days





# EARLY REHOBOTH













*Courtesy of Henry L. Shattuck, Esquire*

### MAJOR THOMAS SAVAGE

Commander-in-Chief of the Massachusetts Military Expedition to Mount Hope, Plymouth Colony, from 26 June to 19 July 1675.

Major Savage's first wife was a daughter of Ann (Marbury) Hutchinson. In the Antinomian troubles at Boston he was disarmed, and in 1638, moved to Aquidneck, Rhode Island, where he was one of the first settlers. He soon returned to Boston and lived in the north end of the town near the northerly corner of North and Fleet Streets. He was a tailor and had a shop near Edward Gibbons' house.

This illustration is from a life portrait painted in 1679 when Major Savage was 73 years old. Beneath the arms, in the upper right-hand corner, is the inscription "Æta:73:AN°. 1679."



# *Early Rehoboth*

*Documented Historical Studies of  
Families and Events in This  
Plymouth Colony Township*

By

RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN



VOLUME III

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PRIVATELY PRINTED

REHOBOTH, MASSACHUSETTS

1948

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THE RUMFORD PRESS, CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE



1149671

*To my son*

RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN, JR., A.B., M.S.

*who writes scientific books*

AND

*To my daughter*

MARJORIE BOWEN MUNSTERBERG, A.B.

*who writes more entertaining novels*

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*Books in preparation:*

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DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF REHOBOTH.

LIFE OF REV. SAMUEL NEWMAN.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF SWANSEA.

*Chapter VI in this book is reprinted, with additions and corrections, from an article contributed by Mr. Bowen to THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, to which acknowledgment is made.*



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## PREFACE

This volume on Early Rehoboth is the third of several, the material for which is drawn largely from the manuscript of the writer's *Documentary History of Rehoboth* which he has in preparation. These volumes are intended to supplement the latter, for within its limits, it would be impossible to give the various subjects the extended study accorded them in this series. These studies are based on a collection of material found in the more than three thousand pages of original records transcribed by the writer over a period of many years.

Students of King Philip's War history will find much new and valuable source material in the first four chapters of this volume, principally in original letters here published for the first time. In the first chapter, we learn that King Philip's War was started on 23 June 1675 by John Salisbury, a boy of about twenty years of age, when at the order of his father, William Salisbury, he shot and killed an Indian at Swansea. Also, a letter written by Noah Newman, here first published, gives an account of the Roger Williams' meeting with the Indians when they burned Providence on 29 Mar. 1675.

The next chapter presents, for the first time, the extensive and interesting writings of Philip Walker, a heretofore unknown early Rehoboth poet. Written during King Philip's War, his poetry adds much to our knowledge of the period. Among other incidents recorded is his graphic description of the heretofore unknown cruel Indian murder of Thomas Man's wife Rachel and her infant child at Swansea on 24 June 1675.

Chapter III is a brief history of the 1675 Massachusetts Military Expedition to Mount Hope, Plymouth Colony. This was the largest offensive army assembled in New England up to that time. This chapter lays the foundation for the following chapter which gives the most comprehensive history yet published on King Philip's escape from the Pocasset Swamp; the pursuit by Rehoboth, Providence, Taunton, and Stonington men, reinforced by the Mohegan Indians; the fight at Nipsachuck, Providence, on 1 Aug. 1675; and the subsequent escape from Capt. Daniel Henschman, the prevention of which would have ended the Indian War within a few weeks after its inception.

Chapter V is a study of Richard Wright, an important Massachusetts Bay man who was also a leader in the Seekonk settlement, and shows the unofficial backing that settlement had from Massachusetts Bay. The following chapter is a study of that doughty soldier, Capt. George Wright, a resident of several different colonies and the heretofore unknown progenitor of the Long Island family of that name. This study discloses a much closer connection between the Rhode Island towns and the western end of Long Island



and New Amsterdam in the middle of the seventeenth century than has hitherto been suspected.

The last chapter contains excerpts of all the Rehoboth deeds recorded in Plymouth Colony, and in Bristol County, Massachusetts Colony, for sixty-five years, from 1640 to 1705—an unusual list of great value.

Many different spellings of the same name will be found in this book. The reason for this is that the spellings as printed are *verbatim* transcripts of the original records. The importance of retaining these original spellings is perhaps best illustrated in the case of Thomas Cooper of Rehoboth. In 1644 he signed his name "Thomas Coop", and the following year John Winthrop, Jr., wrote the name "Thomas Coop". In the Rehoboth records the name is recorded only once as "Thomas Coop", and for many years after as Thomas Cooper.

Fully documented, this volume is intended as a source book, not only for genealogists and students of Rehoboth history, but also for students of Bristol County, Plymouth Colony, Rhode Island Colony, Town of Providence, and southern New England history in general. The writer has taken great care in its preparation, but with the thousands of names and dates involved it is too much to expect that no errors will be found.

In a reference work of this kind, an accurate name index is of paramount importance. Containing some 1,900 different names, the index has been checked twice and no effort has been spared to make it as accurate as possible. The writer is indebted to Miss Olive B. Weavill for its preparation.

RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN

*Rehoboth, Massachusetts,  
15 November 1947*

## CHAPTER I

### NEW SOURCE MATERIAL FOR KING PHILIP'S WAR

It is a serious reflection on American historical scholarship that no history worthy of the name has yet been written on King Philip's War, although nearly two and three-quarters centuries have since elapsed. This war differed from all other wars in that it was a fight to extinction between the Indians and the English, the end of which ushered in one of the most important eras in the history of early New England.

To attain its full measure of importance and value, the ideal history of King Philip's War must be a detailed personalized history in which every single recoverable prime source record is utilized in order not only to record the military movements of this war, but to bring out in full clear detail the individual action and local background of that frightful drama of Indian war-whoop, sudden attack, flaming dwelling-houses, and atrocious massacres, all accompanied by the spectre of starvation for those fortunate enough to survive.

Above all, the ideal history of this war must be completely *documented* in order that we may have once and for all time an accurate and dependable *source* foundation work from which the serious working student of history may continue to build and by further original research and study increase our factual knowledge of this war.

For the Massachusetts military part of an ideal history, Rev. George Madison Bodge in his excellent *Soldiers in King Philip's War* (3rd Ed., 1906),\* has collected a tremendous amount of valuable military source material drawn from the original account books of John Hull, Treasurer-at-War of Massachusetts Colony, now in the New England Historic Genealogical Society, consisting of lists of officers, soldiers, military committees, scouts, and others engaged in the war. This book will save the historian many hours of grueling research.

It is not enough simply to mention the name of the company commander and be content with the statement that a half dozen men were killed. We must know the names of these men and something about the detail of their lives, for in these frontier towns where the war was fought, every able-bodied man, whether minister, capitalist, or servant, took his musket and fought for his life. We must know all about these men for many of them were undoubtedly of far more importance than the company captain whose name is so carefully preserved.

During the last century many narrative histories of King Philip's War have been written, and while these are extremely interesting

\* To the student of history, this work is indispensable and, in the writer's opinion, ranks next in value to those of Mather, Hubbard, and Church. It will be hereafter cited as *Bodge*.



and entertaining, they hardly deserve the name of histories, for most of them are little more than historically misleading story books. The reason for all this is quite simple. These later writers have been content to follow the outline pattern of King Philip's War as written during the progress of the war by the two contemporary historians, Rev. Increase Mather\* of Boston and Rev. William Hubbard† of Ipswich, and to fill in with details from Capt. Benjamin Church's Narrative‡ as told to his son Thomas in 1717, some forty years after

\* "A brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England, (From June 24, 1675 when the first English-man was murdered by the Indians, to August 12, 1676 when Philip, aliàs 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. . . . Boston, Printed and Sold by John Foster over against the Sign of the Dove. 1676" [*John Carter Brown Library*].

The second edition, under the same title, was printed in London for *Richard Chiswell*, at the Rose and Crown in *St. Pauls Church-Yard*, according to the Original Copy Printed in New-England 1676 [*John Carter Brown Library*].

The third edition, 187 years later, was published at Boston, 1862, by Samuel G. Drake under the title of *King Philip's War*, to which was added a history of the same war (published in London, 1702), by Cotton Mather, son of Increase. Mr. Drake added an introduction and notes to the text. This is a very valuable book and the only one we have in which the two histories, written by father and son, are found side by side for comparison. Drake also carried the original pagination so that there is no difficulty in checking with the original work. As original copies of this Mather history are very scarce and are only to be seen in the important libraries, the Drake edition is used in this volume of *Early Rehoboth*, hereafter cited as Mather's *Brief History* (Drake Ed., 1862).

Mather also printed another history in Boston, 1677, titled "A Relation of the Troubles which have happened in New-England by reason of the Indians there, 1614 to 1675".

Increase Mather, son of Richard of Dorchester, was b. 21 June 1639; graduated, Harvard College, 1656. Cotton Mather of Boston, eldest son of Increase, is the author of the *Magnalia*, in seven books, published in London, 1702.

† "A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England, from the first planting thereof in the year 1607 to this present year 1677. But chiefly of the late Troubles in the two last years, 1675 and 1676. To which is added a Discourse about the Warre with the Pequods in the year 1637. By W. Hubbard, Minister of Ipswich. . . . Published by Authority. Boston: Printed by John Foster, in the year 1677" [*John Carter Brown Library*].

The second edition was published in London under the following title: "The Present State of New-England. Being a Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England, from the first planting thereof in the year 1607, to this present year 1677: But chiefly of the late Troubles in the two last years 1675 and 1676. To which is added a Discourse about the War with the Pequods in the year 1637. By W. Hubbard Minister of Ipswich. [quotation from Exodus] London: Printed for *Tho. Parkhurst* at the *Bible* and *Three Crowns* in *Cheapside*, near *Mercers-Chappel*, and at the *Bible* on *London-Bridge* 1677" [*John Carter Brown Library*].

This second and best edition of Hubbard is today very scarce and difficult to find except in the larger libraries. While the writer was preparing this note a catalogue arrived from an English bookseller offering a copy of this London edition (mistakenly calling it the *first*) for \$500.

The third edition of Hubbard's History, a copy of the first Boston edition, was published at Boston in 1775, followed by editions at Worcester, 1801; Norwich, 1802; Stockbridge, 1803; Danbury, 1803; Brattleborough, 1814; and Roxbury, 1865. This 1775 Boston edition is a very inaccurate copy of the original and has many omissions and transpositions, and the later editions up to 1865 are poor copies of this inaccurate 1775 copy.

In 1865 Samuel G. Drake brought out the 9th edition of Hubbard's History from the original London edition, carefully revised and annotated with copious notes. This Drake edition is used in this volume of *Early Rehoboth*, and hereafter cited as Hubbard's *Narrative* (Drake Ed., 1865).

William Hubbard of Ipswich, son of William of the same, b. in England; d. in 1704; freeman 1653; ordained 17 Nov. 1658; colleague with Thomas Corbett whom he excelled in mildness of temperament; m. Margaret only dau. of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers. Had John, b. 1648; Nathaniel, Margaret (m. John Pynchon), and perhaps others; was in highest esteem; called, in absence of Increase Mather, to preside at [Harvard] commencement as several years before he had been honored by the General Court with grant of money for his history. In 1694 he gave dissatisfaction to his parish by choice, late in life, of a second wife Mary, widow of Samuel Pearce [*Savage's Gen. Dict.*, vol. II, p. 486].

‡ "Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War which Began in the Month of June 1675 as also of Expeditions More Lately Made Against the Common Enemy and Indian Rebels, in the Eastern Parts of New England With Some Account of the Devine Providence towards Benj. Church Esqr. By T. C. Printed by *B. Green*, Boston, in the year 1716" [*John Carter Brown Library*]. Original copies of Church's history are now very scarce and are to be found only in the larger libraries.



the war was ended, when Captain Church was an old man of nearly eighty years. To these records were added various "tradition" stories many of which have no basis in fact.

As the years passed and more histories were written, the later histories became the product of "library search" and we have the familiar example of historians writing histories from other historians' histories and perpetuating all the early errors with no attempt to get on a firm factual foundation by doing original source research. The same thing has been repeated over and over again in all departments of history. When Francis Baylies wrote his excellent *Historical Memoir of New Plymouth* in 1830, he had to obtain his material from original sources for none of these records were in print. In his preface he said that he quoted no authorities "for there were none". The publication of his history ended for many years all further original research in Plymouth Colony, as succeeding historians found it far easier to quote Baylies than to do the tiresome research necessary in sources.

With a full knowledge of the slavish and almost sole dependence of later historians on the contemporaneous histories of the two ministers, Increase Mather and William Hubbard, it becomes of prime importance to examine these two works critically and with great care in order to determine their exact historical value.

While this Indian war was being fought in four colonies, the Mather and Hubbard histories were being daily written, principally from word of mouth brought to Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, by couriers from the various points of action in the four colonies. Due to the general state of turmoil throughout the country, the long distances involved, and the difficulties of communication, there was little opportunity or time to check these reports in detail with the records of the various colonies. This was especially true in the case of Mather who had printed his history in Boston, sent a copy to England where it was set in type and the second edition published before the end of 1676, within a period of three and one-half months after the end of the war.

The two books of Increase Mather and William Hubbard are not, in the strict meaning of the word, histories of King Philip's War. Rather they are "narratives", as both writers truthfully called them, and represent a continuous job of reporting the progress of the

The second edition of Captain Church's history was printed at Newport, R. I., in 1772, by Solomon Southworth, publisher of the *Newport Mercury*. This is a very inaccurate transcript of the original work. Unfortunately, all the later editions, with the single exception of that of 1865, are copies of this Newport edition and consequently are not to be trusted by the historian. These editions are: Boston, 1825, 1827 (2); Exeter, N. H., 1829; Boston, 1829; Boston, [?] 1835; Exeter, N. H., 1836, 1839, 1840, 1843; —, 1845; New York, 1845; Cooperstown, 1864; Hartford, —, 1851, 1854; New York, 1859, 1860 [*Sabin* No. 12,998]. Also, Boston, 1865 [*Sabin*, No. 12,976].

Incidentally, four years after Solomon Southworth printed Church's history, in 1772, he buried his press and type and six days before the British occupied Newport, in 1776, fled to Rehoboth where he continued printing on a press obtained from John Waterman of Providence [*Brigham's History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, vol. II, p. 908].

Mr. Henry Martin Dexter reprinted at Boston, 1865, an exact transcript of Captain Church's original 1716 edition, to which he added numerous foot notes. This is a valuable work and is the only copy of the original 1716 edition on which the historian can safely depend. It is used in this volume of *Early Rehoboth*, hereafter cited as Church's *Entertaining History* (Dexter Ed., 1865).

war from day to day, recording the names of troop commanders in the different engagements, the number of English and Indians killed, and such details of house burnings, Indian atrocities, etc., as were carried back to Boston by horseback riders from the different forest frontiers. In other words, both ministers were the predecessors of our present-day war correspondents.

Mather, with all the advantage of being located at the Boston news center, was not an efficient reporter. His reports are dull and colorless in spots and lack the detail and forcefulness of Hubbard's. In working with his book the historian is frequently conscious that whenever Mather lacked exact details and facts, he resorted to that same scriptural verbosity which was to reach its height and flower in his son Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, of which James Savage said that "in three whole folio pages of double columns, by his multifarious nothingness, he gives less than six lines of facts" about Rev. Samuel Newman of Rehoboth.

Mather's history was at best a hurried work. He knew that William Hubbard was also writing a history and that both would be printed by John Foster, Boston's only printer. He rushed his manuscript to the printer first, and although the war did not end until mid-August 1676, John Foster had Mather's first Boston edition off his press soon enough that year for Mather to send a copy to England by way of the slow sailing vessel of those days to arrive in ample time for a second edition to be printed in London before the end of the same year, 1676.

Of the two ministers, William Hubbard, under the handicap of living in Ipswich, a long day's horseback ride from the news center at Boston, was by far the better reporter for he had a natural "news instinct" not possessed by Mather, and furthermore had that other essential requisite of the star reporter, namely, the ability and willingness to do plenty of leg work in order that his reports might be as detailed as possible.

Due to Mather's monopoly of John Foster's press, Hubbard had several months longer than Mather in which to revise his history. He made many changes and additions to his Boston edition of 1677, all of which appear in the London edition of the same year. The five New England editions are copies of the first Boston edition, with the exception of the 5th (Drake) edition, which is a copy of the London second edition. Consequently, to have the full benefit of Hubbard's latest corrections, the student of history must use either the original London edition or the annotated Drake edition of 1865.

At Boston, 29 Mar. 1677, a committee of the General Court licensed William Hubbard's History of the Indian War and ordered it imprinted. On 11 Oct. 1682 the General Court in grateful "thankfulness" ordered the Treasurer to pay Rev. William Hubbard £50 for a second history.\* No other early Massachusetts writer was so singularly honored.

\* A General Court held at Boston 11 Oct. 1682,—voted that "whereas it hath binn thought necessary, & a duty incumbent vpon us to take due notice of all occurances & passages of Gods providence towards the people of this jurisdiction since their first arrivall in these parts, which may remajane to posterity, and that the Reverand Mr. Willjam Hubbard hath taken paynes to compile



"The worthy Author [Rev. William Hubbard] of this Narrative (of whose Fidelity we are well Assured) by his great Pains and Industry, in collecting and compiling the several Occurrences of this *Indian Warre*, from the Relations of such as were present in the particular Actions, hath faithfully and truly performed the same, as far as best Information agreeing could be obtained, which is therefore judged meet for publick View: and we whose names are underwritten, deputed by the Governour and Council of the Massachusetts Colony to peruse and license the same; have and do accordingly order it to be imprinted, as being of publick Benefit, and judge the Author to have deserved due Acknowledgement and Thanks for the same.

"Boston, March 29  
1677.

[As printed in Hubbard's *Narrative*]

"Simon Bradstreet\*  
Daniel Denison\*  
Joseph Dudley""

From the foregoing brief analysis it is apparent that the salient feature of Mather's and Hubbard's narratives is the fact that they are the only contemporaneous chronological records extant, without which, as a day-to-day guide, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to write a complete history of Philip's War. Therefore, the two works must of necessity serve principally as an historical skelton or framework on which to build. Also, it is clear that these two works alone are inadequate for a complete scholarly history and that they must be correlated with the voluminous colony and town records and with the numerous extant contemporaneous private letters in order to put the necessary "meat" on this excellent framework. The information to be found in these important sources adds historical facts heretofore unknown, which in some cases are of such importance as to change materially the histories as written by Mather and Hubbard.

Many of the contemporary writers, particularly the clergy, seem to have been especially partial to Mather's narrative and to have made it a point to go out of their way to criticize Hubbard. An example of this is the letter of Rev. George Shove of Taunton, son-in-law of Rev. Samuel Newman of Rehoboth, in which he complained of some slight inaccuracy. However, of the two historians, Hubbard was the only one to receive the acclaim of the military men and of the General Court, which licensed the printing of his history and later made him a grant of £50 for another history.

During the last two and three-quarters centuries there have been only three editions of Mather's narrative, while there have been nine of Hubbard's. The working student of history will find that although Mr. Mather's work is necessary and useful, Mr. Hubbard's work is of far more value and importance.

Besides the two early historians, Mather and Hubbard, we have

a history of this nature, w<sup>ch</sup> the Court doeth with thankfullness acknowledge; and, as a manifestation thereof, doe hereby order the Treasurer to pay vnto him the some of feuty pounds in money, he transcribing it fairely into a booke, that it may be more easily pervsed, in order to the satisfaction of this court" [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. V, p. 378].

\* These three men were brothers-in-law, Bradstreet and Denison having married sisters of Joseph Dudley, son of Gov. Thomas Dudley. Governor Bradstreet m. Anne Dudley, the author of the first book of original poems written in New England and published in England in 1650; a dau., Dorothy Bradstreet, m. Rev. Seaborn Cotton. Major-General Denison m. Patience Dudley and had a dau. Elizabeth who m. John Rogers, President of Harvard College. Joseph Dudley was later Governor of Massachusetts. He m. Rebecca, dau. of Edward Tyng of Boston. Of his several children, Rebecca m. Samuel Sewall; Ann m. John Winthrop; and Catherine m. William Dummer.



another contemporary writer, the unknown Boston merchant who wrote a series of five long letters\* to his friend in London, where they were published in pamphlet form as soon as received, one in 1675, three in 1676, and the last in 1677. These letters must not be overlooked for they contain many details not found in the other two works. So instead of two war correspondents we have a third in the person of this Boston merchant whose first report was published in England a year earlier than Mather's history. In the preface to his history Mather said that he had not the least idea of publishing any of his "observations" until "he read the *Narrative* of this *War* said to be written by a merchant in Boston and that the 'abounding mistakes therein' caused him to think it necessary that a true History of this Affair should be published".

Now the mistakes he complained of are not numerous and the tracts on the whole represent a good job of news reporting. A little exaggerated in spots, there are several instances where the Boston merchant's reports show more accuracy and give more detail than do those of Mather or Hubbard; for instance, Capt. Thomas Brattle's fight with the Indians at Pawtucket Falls in Rehoboth, on 24 May 1676, where one Englishman was slain and Ensign Jacob Elliott of Roxbury was wounded (*post*, page 24). Mather said that this fight took place "on the 23rd"; Hubbard said "about the 23rd," but neither mentioned a wounded man. The Boston merchant writing to London said correctly that the fight took place on the 24th and that one man was killed and one wounded and gave additional important details not mentioned by Mather or Hubbard. By our present-day standards, the Boston merchant was the most dramatic reporter of the three.

The town of Rehoboth with its neighboring towns of Swansea on the south, Taunton on the east, and Providence, Rhode Island, on the west, played an important part in King Philip's War throughout its whole fourteen months' duration. No matter how far away the fighting extended, sooner or later large bodies of Indians repeatedly appeared in this territory. This area was the center of the start and finish of the war. This, of course, is not surprising for it was the Indians' home ground. The Rehoboth side of the Seekonk River was the ancient boundary line between Philip's Wampanoag Indians

\* These five letters published in London in pamphlet form are titled as follows: (1) The present state of New-England with respect to the Indian War, from the 20th June till the 10th November, 1675. London, 1675. (2) A continuation of the state of New-England, being a further account of the Indian War, from the 10th November, 1675 to the 8th February, 1676. London, 1676. (3) A new and further Narrative of the state of New-England, being a further account of the Bloody Indian War from March till August, 1676. London, 1676. (4) A true account of the most considerable occurrences that have happened in the War between the English and Indians from the 5th May, 1676 to the 4th August following. London, 1676. (5) The war in N. England visibly ended. Being a true and perfect account brought in by Caleb More, master of a vessel newly arrived from Rhode Island [possibly written by Richard Hutchinson]. London, 1677 [*John Carter Brown Library*].

There was a Caleb Moore at Salem in 1668; a John Moore at Aquidneck, R. I., in 1638 who appears to have moved to Warwick, R. I., where he had land in 1655; and a William Moore at Narragansett, R. I., in 1670 at which place a Joseph was admitted freeman in 1673.

These five London pamphlets were carefully transcribed and annotated by Samuel G. Drake and published at Boston in 1836 under the title of *Old Indian Chronicle*. This is very convenient work and is used in this volume of *Early Rehoboth* and hereafter cited as Drake's *Old Indian Chronicle* (1836).

on the Plymouth Colony side and Nanunteno's (Canonchet's) Narragansett Indians on the Providence side. With practically all the houses burned in this area, the great bulk of the inhabitants homeless and by necessity fled to Rhode Island, and the few able-bodied Englishmen remaining holed up in the garrison-houses, one (at least) at Providence, five at Rehoboth, including Woodcock's in the north part of Rehoboth, three, or perhaps four, at Swansea, and eight at Taunton, the whole country was practically wide open to the Indians to roam at will.

King Philip's War started in Swansea, just over the Rehoboth line, on 24 June 1675 when the first Englishmen were killed after young John Salisbury had shot the first Indian the day before. Of the English slain on that day, several were Rehoboth men who had moved to Swansea to found that township in 1668. Philip was slain in the swamp at Mount Hope, near the Swansea line, on 12 Aug. 1676. Sixteen days later, 28 August, the war ended so far as the southern part of New England was concerned, when Capt. Benjamin Church captured Annawan, one of Philip's chief captains, in the *Squannakonk* Swamp, Rehoboth, at the rock since known as "Annawan Rock".\*

Throughout many years' study of the original manuscript records of early Rehoboth and the surrounding towns, the writer has accumulated a substantial number of heretofore unknown source records, which together with the early printed narratives, present a very complete documented personalized history of King Philip's Indian War as fought in the southeastern part of New England where the war originated and ended. Some of these source records present new evidence which makes it necessary to re-write some of the history of this war as now written.

The following few examples will perhaps better illustrate what is meant by a personalized history, and in the one small Rehoboth section show how a little additional research will add unknown wealth of the personal detail so important to a comprehensive history of Philip's War.

At Providence, while it is important to know that Andrew Edmunds was captain of the military company at the time when some 1500 Indians burned the houses in Rehoboth and the next day, 29 Mar. 1676, moved over the Seekonk River and burned those in Providence, it is of far more historical importance to know the personal item that when the torch was put to the house of John Smith, the miller, who was also town clerk, the town record books (kept in the house of the clerk) were thrown from the burning house into the mill pond, fished out again as soon as the Indians had left the town, and speedily sent to Rhode Island (Newport) for safe-keeping; and that when these Providence town records were returned to Providence from Newport on 9 Apr. 1677, one year and eleven days later, Roger Williams commented that they were "saved by God's merciful providence from fire and water". But for the brains and intelligence of this one man, presumably Town Clerk John Smith, Provi-

\* Cf. *Early Rehoboth*, vol. II, p. 38.



dence today would have no early records, whereas it has to-day what is probably the most complete set, with the possible exception of Boston, of any town in New England.

Then there is also the fanciful story of how on the day the Indians burned Providence the venerable Roger Williams "took his staff and walked over towards them hoping to pacify them as he had often done", and of their telling him that "they would not harm a hair of his head", etc., all told so dramatically in the various histories.

It is always interesting to discover, if possible, the original source of these stories. Staples in his *Annals of the Town of Providence* (1843) page 166, told of the burning of Providence on 30 Mar. 1676 (the correct date is the 29th) but made no mention of Roger Williams' talk with the Indians. Arnold in his *History of Rhode Island* (1859), vol. I, pages 408-9, said that "a tradition is preserved that when the Indians approached the town the venerable captain [Roger Williams] went out alone to meet and remonstrate with them. 'Massachusetts', said he, 'can raise thousands of men at this moment, and if you kill them, the King of England will supply their places as fast as they fall' . . . 'but for you brother Williams, you have been kind to us for many years; not a hair of your head shall be touched'".

Arnold gave as authority for this statement Knowles' *Memoir of Roger Williams* (1834), page 346, and references to his note. Arnold's statement was copied from Knowles, who gave as his authorities Baylies' *Historical Memoir of New Plymouth* (1830), vol. II, pt. 3, page 114; Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, vol. I, page 309; and Backus' *History of the Baptists in New England* (1777) vol. I, page 424, which is found in the Weston Ed., 1871, at pages 336-7.

Baylies in his *Memoir* stated as a fact that Roger Williams met the Indians, recited the statements later made by Knowles in 1834 and by Arnold in 1859 and added the "Indians assured Mr. Williams that he should never be injured, 'for he was a good man and had been kind to them formerly'".

Backus, writing in 1777 recorded: "Tradition says that when the Indians appeared on the high lands north of their great cove, Mr. Williams took his staff and walked over towards them, hoping to pacify them as he had often done; but when some of their aged men saw him, they came out and met him, and told him that though those who had long known him would not hurt him, yet their younger men were so enraged that it was not safe for him to venture among them; upon which he returned to the garison".

This story of Roger Williams' meeting and talk with the Indians when they burned Providence on 29 Mar. 1676 is more than a *tradition* as stated by Backus in 1777, Knowles in 1834, and Arnold in 1859 for there is a printed contemporaneous record of this meeting. On 22 July 1676 the Boston merchant wrote to his friend in London the following account, which was licensed 13 Oct. 1676 and published in London that year:

"But indeed the reason that the Inhabitants of the Town of *Seaconicke* and *Providence* generally escaped with their lives, is not to be attributed to any



compassion or good-nature of the *Indians* (whose very mercies are inhumane cruelties), but (next to God's providence) to their own prudence in avoiding their fury, when they found themselves too weak and unable to resist it by a timely Flight into *Rhode-Island*, which now became the common *Zoar*, or place of Refuge for the distressed; yet some remained till their coming to distroy the said Towns; as in particular Mr. *Williams* at *Providence*, who knowing several of the chief *Indians* that came to fire that Town, discoursed with them a considerable time, who pretended their greatest quarrel was against *Plimouth*; and as for what they attempted against the other Colonies they were constrained to it, by the spoil that was done them at *Narraganset*; they told him that when Capt. *Pierce* engaged them near Mr. *Blackstone's* they were bound for *Plimouth*; They gloried much in their success, promising themselves the conquest of the whole country, and rooting out of all the English: Mr. *Williams* reprov'd their confidence, minded them of their cruelties, and told them that the Bay, viz. Boston, could yet spare Ten thousand men: and if they should destroy all them, yet it was not to be doubted, but our King would send as many every year from *Old England*, rather than they should share the country; they answered proudly, That they should be ready for them, or to that effect, but told Mr. *Williams* that he was a good man, and had been kinde to them formerly, and therefore they would not hurt him" [*New and Further Narrative of the State of New England*, etc., by a Merchant of Boston, London, 1676, p. 7].

The Massachusetts merchant in his letter to his friend in London appears to have allowed his imagination rather too high a flight when he put into Roger Williams' mouth all that bombastic bragging about the power of the Massachusetts Bay, etc. Above all else, Roger was at all times a diplomat with the Indians, and to those familiar with his voluminous writings the latter part of this reported conversation seems somewhat out of character.

We have pointed out that after Francis Baylies wrote his *Memoir of New Plymouth* in 1830 from material obtained by original research, all further Plymouth Colony research stopped, for succeeding writers, as is illustrated in this case, were content to use "Baylies" as their authority. In the matter of Roger Williams' parley with the Indians at Providence on 29 Mar. 1676, Backus knew of it, in 1777, only as a tradition; Baylies, in 1830, read the original London letter and stated the parley as a fact without quoting his original source; Knowles, in 1834, quoted the incident as a tradition and cited both Baylies and Backus as his authorities; Arnold, in 1859, said that the incident was a tradition and quoted as authorities Knowles, Baylies, and Backus; and not a single author mentioned the contemporaneous original source record which took the meeting from the realm of tradition to the solid grounds of recorded fact.

Fortunately we have another account of this meeting of Roger Williams with the Indians at Providence, R. I., in an heretofore unpublished letter written from Rehoboth on 19 Apr. 1676 by Rev. Noah Newman to his friend Rev. John Cotton at Plymouth (*post*, page 18), which gives a different synopsis of Williams' conversation with the Indians. Williams and Newman were friends and neighbors separated by the narrow width of the Seekonk River. Mr. Williams, and probably Valentine Whitman, had an hour's conversation with three of the Indians while Providence was burning, and, as would be expected, Roger Williams made the most of this opportunity to talk peace treaty, as follows:



“When the Indians were at Provid: they Called to speake w<sup>th</sup> one Valentine Whitman, Mr. Williams hearing of it Called to them & told them if they would parly he would parly w<sup>th</sup> them, w<sup>th</sup> they did & he had an hours discourse w<sup>th</sup> 3 of them, they told him the Great God was againste us & w<sup>th</sup> them, & that English men were like Women & that there was fifteen hundred of them that had burnt our towne & was burning of theirs, he assured himselfe to be instrumentall to procure a treaty between them & y<sup>e</sup> English, they told him they would say more after a months time & another suggested that they intended to spend a month upon Plimouth Colony for the burning of that”.

From Mr. Newman's letter it is clear that the Indians were not interested in Roger Williams; they wanted to talk with Valentine Whitman, the Indian Interpreter, who to them was the important man, and they asked for him. Mr. Williams hearing of this called to the Indians saying that if they would parley he would, which they did for an hour, as told by Mr. Newman. No history mentions Valentine Whitman in connection with this meeting. Neither Mather nor Hubbard mentioned Roger Williams in their few sentences on the burning of Providence. Mather disposed of the whole incident in exactly one and one-half lines—“The next day they burned about thirty houses at the town called *Providence*”.

John Easton, Governor of Rhode Island, wrote a Narrative entitled “A Relation of the Indyan Warr, by Mr. Easton of Rhoad Island, 1675. A True Relation of what I kno & of Reports & my Understanding concerning the Beginig & Progress of the war now between the English and the Indians”.\*

In his narrative Governor Easton gave us the following interesting details of that surprise Indian attack at Swansea on the opening day of Philip's War:

“In this Time [Wednesday 23 June] sum Indians fell a pilfering sum Houses y<sup>t</sup> the English had left and an old Man and a Lad going to one of these Houses did see three Indians run out thereof. The old Man bid the young Man shoot; so he did, and a Indian fell doune, but got away againe. It is reported y<sup>t</sup> sum Indians came to the Gareson, asked why they shot the Indian. They asked whether he was dead. The Indians said yea. English Lad saied it was no matter. The men indevered to inform them it was but an idell Lads Words but the Indians in haste went away and did not hearken to them. The next day [the fast day, Thursday 24 June] the Lad that shot the Indian, and his father, and fief Englishmen were killed so the war began with Philip”.

Roger Williams, writing from Mr. Smith's at “Nahigonsik” on 25 June 1675 to Gov. John Winthrop of Connecticut, said:

“The last night they have (as is this morning said) slain five English of Swansey and brought their heads to Philip, and mortally wounded two more, with the death of one Indian” [*Narr. Club Publications*, vol. VI, p. 369].

The Boston merchant in his letter to his friend in London, written shortly after the Indian War broke out, added further details:

“By this time the Indians have killed several of our Men, but the first that was killed was June 23, a Man at Swansey, that he and his Family had left his House amongst the rest of the Inhabitants; and adventuring with his Wife and Son (about twenty Years old) to go to his House to fetch them Corn, and

\* This Relation was edited by Dr. Franklin B. Hough and printed by J. Munsel, Albany, N. Y., 1858. It is supposed to have been printed from the original MS. (now in the New York State Library at Albany), although the editor did not say so. It is not known to have been printed in pamphlet form although it would appear that it must have been, for it hardly seems probable that Mather would have had the Quaker Governor Easton's original MS. at Boston.



such like things; He having just before sent his Wife and Son away, as he was going out of the House, was set on and shot by Indians; his Wife being not far off, heard the Guns go off, went back: They took her, first defiled her, then skinned her Head, as also the Son, and dismist them both, who immediately died" [*The Present State of New England with Respect to the Indians* (20 June until 10 Nov. 1675), By a Merchant of Boston to his friend in London, p. 5—*John Carter Brown Library*].

The Swansea records show that the only father and son slain at Swansea on 24 June 1675 were William Salisbury and his son John. So by simply putting together two source records, which have been readily available for two hundred and seventy-three years, we are able to state here for the first time that King Philip's War was started by John Salisbury, a young man twenty years of age, when on the 23rd of June 1675 his father, old William Salisbury, a *third rank* inhabitant of Swansea, ordered him to shoot one of three Indians seen running out of his own empty house which he had previously abandoned when he and his family fled to Rhode Island. Young Salisbury appears to have killed the Indian, although all other early historians say that he was simply wounded.

The next day the Indians attacked Swansea, sought out old Salisbury and his son, killed both, cut off their heads, and terribly mutilated their bodies, besides killing a number of the other inhabitants, thereby precipitating an Indian war that was to last fourteen months and cost the lives of upwards of 600 Englishmen and the loss of more than 1,000 dwellings, barns, mills, and other buildings. But for the effective marksmanship of young John Salisbury, King Philip's War might have been averted, or at least certainly delayed, for powerful peace negotiations were in progress which held out some hope of being successful.

When we come to the narrative historian's old standby, "tradition", much can be said. The word covers any flight of the historian's imagination, and all that is necessary is the preface "tradition says". Some of these traditions have more or less foundation in fact, but most of them are pure unadulterated bunk and have no place in a scholarly history.

For example, there is Bliss' story in his *History of Rehoboth* about Robert Beers, the Irish brick-maker, who was slain at Rehoboth when the Indians burned the town on 28 Mar. 1676. "He is reported to have been a religious but eccentric and superstitious man who on the approach of the Indians refused to go into the garrison house but set down in his own house with his bible in his hand believing that while he continued reading it nothing could happen him. The Indians shot through the window, killed him and he fell with the bible in his hand".

From Mr. Newman's letter (*post*, page 17) and the Rehoboth records, we learn that Robert Beers was killed at a considerable distance from the garrison house early that morning. Only a little research is necessary to prove that this religious fanatic was not the Robert Beers killed at Rehoboth on 28 Mar. 1676, but a man over in Providence named Wright who was killed the next day, 29 Mar. 1676.

Wright had "a great knowledge of the Scriptures and the strange confidence that while he held his Bible in his hand he looked upon himself as secure from all kinds of violence and the Indians finding him in that posture, deriding his groundless apprehension of folly therein, ripped him open and put his Bible in his belly" (*post*, page 17).

When the Indians burned Rehoboth and Providence only one man was killed in each town. The "tradition" as related by Bliss was true with the exception that the incident happened in Providence and not in Rehoboth and the man murdered by the Indians was not Robert Beers, the Irish brick-maker of Rehoboth, but a Providence man named Wright, as is so graphically told by the merchant of Boston in his letter to his friend in London under date of 22 July 1676. Bliss used, less dramatically and probably unknowingly, this published London story for his Rehoboth "tradition".

In the following pages will be found two original letters written from Rehoboth by Rev. Noah Newman to Rev. John Cotton of Plymouth, one dated 27 Mar. 1676 and the other dated 19 Apr. 1676, the latter here published for the first time—together with an original letter dated 5 May 1676, written by John Kingsley of Rehoboth to the clergy at Hartford, and an important Massachusetts Bay record dated 24 May 1676.

Suffering from their crushing defeat in the Narragansett Swamp Fight in December of 1675, the Indians dispersed into small companies and started on the war-path early the following spring, burning and killing in Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, and Plymouth Colonies. On 25 Feb. 1676 they attacked the deserted town of Weymouth and burned seven or eight houses and barns and killed one or two persons. In the beginning of the month of March 1675/6 they burned twelve houses at Pawtucket, most of which were in the township of Rehoboth.

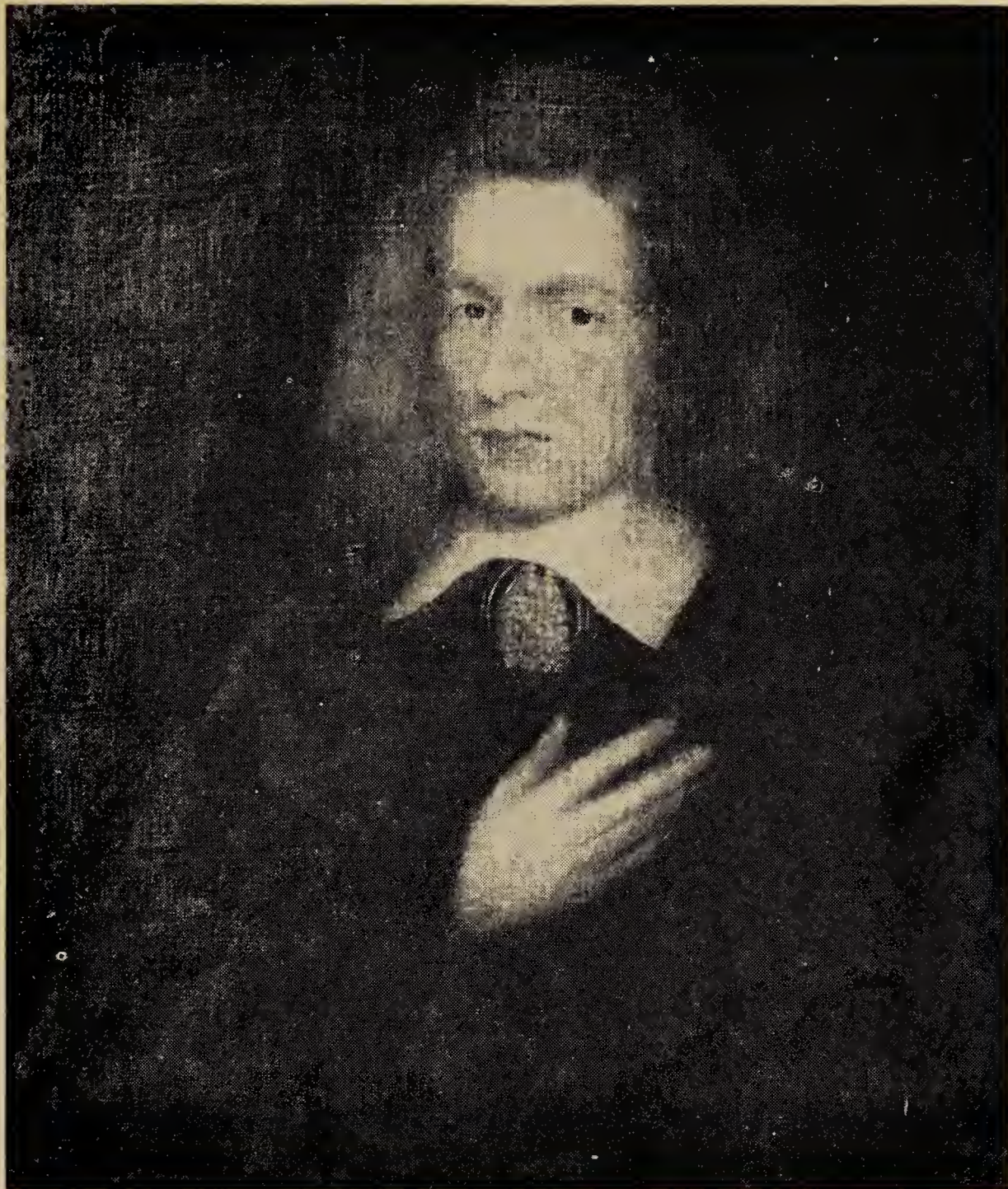
By 12 Mar. 1675/6, the Indians had penetrated to within two miles of the village of Plymouth where at Eel River they burned the house of Capt. William Clark, murdered Mrs. Sarah Clark, an infant, and some eight or nine persons from other families. Major Bradford captured the Indians, who were led by *Tatoson*. At a trial held at Plymouth 7 July 1676, the names of eleven of the Indians were proved [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. V, pp. 204–6].

On 13 Mar. 1675/6, about 400 Indians attacked Groton, Mass., burning about forty dwelling houses and other buildings and killing some of the inhabitants. On 17 Mar. 1675/6, the Indians burned all but a few of the houses left standing at Warwick, near Providence, killing one man, and burned the houses of the English remaining in the Narragansett country.

Capt. Michael Pierce\* of Scituate, Plymouth Colony, with a com-

\* Capt. Michael Pierce had been a resident of Hingham or Weymouth, Massachusetts Bay, before he removed to Scituate, Plymouth Colony. Hobart's *Journal* records "Persis, daughter of Michael Pierce baptised 1640", also "Michael Pierce's daughter born 1662, and Michael Pierce's wife died 1662". The first child may have been born at Hingham. He made his will in 1675,—“Being by the appointment of God, going out to war against the Indians, I do ordain this my last will: and first commit my ways to the Eternal God, &c”. He then gives to wife Ann [second wife] the house





*Courtesy of the Pilgrim Society*

#### GOVERNOR JOSIAH WINSLOW

Josiah Winslow, son of Gov. Edward Winslow, born at Plymouth in 1629 and died at Marshfield in 1680, was half-brother to Peregrine White, the first white child born in New England. He was captain of a military company at Marshfield in 1652; one of the original proprietors of "Sowams" (now Barrington, R. I.) in 1653; and major in command of all Plymouth Colony military forces in 1658.

Josiah Winslow was the first native-born governor and first native-born general in New England. He was commander-in-chief of the military forces of the United Colonies in King Philip's War, commanding about 1,000 English troops at the Narragansett Swamp Fight on 19 Dec. 1675. On his way to Narragansett, General Winslow with the Massachusetts and Plymouth troops was billeted in Rehoboth the night of 10 Dec. 1675. Rev. Noah Newman, in his letter of that date, told of crossing over to Providence at the "Narrow passage" [Red Bridge] with the army upon a raft made of canoes and boards and there taking leave of the general and chaplains. One of the latter was Joseph Dudley, later governor of Massachusetts.

Capt. George Curwin, of Salem, relieved of his command on charges preferred by Capt. Daniel HENCHMAN, was Gov. Josiah Winslow's brother-in-law.

The illustration is from a photograph of a life portrait painted in England in 1651.







pany of about 50 English and 20 Christian Indians from around Cape Cod, was ordered\* early in March to pursue the enemy. He proceeded to Taunton and then to Rehoboth, where on 26 Mar. 1676 at the edge of the "Seekonk Plain",† about three miles northwest of the present Newman Congregational Church, he fought some 900 Indians in what is known as "Pierce's Fight", the story of which is told by Rev. Noah Newman in his letter written from the Newman garrison, Rehoboth, to his friend Rev. John Cotton at Plymouth, the day after the fight.

Bliss, in his *History of Rehoboth* (1836), pages 91-2, printed the letter of Mr. Noah Newman, written from Rehoboth 27 Mar. 1676 to Rev. John Cotton at Plymouth, the day after Captain Pierce's fight at Rehoboth. In a footnote Bliss said: "The original copy of this letter is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass. I have followed the original as nearly as possible in the date, as well as the rest of the letter. John Fits, Jr., and John Miller, Jr., belonged to Rehoboth, and also Thomas Man. What is torn off had on it, probably, the name of one from Eastham, and the word Rehoboth. It will be seen that besides what is torn off, there are five names that follow Eastham".

Now the truth of the matter is that Bliss apparently never saw this original letter but copied, without saying so, the letter as printed by Deane in his *History of Scituate* (1831), and at that did not make an accurate copy.

In a foot-note Mr. Deane said that "several years previously [to 1831] Hayward Pierce, a lineal descendant of Capt. Michael Pierce, showed him a copy of this letter and informed him that the original was in the possession of Rossitter Cotton, Esq., of Plymouth, a descendant of the Reverend John Cotton to whom the letter was addressed." Rossitter Cotton told Mr. Deane "that he had sent this letter, with others, to the Antiquarian Society at Worcester. By the politeness of the venerable President of that Society, the original letter was found and copied for us by Emory Washburn, Esq., of Worcester".

Inasmuch as both the Deane and the Bliss copies of this important Newman letter have been used as source material for more than one

"which I last built", &c. To son Benjamin "my present dwelling house"; to son John "all my lands in Hingham"; to son Ephraim £5; to daughter Abigail Holbrook £5; to daughters Elizabeth, Deborah, Ann, Abiah, Ruth, and Persis, £50 each [Deane's *History of Scituate* (1831), pp. 325-6].

\* At a meeting of the Council of War held at Marshfield 29 Feb. 1675, it was ordered, "that the Souldiers now under Presse, from the southern Townes be at Plymouth on Wednesday, the 8th of this Instant [March] in order vnto a further March, and with them 20 or 30 of the southern Indians whoe together with the other whoe are vnder Presse, to goe forth vnder the Comand of Captaine Michael Peirse and Lieftenant Samuell Fuller" [*Plymouth Colonial Records*, vol. V, p. 187]. This order is clearly out of place in the record book and should be under the meeting held 7 Mar. 1675/6.

† Bliss, writing in 1836, said that "the spot where Pierce's Fight took place is still pointed out. It is between the villages of Pawtucket and Valley Falls, nearer the latter, at a spot, which, I have been told, was formerly called 'The Many Holes'. It commenced on the east side of the river, but the severest part of the action was on the west, immediately on the bank of the stream. Some have placed the site of this battle considerably farther up the river, between the bridge called 'Whipple's Bridge' and 'Study Hill', the former residence of Blackstone. But from this battle, having been sometimes styled by the older inhabitants 'The Battle of the Plain', from its having been fought on the border of the great 'Seekonk Plain'; the former spot, tradition being equally strong in its favour, seems to possess the highest claims to being the battle ground" [Bliss, *Hist. of Rehoboth*, p. 88].



hundred years, and many names have been left out of each copy, the following correct transcript is here first printed:

of the first  
"Rehoboth. 27 76

"Reverend & Dear Sir

I received yo<sup>r</sup>s Dated the 20 of this Instant wherein you gave me a dolefull relate of what had happened w<sup>th</sup> you & what a distressing Sab: you had pt[ ] I have now according to the words of yo<sup>r</sup> owne Letter an oppertunit[y] to retaliate yo<sup>r</sup> account w<sup>th</sup> a Relation of what yesterday Happ[ened] to the great sadning of all our hearts filling us w<sup>th</sup> an awfull expect[ation] of w<sup>t</sup> further evils it may be antecedaneous too both respecting our[selves] & you. upon the 25 of this Instant Cap.<sup>t</sup> Peirce went forth w<sup>th</sup> a small party of his men & Indians w<sup>th</sup> him, & upon discovery of the [en]emy fought him w<sup>th</sup> out damage to himsele, & Judged that he had Con[sidera]bly damnified them. yet he being of no greater force Chose rather [to] r[e]tre[a]te & go out ye next morning w<sup>th</sup> a recrute of men & ac[cording]ly he did taking Pilots from us that were acquainted w<sup>th</sup> ye ground. But it pleased the Sovereign God so to order it, y<sup>t</sup> they were inclosed w<sup>th</sup> a great multitude of the enemy w<sup>ch</sup> hath slaine 52 of o[ur] Engl: & 11 Indians—The account of their names is as follows: From Scituate 18 of w<sup>ch</sup> 15 slaine (viz) Cap<sup>t</sup> Peirce; Sam[torn]<sup>1</sup> Benj: Chittington,<sup>2</sup> John Lathrope, Gershom Dodson, Sam Prat, Thom: Savery, Joseph Wade, Will: Wellcome,<sup>3</sup> Jer: Bastow, John Ensign, Joseph Cowwen, Joseph Perry, John Perry,<sup>4</sup> John Rowse. Marshfield 9 slaine: Thomas Littell, John Ems,<sup>5</sup> Joseph White, John Burroughs,<sup>6</sup> Joseph Phillips, Sam: Bump John Low Mor[illegible] John Brance. Duxborough 4 slaine: John Sprague, Benj. Soa[illegible]<sup>7</sup> Thomas Hunt, Joshua Phobes<sup>8</sup>—Sandwich 5 slaine: Benj: Nye[ ] David<sup>9</sup> Bessey, Caleb Blaike, Job Gibbs, Stephen Wing.—Barnstable 6 slaine: Luift. Fuller, John Lues,<sup>10</sup> Eliezir C[torn],<sup>11</sup> Sam Lennet,<sup>12</sup> Sam Childs, Sam Boreman.<sup>13</sup>—Yarmouth [ ] John Mathews, John Gage, Will Gage, Hen: Gage, Hen: Gold. Estham 4 slaine: Joseph Nessefeild, John Walker, John M [torn], Nathaniel Williams.<sup>14</sup> of Rehob: slaine 4: John Read, Benj. [torn],<sup>15</sup> John Fitch Juni<sup>r</sup>, John Meller Juni<sup>r</sup>, & Thomas Man is returned w<sup>th</sup> a Sore wound. There Si<sup>r</sup> you have a sad account of the Continuance of Gods displeasure against us yet still I desire steadfastly to Looke unto him who is not only able but willing to save all such as are fit for his salvation. It is a day of y<sup>e</sup> wickeds tryumph but the sure word of God tells us his tryumphing is brief. Oh that we may not lengthen it out by our Sins.—The Lrd help<sup>s</sup> to Joyne i[ssue] in our pray<sup>rs</sup> Instantly & earnestly for y<sup>e</sup> healing & helping of our Land, our extremity is Gods oppertunity— Thus w<sup>th</sup> our dearest respects to yo<sup>r</sup>s M<sup>rs</sup>. Cotton & such sorrowful friends as are w<sup>th</sup> you I rest

"yo<sup>r</sup> ever Assured Freind Noah Newman

<sup>1</sup> Bliss stated this name to be *Samuel Russell*.

<sup>2</sup> Chittington, not *Chittenden* as stated by Bliss.

<sup>3</sup> Wellcome, not *Wilcome* as stated by Bliss.

<sup>4</sup> John Perry left out by Bliss.

<sup>5</sup> Ems, not *Eams* as stated by Bliss.

<sup>6</sup> Burroughs, not *Burrows* as stated by Bliss.

<sup>7</sup> Soa[ ]. Bliss stated this name to be *Soal*.

<sup>8</sup> Phobes, not *Fobes* as stated by Bliss.

<sup>9</sup> David, not *Daniel* as stated by Bliss.

<sup>10</sup> Lues, not *Lewis* as stated by Bliss.

<sup>11</sup> Bliss said that this name was probably Clapp.

<sup>12</sup> Lennet, not *Linnet* as stated by Bliss.

<sup>13</sup> Boreman, not *Bereman* as stated by Bliss.

<sup>14</sup> The whole line, "*Nathaniel Williams*. of Rehob: slaine 4: *John Read*, *Benj: [torn]*" was left out by Bliss, who said that "what is torn off had on it, probably, the name of one from Eastham and the word Rehoboth". On the contrary, it is not torn off, but written plainly in the body of the letter.

<sup>15</sup> This was clearly Benjamin Buckland recorded in the Rehoboth records as being "slaine on the 26 Mar. 1676". Bliss, p. 95, stated that "about the time of the Revolution the bodies of these soldiers were disinterred by a party of Providence physicians, and one of the bodies was ascertained to be a Bucklin, of Rehoboth, from his very large frame and a set of double teeth all around".



"Since the writing of this letter John Mathews & Sam Linnit are found alive.<sup>16</sup>

The letter is indorsed on the back: "From Mr. Newman, March 27, 1676". In a somewhat younger hand is written: "Newman,<sup>17</sup> Shove,<sup>18</sup> Walley, Maj. Bradford, Capt. Oliver, Keith, Fr. Mather,<sup>19</sup> Moth<sup>20</sup> Mather, Sister Mather Seaborn Cotton,<sup>21</sup> Walker, Moody, Mrs. Newman. Read".

[Original Letter, *American Antiquarian Society*.]

The following letter, written from Rehoboth on 19 Apr. 1676 by Rev. Noah Newman to Rev. John Cotton at Plymouth, is here published for the first time. It is an important record and among other things tells of the people of Providence watching Rehoboth in flames and of their belief that the Indians would pass on and not burn their town; of the Indians' call for Valentine Whitman and subsequent talk with Roger Williams; and of Rehoboth's three-day labor in burying the English slain in "Pierce's Fight", with some help on the last day from Dedham and Medfield. Mr. Newman conducted the services for the mass burial of Captain Pierce, Lieutenant Fuller, sixteen soldiers, and one Indian.

"Rehoboth. April 19.76

"Reverend & Dear Sir

This day I received yo<sup>r</sup>s of the 11 of this instant & am glad of an oppertunity by the same post that brought it to returne you this answer; Thanks be to God we have yet the most of our lives given us as a prey though many of our habitations are desolate & in ashes, the losse of w<sup>ch</sup> is not so much to be taken to heart by us as our sins w<sup>ch</sup> occassioned the same, oh that we could truly humble our selves under the mighty hand of God who Can & will exalt us in due time; I canot but often reflect upon the patience & long sufferance of our most merciful father who made our enemys stay so long for their Comission to do us any harm, & had not our God seen it needfull for us that y. have never had it to this day; & truly by that disturbance & astonishment that I have seen in some mens spirits since the late tryall I fully discover we had need of it, to convince us of our security who were ready to thinke such things would not befall us, but why we should promise our selves such immunity I know not, Nor why that w<sup>ch</sup> our sins hath been so long parties of, & so visibly drawing on upon us so long a time should so much startle & astonish us being Come I know not; Sundry amongst us upon the desolation made by fire began to conclude there was no subsisting,\* but I have not yet received it that God Calls us to a removall unlesse we Could leave our sins behinde us, w<sup>ch</sup> I se little likelihood of at present.

"If it should be the pleasure of God to bring this country universally loe & that the Lrd by his providence (having truly humbled us) should Intreate anything further for a imminent writing, & to our Spirituall advantage as well as our Temporall might be designed therein this would be more taking w<sup>th</sup> me than anything I have heard yet. But for men still to goe about w<sup>th</sup> this Question Who will shew us any good argues still an old frame, & an aptnes to thinke that if the present distresse be but avoided all is well, & I likewise fear a removal will involve us in such new Cares & hurryes, y<sup>t</sup> we shall forget

<sup>16</sup> This whole line was left out by Bliss. This memo was perhaps written by John Cotton, who also underlined the names *Sam Lennet* and *John Mathews*. Bliss italicized the name John Mathews (as did Deane) but not that of Samuel Lennet (neither did Deane).

<sup>17</sup> Antipas Newman, minister at Wenham, brother of Noah.

<sup>18</sup> George Shove, minister at Taunton, brother-in-law of Noah Newman.

<sup>19</sup> Fr. Mather is, of course, "Jn. Mather".

<sup>20</sup> "Moth", not "Math" Mather as stated by Bliss.

<sup>21</sup> Bliss made this two names, Seaborn and Cotton.

\* This reference is apparently to the danger of famine, which is so dramatically set forth two weeks later, 5 May 1676, by John Kingsley in his letter to Connecticut. He says that only two men knew that he was writing it and that one opposed, who was probably Mr. Newman. The other man who knew of the letter was probably Deacon Walker.



the Lrds Controversy w<sup>th</sup> us. Our freinds at y<sup>e</sup> Cape hath made us a motion of drawing downe that way, it was Considered by us the last weeke & ye answer returned in the Negative; As to yo<sup>r</sup> invitation given me & my family I returne you most hearty thanks & reckon you one of my Dearest freinds with whom I could willingly live & dye, but at the p<sup>e</sup>sent I must respect the public interest, The Lrd reward you for all yo<sup>r</sup> former kindness & p<sup>e</sup>sent care & love; If I should not take heart & be encouraged at such a time as this is who should for I perceive my wealth increaseth & I find more falling into my lap than I can possibly improove. The other day it was disputed by some whether they should give me this one house that I now live in,\* & Now I have more houses given me than I know what to doe w<sup>th</sup> & many intreaties to use them; If it were not so I have no Cause to mistrust the Care & faithfullnes of the Lrd God of my fathers who hath ever done for me more than I could aske or thinke.

“In answer to yo<sup>r</sup> desire about our desolation, The 28 of March the enemy appeared early in the morning very numerous & overpowered our towne & fell presently to firing of empty houses & burnt about 35 houses† that had

\* This was the new parsonage built for the minister, Mr. Noah Newman, just before the outbreak of Philip's War, during which it was used as a garrison-house and called “Newman's”.

† William Hubbard in a supplement to the second edition of his *Narrative* on the Indian Wars published in London in 1677, gives the following additional data not found in the first Boston Edition of 1677:

“*Warwick*, a Town near *Providence*, seated upon a Neck of Land, environed by the Sea, was all of it burned by the Enemy at several Times, [4] the chief Mischief there done was upon *March 16, 1676*, and the Place wholly deserted by the Inhabitants for a Time, yet but one Man killed, that was too confident of his Safety, as is said [Hubbard's *Narrative*, Supplement, London 1677, p. 2—*John Carter Brown Library*].

“*Providence* is the Town next *Warwick*, where were eighteen Houses burned, *June 28, 1675*. *March 29* following, fifty-four Houses were there burned, and most of the Rest as they were deserted by the Inhabitants withdrawing to Road-Island [*Ibid.*, p. 4].

“*Petuxet* is another small Place within four Miles of *Providence*, where were twelve Houses burned in the Beginning of *March 1676* [pp. 66, 67]. It was by a small Brook called Abbots Run, that falls into *Patuxet*, (a River near *Providence*) where Captain Peirce and his Men were slain [*Ibid.*, pp. 3, 4].

“*Seaconke* or *Rehoboth*, where were burned eight Farm-houses in the End of *June*, and beginning of *July 1675*. On *March 28, 1676*, forty five Dwelling Houses were there burned, whereof thirty eight were inhabited, and the Owners thereby turned out of Doors, and left without House or Harbour. Beside twenty-one Barns, two Corn-mills, one Saw-mill burnt at the same time. *June 16, 1676*, eight Farmhouses were there also consumed by the Fire of the Enemy. The Persons slain here were seven, four with Capt. *Pierce, March 26, 1676*, another *March 28*, another *April 28*, the last, *May 29*” [*Ibid.*, p. 2].

“The following mention of the burning of the town by the Indians, on the 28th of March, is made in a letter, written, at that time, by the Council of war at Plymouth, to Governour Leverett, of Massachusetts Colony. The copy, found among the Winslow papers, has no date, but from the contents it is inferred that it was written on the 31st of March, 1676: ‘Another messenger, with sad tidings, at the heels of the other, from Rehoboth; that town in flames, 28 instant, soon after daylight, the enemy having fetch't away sundry cattle the day before and lay all night in their hearing, burnt 60 houses and barns, appeared very numerous, and continued lurking thereabout after it’” [Bliss' *History of Rehoboth* (1836), p. 96, as copied from the Appendix of Morton's *Memorial*, Davis Ed., p. 438].

Including the twelve houses burned in Pawtucket, we have, according to Hubbard, a total of seventy-three dwelling houses, twenty-one barns, two grist mills, and a sawmill or a total of nearly one hundred Rehoboth buildings burned by the Indians, which figure would seem to be approximately correct.

Bliss in his *History of Rehoboth* (1836), p. 95, gives the number of buildings burned as “[near] forty [dwelling] houses and thirty barns”, quoting “Hubbard's *Narrative*, p. 125”, as his authority. The London edition of Hubbard's work mentions on p. 67 the figures quoted by Bliss but in the supplement on p. 2 gives later revised figures which apparently were unknown to Bliss. Bliss also says that the houses burned “were around the ‘Ring of the Town’ now called ‘Seekonk Common’ and that only two houses were left standing,—the garrison-house, which stood on the spot where the house of Phanael Bishop now stands, and another house on the south end of the common which was preserved by black sticks having been arranged around it so as to give it, at a distance, the appearance of being strongly guarded”. The Phanael Bishop house stands (1947) on the site of Samuel Newman's house which was burned by the Indians. The Newman garrison-house was the new parsonage built for Noah Newman just prior to the outbreak of the Indian war and stood on the northeast side of the present Newman Avenue between the meeting house and the present Newman Congregational Church. There were also three other garrison-houses in Rehoboth, John Fitch's, John Peren's, and Nathaniel Paine's. The house surrounded by black sticks at the south



families belonging to them besides four other vacant houses y<sup>t</sup> had no inhabitants & Barnes—they also slew one man\* gone at a distance from his Garrison early in the morning. they killd several Cattell & burnt much hay they drew aside in the evening & pitcht their Camp by the side of ye towne, rose up at day light the next morning tooke their walke over to providence & theire did likewise.—my great trouble was that not<sup>w<sup>th</sup></sup> standing all y<sup>r</sup> fair warnings we had yet things were too much unsettled w<sup>th</sup> us, so y<sup>t</sup> they had more provision & other treasure especially at Providence, than we should have needed to have left y<sup>m</sup>, y<sup>t</sup> we had not been unreasonably secure. Providence though they saw us in a flame encouraged themselves the enemy would steer some other Course & by that means exposed a 100 bushells of Corn & meal much goods & mony to y<sup>e</sup> enemys w<sup>ch</sup> was all taken away.

“The buryall of the slaine tooke us 3 days the burden of it lying upon our towne, the 3d day we had some from Dedham & Medfield that afforded their helpe therein, ye first day there was 17 English & 3 Indians buryed, The 2d day that I might expresse my respect to Cap<sup>t</sup> Peirce & Leift: Fuller who dyed so Hon<sup>or</sup>ably, I went forth & y<sup>t</sup> day we buryed 18 English & one Indian, ye 3d day they buryed 7 or 8 Eng: and one Indian since search hath been made but no more Can be found I know not but some might wander & perish in y<sup>e</sup> woods being strangers.

“When the Indians were at Provid: they Called to speake w<sup>th</sup> one Valentine

end of the common was owned by Robert Fuller whose wife and child were killed by the Indians. Instead of only two houses standing after the war there were at least five and perhaps more.

\* This man was Robert Beere (Beare, Beer) who had m. at Rehoboth, 25 June 1673, Elizabeth Bullock and had a son Benjamin born there 6 June 1674. The original record reads,—“Robert Beere, slaine 28 Mar. 1676”. Arnold makes no mention of these records in his Rehoboth *Vital Records*. At Providence, R. I., on 22 Sept. 1698, Benjamin Beeres with Thomas Olney, Sr., and Samuel Winsor, Jr., were witnesses to the will of Henry Browne [*Early Providence Town Records*, vol. VI, p. 221]. Benjamin Beeres of the town of Providence died there intestate 3 June 1714. His wife Rachel also being dead, the care of his estate fell to the Town Council. An inventory amounting to £64:12:00 was taken 5 July 1714 by Richard Browne and Samuel Winsor [*Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 159–160].

Bliss in his History of Rehoboth, p. 96, said:

“The town records give the name of only one person slain by the Indians at this time: ‘Robert Beers slain y<sup>e</sup> 28 March, 1676’. He was an Irishman, and a brick-maker by trade. It is said that he was a religious, but eccentric and superstitious, man: and, that on the approach of the Indians, he refused to go into the garrison-house, but sat down in his own house with his bible in his hand, believing that while he continued reading it, nothing could harm him. He was shot through the window and fell with his bible in his hand”.

From Mr. Newman's letter and from the following record it is clear that the eccentric believer in the physical protection of a bible in hand was not Robert Beere who was slain by the Indians at Rehoboth on Tuesday March 28th, but was a man named Wright (possibly Henry) whom the Indians killed at Providence the following day—“ripped him open and put his Bible in his belly”:

“On Tuesday following [28 Mar. 1676] the barbarous Infidels destroyed sixty and six Houses besides Barns and Buildings in *Seaconicke*; but we do not hear of any person there slain. On *Wednesday* [29 Mar. 1676] they stormed Providence and consumed the greater part of the Houses but without taking away the life of any person except one *Wright* of whom it is reported, That he was a man of singular and sordid humor; of great knowledge of the Scriptures but of no particular professed sect or persuasion; one that derided Watches, Fortifications and all publick endeavors and administrations for the common safety; Insomuch that after all alarms round about us he refused to bring in any of his Goods (which were of considerable value) or to shelter himself in any Garrison, but presumed he should be safe in his own house where the Enemy found and butchered him. It is further credibly related concerning him that he had a strange confidence or rather conceit that [7] whilst he held his Bible in his hand he looked upon himself as secure from all kinds of violence, and the Enemy finding him in that posture, deriding his groundless apprehension or folly therein, ripped him open and put his Bible in his belly” [*New and Further Narrative of the State of New England, Being a Continued Account of the Bloody Indian War from March till August 1676*, London 1676, pp. 6, 7—*John Carter Brown Library*].

In the Providence tax list for 3 June 1671 are eighty-eight male taxpayers among whom appear the names of Samuel Wright, 3s., and Henry Wright, 15s. [*Early Providence Town Records*, vol. XV, p. 135].

At Providence “7 Sept. 1676 was brd. Sam Wright and his son Henry Wright of a little more than a year old” [*Ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 153].

In a list of papers delivered 4 June 1677 by Roger Williams, former town clerk, to John Whipple, Jr., chosen town clerk, was a will and inventory of Henry Wright [*Ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 170].



Whitman,\* M<sup>r</sup> Williams† hearing of it Called to them & told them if they would parly he would parly w<sup>th</sup> them, w<sup>ch</sup> they did & he had an hours discourse w<sup>th</sup> 3 of them, they told him the Great God was againste us & w<sup>th</sup> them, & that English men were like Women & that there was fifteen hundred of them that had burnt our towne & was burning of theirs, he assured himselfe to be instrumentall to procure a treaty between them & y<sup>e</sup> English, they told him they would say more after a months time & another suggested that they intended to spend a month upon Plimouth Colony for the burning of that.

“Yesterday one of our Towne being abroad w<sup>th</sup> a teame alone was shot at but was not hrt his oxen one was kild & the other wounded, he carelessly went forth both alone 3 mile from y<sup>e</sup> towne & w<sup>thout</sup> any gun, I hope it will be a conviction to him & others of such p<sup>e</sup>sumption—we are at p<sup>e</sup>sent generally visited w<sup>th</sup> a sudden & sore Cold, the Lord sanctify it to us & teach us to se how soone he Can take us into his owne hand, who are ready to thinke If we escape but the enemy we are out of y<sup>e</sup> reach of danger.

“Dear Si<sup>r</sup> Let us have y<sup>e</sup> benefit of yo<sup>r</sup> prayers that we may be resined by our burning & that God would not cease afflicting us till he hath accomplished his good pleasure upon us in making us a people to his praise,— Goodman Mills‡ whose house barne & Tan house is burnt & some of his stocke lost, returnes you w<sup>h</sup> his wife many thanks for yo<sup>r</sup> kind offer & know not but If oppertunity offer that one of their Sons about 14 or 15 years old might Come to you & be w<sup>h</sup> you it might do them a kindnes, & if you want a maid servant they have a daughter to dispose of. — Thanks be to God my family are Completely well recovering out of their Colds, my wife singularly well

\* Valentine Whitman was an interpreter, well known to the Indians. On 13 Oct. 1660 he signed his name as a witness and interpreter to a deed of mortgage given by *Ninegret* and other Indians to Humphrey Atherton. At a town meeting held at Providence 5 June 1676, “before Thomas Fjelds howse vnder a Tree by ye Water side”, town officers were chosen, among whom was Valentine Whitman for town treasurer. All the officers “Sollemly engaged excepting James Olney (town sergant) & Val: Whitman”. He was one of the twenty-seven men who “stajd & went not away”. To these men went the proceeds from the sale of the Indian Captives.

At a town meeting held at the same place 14 Aug. 1676 “a list of 27 names of such as stajd & went not away, was presented, unto whome these Jndjans should be due, y<sup>e</sup> names were m<sup>r</sup> Roger Willjams, Nath: Waterman, Tho: Fenner, Henry Ashton, John Morey, Dan: Abbot, James Olney, Val: Whitman, Jo: Whiple Sen<sup>r</sup>, John Angel, James Angel, Tho: Arnold, Rich: Pray, John Pray, Ephrim Pray, Abraham Man, Jos: Woodward, Tho: Field, Zach: Field, Ed: Bennet, Tho: Clements, W<sup>m</sup> Lancaster, W<sup>m</sup> Hopkins, W<sup>m</sup> Hawkings, John Rodes, Sam: Winsor, Tho: Wallen”. To this list should be added John Scott, shot by the Indians at Pawtucket Falls, and — Wright killed at Providence on 29 Mar. 1676. From this list it will be seen that about two-thirds of the male population of Providence fled to Rhode Island for the duration of the war.

It was voted that “if any of the other inhabitants wanted Indians they were to have them at the rate at which they were sold at Rhode Island or elsewhere. Jt all vnder 5 years old shall serue vntill thirty; All about 5 vnder 10 shall serue till the 28 year of their Ag[ ]; All about 10 to 15 vntill y<sup>e</sup> 27 year of thejr age; All about 15 to 20 vntill y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> year; All from 20 to 30 shall serue 8 years; All about 30–7 years; or as they can be sold. If ye Jndjans can be gained from Rehoboth the product of them shall goe to the about named Company”.

Indians were sold for a price as low as £1 each; one for seven bushels of Indian corn; one for £2 worth of cloth at 3s. 6d. per yard—the equal of about 11½ yds; two Indians for 80 pounds of wool; and John Nixen bought seven Indians for one suit of clothes, a remnant of linen cloth, two shirts, and a pair of drawers. [*Early Providence Town Records*, vol. XV, pp. 151–5.]

According to Staples, *Annals of the Town of Providence* (1843), p. 169, the “tree under which the town meeting was held was probably the old cycamore which formally stood on the east side of South Main Street, nearly opposite Crawford Street. It was cut down by the sidewalk commissioners about 1822; Thomas Field’s house stood next to William Field’s garrison-house”.

Valentine Whitman, b. probably near 1627; d. in Providence 26 Jan. 1701; m. Mary —, d. 31 May 1718. He was a surveyor, 1656; jurymen, 1657–1661; commissioner, 1658; deputy, 1675, 1679, 1682, 1685, and 1686. He had nine children, the first, Mary, b. 16 Nov. 1652, and the ninth, Valentine, b. 25 Aug. 1668. For genealogy, see Austin’s *Gen. Dict. of R. I.*, p. 224.

† The fact that when the Indians burned Providence they asked to speak only to Valentine Whitman, and Roger Williams hearing of it called to them and asked to parley is unknown to historians. Staples in his *Annals of the Town of Providence* (1843), p. 166, mistakenly gave the date of the burning of Providence as 30 March instead of 29 March.

‡ This was probably John Myles, son of the Reverend John Myles, who had a son Nathaniel b. 26 Oct. 1671 and a son James b. 29 Apr. 1674. The family of the minister John Myles is the only one of that name known to have been in Swansea or Rehoboth at this time.



Contented to stay in the place she is in & in no wise discouraged from a dependance upon God to carry us & ours thro such ensuing difficulties as seem to be before us. I account it a very great mercy & cannot be sufficiently thankful for it.

"Mr Mills\* is gone to y<sup>e</sup> Iland† & Mr Brownes‡ family is there his pson hovers between y<sup>e</sup> Iland & Swanzey, many of the Inhabitants gone & others unsettled pray pesent mine & my wifes respects to M<sup>rs</sup> Cotton & M<sup>r</sup> Bradford with excuse that I do not write being in such straties of time. I enjoy ever to hear of him. I am sorry there is so great a reflection upon authority in y<sup>r</sup> army's removing,§ but I am discouraged the more as to our Condition, for my hearts desire & prayer to God is y<sup>t</sup> I may be aboue all disappointments of that nature, not so much as to be moved at them, & to looke at all insufficiency & uncertainty is [ ] to be most like it selfe. The first day that any English blood was shed was a fast,<sup>11</sup> & my subject was psal. 46. 10.

Be still & know y<sup>t</sup> I am god: w<sup>ch</sup> I desire ever to have in mind for my encouragement in the worst times—The good Lrd incourage & strengthen all our hearts in himselfe & make us perfect in every good word & worke, hitherto we have suffered little, I fear there are greater & sore evils behinde the Lrd fit us for them, & instruct us by them. Let me hear from you as oft as may be as you shall from me. Thus w<sup>th</sup> affectionate salutation Craving the Continuance of mutuall prayers I rest Si<sup>r</sup>

"Yo<sup>r</sup> Assured fr[ ] Noah Newman

"I canot but condole yo<sup>r</sup> & our losse  
in the death of that good old [ ]ostes  
y<sup>e</sup> Lrd sanctify such breaches to us.—"

[Indorsements on the letter]

"For. The Rev<sup>d</sup> & much Respected Friend M<sup>r</sup> John Cotton Plimouth  
From M<sup>r</sup> Newman April 19:1676".

[Original Letter, *American Antiquarian Society*.]

\* Mr. John Myles, pastor of the Baptist church at Swansea whose residence was used as a garrison-house during the war.

† Rhode Island, where many took refuge during the war.

‡ Lieut. James<sup>2</sup> Brown (*John*<sup>1</sup>) of Swansea who in 1665 succeeded his brother-in-law Capt. Thomas Willett as assistant at the Plymouth Colony Court where he served for thirteen years. He was prominent in the service of the Colony in the attempt to avert Philip's War. He m. Lydia,<sup>2</sup> dau. of John<sup>1</sup> Howland, the Pilgrim, and d. in 1710 at the age of 87.

§ Mr. Newman was referring to the lack of assistance furnished by the Plymouth Colony Court for the protection of Rehoboth, which is mentioned in the following letter:

Plimouth, April 19, 1676.

*Worthy Sir:*

With refference to the transactions of the last weeke I am exceedingly afflicted to thlnk, that wee should so reele and stagger in our counsels as drunken men, and that soe pretious a people as Rehoboth should be soe forsaken by us, for our own selfish interests. If I were in your study alone, I would tell you how much blemish some have gotten for being so backward to maintaine a garrison at Rehoboth. This morning the Gov'r (being much encouraged by Capt. Bradford and the treasurer thereunto,) hath sent 2 men post to Rehoboth, to signify that if they will come off, an army from us shall guard them; but if they will stay, and judge it necessary for their safety, they shall have from us 40 or 50 men to keepe garrison with them, etc. And truly sir, if your southerne men shall faile in this, it will be just matter of reproach to them: however, it is resolved helpe shall be sent them, if they accept it. Good news in letters from Stonington to Boston. On Lord's day, Apr. 9, some Connecticut forces, Capt. George Denison being chiefe, tooke and killed 42 Indians, of which *Quanonshet* was one, who was taken in that coat he received at Boston. His head is sent to Hartford, his body is burnt; then also was killed one hostage that run from Hartford, and some chief counsellors; also 38 sachems and 3 Capts. were taken and killed neere Patuxet [Pawtucket] . . . An Indian at Boston, who was improved as a messenger to the enemy, being returned, affirms that Capt. Pierce and his killed scores of the Indians that Sabbath day . . .

I rest, &c. &c.

John Cotton.

[Original letter, *Massachusetts Historical Society*—Bliss' *History of Rehoboth* (1836), pp. 101–2.]

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Newman's statement that "the first day any English blood was shed was a fast [day,



The following is a pathetic letter written by John Kingsley, a sick old man whose house had been burned by the Indians and who had lost all the property he had in the world excepting one swine which somehow or other had escaped the attention of the Indians. In this letter he gave much detail about the burning of Rehoboth not found in any other contemporaneous record. He told of the Indians burning the mills and "breaking the grinding stones" (heretofore unknown), "digging out of the ground what the English had hid; burning cart wheels, cutting the hind quarters off cattle and leaving the rest, driving away our cattle, shipe, and horses":

"Ser, I sallvtue you with al that cal on the Lord Jesus, thayer Lord & oweres. I did despach a few lines to new noriage & so to you & the rest on your river, but fearing it should not com to your hand & those which it concerns, I nowe, in my sicknes that the Lord hath laid on vs as hee did on Iob. I am now in an fever or ague, yet I doe ivdg I folow Pale [judge I follow Paul], I can say truely that since ovr wares begun my flesh is so gon with feare, care & grife & now this sickenes, my skin is redey to cleave to my bones. Now being vnknowne to you beloe on the river, I say I am the 1 man & onely left<sup>1</sup> of those that gathered the Chvrch that is now in dorchester, yet of lat have lived at rehoboth or seconke & hath sufered deepe, with my neighboures. now to tel you what wee have & how wee are like to sufer, my hart wil not hould to write & sheetes would [not] contayne. I am not able to beare the sad stories of ovr woeful days, when the lord made ovr wolfish heathen to be our Lordes, to fier<sup>2</sup> our towne, shout & holow, to cal to vs to com out of our garisones. Som did goe out alive, with succese; but had not ovr god restrayned them, thay were enow to have swallowed vs all vp. thay burnt our miles,<sup>3</sup> brake the stones, ye, our grainding stones; & what was hid in the

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Thursday 24 June 1675]" is an important heretofore unknown source record. In printed histories this date varies from Sunday 20 March to Friday 25 March.

Many historians, even at this late date, still use Ebenezer Hazard's *Historical Collection, Consisting of State Papers, Other Documents*, etc., 2 vols., published at Philadelphia in 1792, in the mistaken belief that this work is an *authority*. Even Palfrey in his excellent *History of New England*, printed in 1864, relied entirely too much on Hazard, for the latter's work was then seventy-two years old and in this time much new source material had come to light. One hundred and fifty-five years of antiquity has added no value to Hazard's work. On the contrary, it is today not a trustworthy reference book for the historian.

<sup>1</sup> In the first gathering of the Dorchester church, 23 Aug. 1636, of which Mr. Richard Mather became minister, John Kingsley was the seventh signer [*Dorchester Church Records*], and the last surviving member of the seven signers. In the list of "ancient purchasers" at Taunton, with allowments of 12, 8, and 6 acres each, John Kingsley's name stands 20th on the list with a 12-acre lot and Mr. John Brown, later of Rehoboth, has lot number 46 [*Baylies' Historical Memoir of New Plymouth*, vol. I, pt. 1, p. 286].

<sup>2</sup> This was 28 Mar. 1676 when some 1,500 Indians surrounded the main Rehoboth settlement and burned practically all of the remaining buildings.

<sup>3</sup> At the time of Philip's War there were two cornmills and a sawmill in Rehoboth, the new cornmill located on Palmer's River and the original cornmill and a sawmill at the cove falls at the southeastern end of what is now Omega Pond, a few feet northwest of the present river bridge which is beside the brick-arch Railroad bridge (erected 1884) over Roger Williams Avenue. John Kingsley lived about two-hundred yards southeast of the falls corn and sawmills on the parcel of land between the river and what is now Roger Williams Avenue at a point about opposite the present Agawam Hunt clubhouse.

When John Kingsley died he was buried on his own land. In 1890 his gravestone was found near the spot where the Wachusett canoe house was later built. In 1946 a new concrete Roger Williams Avenue bridge was erected on the west side of the old wooden bridge and this portion of the highway relaid. The Wachusett canoe house was torn down and the western line of Roger Williams Avenue at the bridge approach now passes through the site of the old canoe house.

John Kingsley's gravestone was taken up and moved about one and a half miles northeast to the old Newman cemetery, where it was reset in the old part of the cemetery about twenty-three feet south of the Newman monument. It is a rough wedge-shaped stone nine inches square at the base and two feet high. Near the top four lines are roughly chiseled reading: "1678 JOHN KING SLEY". Near the top on the opposite side are the letters "AK". The cross line of the letter "A" is on the top instead of in the middle of the letter. The Rehoboth records read "John Kingsley,







erth they found, corne & fowles, kild catel & tooke the hind quarters & left the rest, yea, all that day that the Lord gave lisonnes [license], they burnt cartes wheles, drive away our catel, shipe, horses, in a word had not the Lord restrayned thay had not left won to have tould of our woful day. wee lost but on siley man<sup>4</sup> that day. Wee are shut vp in our garisones & dare not goe abroad far to our outlandes, without som strength. Som of our souldieres are removed, nobody comes to say, how doe ye. counsel from Bost. & Plimoth was to stay, oneless all had gon that could & left the rest to perish, yet now every rod of ground neare garison is broaken vp & where house & barne stood now put in beanes & sqvashes but alase, what wil doe against famin.

“Now to leave all ovr danger, fear of sord, famen stares vs in the face. Now to my comfort I heare you have store of corn, ye, tho you doe not sow in some years. Now misery cales for mersey but I consave is distres. The truth is my hart wil not beare to write. Ah, the burden that I beare night & day, to see the blesed & loving God thus angrey, & wee have not a Profet to tel how longe, & to say this or these are new englandes sinn. For general sin cales vseley [usually] for generall plagve which is now Deare bretheren, there be power in your handes, doe not say, goe away com agayne. It is betur to die by sord then famen. Therefore I beg in my Lordes name, to send vs som meal; for if wee send it [to] road island there is won wolf<sup>5</sup> in the way, & hee wil have money, which won of 40 hath not it to pay, tho thay starve; yea 1<sup>sh</sup> for 1 bushel, caring & Bringing There is unother, that is the miller<sup>6</sup>, & hee takes an 8 part O new ingle., when wilt thou leave opresing. it may be in som of your minde to say, why doe not the hed men write, but onely this ould pore man. I say onely, I wil lay a mantel of my shoulder & goe pakewardes.

“There is but too<sup>7</sup> that knowes of my writing, & the won descoriged me; but I know how earnest Pal beged prayeres that which hee cales grase might be expekted I pray if this com in to the hand of aney that fere god, doe not stifel it, but impart it to others, that those who have a wiling mind may hav a hand to save vs from famen. I doe not beg for money to bild houses. Oh noe, noe. if any wil send meale, pray let deacon Walker distribit<sup>8</sup> it. I knowe no man like minded.

“it would be a dishoner to such a people as you, to vse argements to stir you vp to such a worke. I leave this & you all to the good hand of god, throu Jesus Christ, who is the devine head of that blesed Covenant of Grace & fovntayn of all good. Bere with my writing, who came of my sicke bed to make an end of these lines.

“4 or 5 of 3 Mon. [May] 1676.

“John Kingsley

burd. 6 Jan. 1678” [1677/8] and “— wife of John Kingsley, bur'd 14 Jan. 1673” [1672/3]. William Carpenter in his town clerk's return to the Plymouth Colony court records the wife's name as “Alice”.

<sup>4</sup> This was Robert Beeres who had ventured alone to go at some distance from the garrison-house (*ante*, p. 17).

<sup>5</sup> We will probably never know the name of this profiteering Rhode Island man.

<sup>6</sup> The Rehoboth miller was William Sabin whose mill had been burned by the Indians on 28 Mar. 1676, thirty-eight days before the date of this letter, so it is not clear how without a mill he could collect toll for grinding corn. Also, the legal toll for grinding was one quart per bushel, not two quarts. At the Plymouth Court 6 Mar. 1648/9, “William Sabin, the miller of Rehoboth, was presented for not returning mens corn unto them by two quarts in a bushel”. He was acquitted [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 140].

<sup>7</sup> The two men who knew he was writing this letter were probably Mr. Noah Newman, who may have been the one who did not approve of it, and Deacon Walker who later had charge of the Rehoboth distribution of the Connecticut donation of corn meal. Three months later this letter produced results.

<sup>8</sup> On 30 May 1676, the Connecticut authorities selected Deacon Walker to make the Rehoboth distribution of grain. Noah Newman, writing from Taunton to John Cotton at Plymouth on 3 Aug. 1676 says: “We have received from the westward [Connecticut] 140 & odd bushells of Indian 19 bush. of pease—40 of which went to Taunton. It hath been a great releife to us, the Lrd make us duly thankfull— The dole you speak of that is coming to me, I thankfully accept & Judge it will come the best to me from Boston. If you can procure it there & it would double accomdate me, if it were ground, we, having no mill” [Original letter, *American Antiquarian Society*].



"If aney that here or reede wil trvst mee won barel of indien meal & won of wheat, I do promies to pay, I or mine, when the Lord shall tvrn to his people with Justice

"if aney know or here that Enoes Kingsley<sup>9</sup> be alive, at northamton, lett know that I his father am a live tho no shelter for my gray head, onely with won swine God left when hee sent our enemyes to be ovr lordes, & Blesed be his holy name hee gave & hee tooke I prayed sevn yeares to be fited to sufer comon calamity so the thing I fearyd is com on mee; but alas I am redey to fant in the day of adversetey & show my strenght is smal".

[Directed.] "For his much honered frend the preacher<sup>10</sup> of the gospel at Hartford, Connecot, these, with speed, as consernes maney."

[Original letter, *Conn. Archives*, Series I, vol. I, Doc. 68.]

At a meeting of the Council at Hartford, 26 May 1676, Major Robert Treat, Esq., Deputy Governor, Capt. John Allyn, and Mr. John Wadsworth, it was voted:

"Whereas the Gen<sup>l</sup> Court ordered that there should be 600 bushells of wheat raysed upon the county of Hartford, to be proportioned by the Authority of this county, upon the seuerall plantations, to be improved and baked into bread for the country's use, which is thus proportioned;—upon Hartford, 174 bush.; Windsor, 152; Wethersfeild, 134; Farmington, 74; Midleton, 46; Hadum, 20;—which is to be raysed forthw<sup>th</sup> and brought to Hartford, to be ground into flour and baked p<sup>r</sup> the baker, all except Windsor proportion, which is to be baked there. The Secret<sup>ry</sup> to send out warrants to the respectiue townes, accordingly.

"May 30, 1676. To all Christian freinds, the good people unto whome these p<sup>r</sup>sent writeings shall come greeting; Whereas we haue receiued a letter bearing date May 5, '76, from one John Kingsley, of Seaconck or Rehoboth, whereby we are credibly informed of the great straights, difficulties and wants not onely of o<sup>r</sup> Christian freinds there, but of very many of o<sup>r</sup> dear freinds the Lord's people in that Colony of New Plimouth and elcewhere, by reason of the prevayleing of the cruell enemy, by burning, killing and destroyeing people and places not a few; and being called upon for releife, we haue thought fit to recommend it to your pious consideration to remember the poore and them that are in bonds, as bownd with them; it being a worke that even nature, God, and man calls for of us, to extend o<sup>r</sup> compassion and charity for the supply of o<sup>r</sup> distressed freinds' necessities, whose lowd cryes of their misery doth answerably call for o<sup>r</sup> liberallity and mercy, least the Lord should justly turn his hand from them to vs. We desire that you would appoynt one in each congregation, to receiue your liberality and to take care for the speedy and effectuall sending the same to Boston and Seaconck, to be distributed to those in necessities. Deacon Walker of Seaconck is recommended to vs as a suitable person to receiue and distribute what shall be sent to Seaconck, and the rest may be sent to Mr. Thatcher and Mr. Mather of Boston, to be by them put into some faythfull hands, to be distributed amongst the people in necessity in the Massachusetts and Plimouth Colony. (Mr. Shepherd, added)".

[*Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* (1665–1678), p. 445.]

The following record is an important one for the history of Rehoboth. It gives much new detail on the Pawtucket Falls skirmish with the Indians, but most important of all, it corrects the erroneous

<sup>9</sup> Enos Kingsley of Northampton, d. 9 Dec. 1708; m. 15 June 1662, Sarah dau. of Edmund Haynes of Springfield. Children: 1. John, b. in 1664, d. soon. 2. Sarah, b. in 1665. 3. John, b. in 1667. 4. Haynes, b. in 1669; d. at 20 yrs. of age. 5. Ann. 6. Samuel, b. in 1675. 7. Remember, b. in 1677; d. soon. 8. Hannah, b. in 1681. John Kingsley in his will of 2 Nov. 1677 mentions only three children, Edward, Enos, and Freedom [*Savage's Gen. Dict.*, vol. III, p. 29].

<sup>10</sup> At this time at Hartford, Conn., Mr. Joseph Haynes, son of Governor John, was minister of the First Church, succeeding Mr. Hooker in 1664, and Mr. John Whiting (A.B. Harvard 1657) was minister of the Second Church, established in 1670.

date given for the skirmish by both Mather and Hubbard in their contemporaneous narratives.

"On 20 May 1676 there came to the Councils hand a letter signed by Jn<sup>o</sup> Allin, secretary, in the name of the Council of Hartford, on Conecticot, which was communicated to the General Court [of Elections] then setting [at Boston], who returned an ans<sup>r</sup> thereto, & is as followeth:

". . . on 24 May\* Capt. Thomas Brattle, w<sup>th</sup> a troope of horse, about fiuety, sent out to the pursuing of the ennemy that had newly donn spoyle at Seaconcke, when coming w<sup>th</sup> a smale party of foote there, marcht to the falls of Pacatucke [Pawtucket] River, being on Seaconcke side. Spying Indians on the other side, left the foote on Seaconck side, the horse, marching vp the rieur about a mile, w<sup>th</sup> some difficulty got ouer, marched doune to the ennemy, put them to the rout imediately, killed seuerall of them, took seuerall armes, w<sup>th</sup> amnition, keetles & other things, w<sup>th</sup> two horses; burnt great store of their fish they had catch<sup>d</sup>, w<sup>th</sup> coates & shooes they had left behind. One man was lost there, & Cornet Elljot† wounded in the hand, the dead man carried to Seaconck and buried‡ there. An Indian boy was taken, that on examination affirmed this party of the ennemy was 3 or 4 hundred & belonged to Nepsuchnit" [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. V, p. 97].

The preceding pages show in a small way how a little research will supply the wealth of additional details so necessary for a more complete and better history of King Philip's War. The failure to do original research in prime source records; the consequent lack of study of these available records by our historians; and their willingness to accept and repeat the outline history as written by the two contemporary historians, Mather and Hubbard, are responsible for the paucity of detail in the history of this Indian war.

These original documents, together with the poetry of Deacon Philip Walker printed in the following chapter, give us a far better first-hand understanding of the background of this war and a greater appreciation of its frightfulness than can be obtained by reading all the printed narrative histories. The words of eye-witnesses written at the time, on the spot, give a true sense of tragedy not found in the recitals of "traditions" no matter how skillfully written.

\* Hubbard said that "a party of Indians were discovered at Rehoboth busy fishing in a river thereabouts [the Pawtucket Falls was a famous Indian fishing place] and that Captain Brattle was sent up about the 23rd of May and with the help of some of the inhabitants [of Rehoboth] killed eleven or twelve of the Indians with the loss of one man only". He makes no mention of Ensign Eliot's being wounded [Hubbard's *Narrative* (Drake Ed. 1865), vol. I, p. 226].

Mather said that "on 23. May some of our troops 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 only one Englishman". No mention was made of Ensign Eliot's being wounded [Mather's *Brief History* (Drake Ed. 1862), p. 150].

The Boston Merchant writing between 5 May and 4 Aug. 1676 to his friend in London, said that "on 24 May Captain Brattle was sent for with his troop to Rehoboth where he slew twelve Indians with the loss of one man and one slightly wounded" [Drake's *Old Indian Chronicle* (1836), p. 122].

† 24 May 1676—"Cosin [nephew] Jacob came home from Seakunk wounded in his hand, his clothes shot through and through" [Rev. John Eliot's *Records of the Church in Roxbury*; N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, vol. XXXIII, p. 298].

[Cornet] Jacob Eliot was the eldest son of Jacob of Boston, the elder brother of Rev. John, the celebrated Indian Apostle of Roxbury. Jacob Eliot m. 9 Jan. 1665 wid. Mary Wilcox. He was later a captain, deacon, and one of the selectmen in 1677. He d. 16 Aug. 1693 [Savage, *Gen. Dict.*, vol. II, p. 109].

‡ There is no record of this burial at Rehoboth.



## CHAPTER II

### DEACON PHILIP WALKER, POET

In the manuscript collection of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts, is an heretofore unpublished eighteen-page manuscript\* consisting of two poems and a prose article written in 1676 by Deacon Philip Walker of Rehoboth, totaling some 4,000 words. This is his only extant literary work, and we now know that the versatile Walker in addition to being a farmer, weaver, sawmill proprietor, deacon of the church, constable, and incidentally the second richest man in Rehoboth, was also a poet and writer of no mean ability.

This Walker manuscript is closely written in a small hand and compactly covers  $17\frac{2}{3}$  pages, which measure  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in width by  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches in length, and, from the historical events it records, appears to have been written between 26 March and 30 May 1676. It is divided into three parts: (1) "Captan Perse and his coragios Company", a poem on the Indian ambush and tragic death of Captain Pierce and his company at Rehoboth on 26 Mar. 1676, and on the general New England policy of fighting the Indians, 5 pages of 131 lines, including the title and 2 duplicate lines, prin-

\* This manuscript was first copied by the American Antiquarian Society in 1928 with the idea of later publishing it in the Society's *Proceedings*. It was first called to the writer's attention in June 1943 by his friend Dr. Harold S. Jantz, Professor of Modern Languages and Literature at Princeton University, who came across it in the course of his intensive research in the libraries and historical societies throughout New England for early manuscript prose and poetry for his *History of Early American Literature* which he has in preparation. He found much new material, especially manuscript verse, about a third of which has been published in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, under the title, *The First Century of New England Verse* by Harold S. Jantz (1944). On pages 53 to 57 he briefly analyzes the work of Philip Walker, and on page 113 announces a subsequent special study of Walker's "Captan Perse and his coragios Company".

The Walker manuscript was at one time bound in a volume of printed pamphlets. On the first page of the manuscript, superimposed upon other writing is inscribed "Samuel Curwin, his Booke", apparently the last owner. On the same page is also found the name "John Curwin" and "John to the hon[ ]". This volume probably came to the Antiquarian Society shortly before 1831 at the same time as the Curwin Papers, which are really the Rossiter Cotton Papers containing much Curwin material.

It is interesting to theorize on how this Philip Walker poem came into the possession of the Curwin family. Samuel<sup>3</sup> Curwin was born 12 Oct. 1674. His father was John<sup>2</sup> and his grandfather George,<sup>1</sup> a captain in King Philip's War, but there is no Rehoboth record showing that either was ever in Rehoboth. There are two possible explanations. The first is that Walker gave the poetry to his minister, Noah<sup>2</sup> Newman, and that it came into the possession of the Curwin family through the Newman's. Capt. John<sup>2</sup> Curwin was a brother-in-law of Rev. Noah<sup>2</sup> Newman of Rehoboth, having married, in 1665, Margaret<sup>3</sup> Winthrop, daughter of Gov. John<sup>2</sup> Winthrop, whose other daughter, Elizabeth,<sup>3</sup> had married, in 1658, Rev. Antipas<sup>2</sup> Newman, of Wenham, brother of Rev. Noah<sup>2</sup> Newman of Rehoboth. Both Capt. John<sup>2</sup> Curwin and Rev. Antipas<sup>2</sup> Newman were neighbors at Salem. The town of Wenham was set off from the original town of Salem.

The second possible explanation is that Philip Walker gave the poem to Thomas Mann, the murderer of whose wife and babe by the Indians is so graphically described, and that Mann gave it to his step-father, John Corwin, of Scituate, Plymouth Colony, and that the latter gave it to the Rev. John Cotton, Minister Noah Newman's friend at Plymouth, and that later it came into the Curwin family, finally becoming a part of the Cotton papers in the possession of Rossiter Cotton, a descendant of Rev. John Cotton.

cipally in four-line stanzas, containing some 1,038 words; (2) "The Stragamen of the Indians", in prose, a proclamation from Satan to his servants, the Powwahs,  $1\frac{2}{3}$  pages, 62 lines including title, containing some 520 words; (3) "The first smile of God in this land", a poem contrasting the ideals of the founding fathers with the present abandonment of them with God's consequent punishment of New England, 11 pages of 336 lines including 1 cut off and 3 ending with signature, principally in four-line stanzas, containing some 2,406 words, a total of 529 lines of approximately 4,000 words.

To the historian, this Rehoboth manuscript record of King Philip's War is an extremely valuable contemporaneous document which adds much new detail to our all too scanty records of that war. Deacon Walker brings out some heretofore unknown facts, the most important of which is, if we read him correctly, that Capt. Michael Pierce marched in force from Newman's garrison in Rehoboth to reconnoiter the Indians without waiting for Captain Mosely and his company who were to have joined him. We also learn for the first time about the brutal murder of Thomas Mann's wife, Rachel, and her infant daughter.

Little or nothing is known about the early life of Philip Walker. He was the son of "Widow" Walker, who first appears in Seekonk at the founding of that township in 1643 when he was about fifteen years of age. His name first appears in the Rehoboth records on 9 Sept. 1652, at which date his mother was undoubtedly deceased. Two years later he married. Whatever formal education he may have had as a boy, must have been obtained overseas before he emigrated to New England.

The first name of his mother or that of her husband is not known. There is fairly conclusive evidence that she had two other children, Sarra, born 1618, and James, born 1620, both of whom came to America in 1635 with their uncle John Browne, who for many years was a Plymouth Colony Assistant and one of the Plymouth Colony Commissioners of the United Colonies.

On 15 Apr. 1635, there sailed for New England from London, England, on the "ship *Elizabeth*, William Stagg, master, James Walker, 15 years of age, and Sarra Walker, 17 years of age, servants of Jo. Browne, a baker, and one William Brasey, a linen draper in Cheap-side, London, per certificate of their conformity". On 17 April other passengers boarded the ship, including Jo. Browne, aged 40 years [3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. VIII, pp. 259-262].

Later, in 1643, we find John Browne and the two Walker children, James and Sarra, at Taunton, Massachusetts, and John Browne and James Walker, together with Widow Walker, proprietors in the new Township of Seekonk.

On 10 Jan. 1643/4 the Seekonk lots of John Browne, James Browne, his son, and James Walker were ordered forfeited for failure to move their families to the new Seekonk township [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 37]. John Browne and his son later removed to Seekonk (Rehoboth), but James Walker forfeited his Seekonk lands





*Courtesy of Miss Faith Shedd*

The house built by Philip Walker, poet. From a heretofore unpublished photograph taken about 1860. Finished in 1679, and still standing, this is the oldest authenticated poet's house in New England. For the story of this Walker house, and picture, see *post*, pages 28 and 50.







and remained in Taunton, where shortly afterward he married\* a Taunton girl.

It appears that Widow Walker was either a sister or sister-in-law of John Browne, and that some time after Widow Walker's two children came to New England, in 1635, she followed with her younger son, Philip, and was settled by John Browne at Rehoboth in 1643.

On 23 Nov. 1655 John Browne of Rehoboth gave to his cousin (*i.e.*, nephew) John Tisdill, who had married Sarra Walker, a dwelling-house he had bought at Taunton. He also gave to his cousin (*i.e.*, nephew) James Walker his own house that he had lived in at Taunton [*Plymouth Colony Deeds*, vol. III, p. 181].

Deacon PHILIP<sup>2</sup> WALKER (——<sup>1</sup>), weaver, husbandman, sawyer, and poet, born about 1628, died intestate, and was buried at Rehoboth 21 Aug. 1679, the same day that his friend Stephen Paine, Senior, was buried. He married, probably at Dedham, Massachusetts, about 1654, JANE<sup>2</sup> METCALF, born at St. Edmondsbury, co. Norfolk, England, 24 Mar. 1632, daughter of Michael<sup>1</sup> and Sarah (Elwyn) Metcalf. Michael Metcalf was a Dornix† weaver in the city of Norwich, where he was made freeman 2 June 1618, and where he is said to have employed some hundred or more men. Widow Jane (Metcalf) Walker married, secondly, 2 June 1684, John Polley of Roxbury and lived there until her death on 24 Oct. 1701.

In October 1679 James Walker‡ (probably Philip's brother) and Samuel Walker (24 years old), eldest son of Philip Walker, appraised his property for £685, a large estate for that time when the average was nearer £150. On 1 Nov. 1675, the Court held at Plymouth, before Josiah Winslow, governor, "ordered that the now house in building shall be finished out of the whole entire estate . . . and that the widow shall have a comfortable and convenient being therein during her widowhood" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. VI, pp. 27-8].

Two days after Pierce's Fight, 28 Mar. 1676, the Indians fell upon Rehoboth and burned most of the houses, barns, and other buildings, including Philip Walker's dwelling house. After the Indian war was over, Philip Walker first rebuilt his sawmill, which we know was in operation on 16 Feb. 1676/7 for on that date his ten-year-old son Michael (named after his grandfather Michael Metcalf) fell into the water wheel and was carried into the river under the ice and drowned

\* Gov. Edward Winslow in a letter to Gov. John Winthrop written from Plymouth on 4 June 1646 said: "The bearer . . . an industrious and well affected young man desires me to entreat you to further him in a seemingly just demand: He being lately married, it seems that there is one Samuel Crum a wine cooper lately came from sea and a kinsman of his wiewus that is departed this life with you. whereupon in his wiewes behalf he desires letters of administration he having no other kindred so nearly allied in the country, and therefore I prey you shew all lawful favor. His name is James Waker [Walker], and I shall take any kindness to him as done to myself, and therefore I beseech you, being he is a stranger and put him in some course to accomplish it" [*Winthrop Papers*, vol. V, p. 82].

† Or "Dornick", a kind of material used for curtains, carpets, and hangings, so called from Door-nik, or Tournay, a city in Flanders, where it was first made [*Phillips' Dictionary*, London, 1706]. A similar damask-linen was made at Dornoch in Sutherlandshire, Scotland.

‡ For an account of the Walker family, see *Memorial of the Walkers of Old Plymouth Colony* (1861), by J. B. R. Walker. This is an excellent genealogy and is one of the best written at that period.



[*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. V, p. 209]. He next built a new house (perhaps starting it in 1678) on the foundation of the old one. This is the oldest surviving house in old Rehoboth, built thirty-five years after the settlement of Seekonk in 1643. It has never been out of the possession of the family and is still owned and occupied by a descendant in the tenth generation.

So far as actual documentary proof is known to the writer, the Philip Walker house,\* finished in 1679 and still (1947) standing on Massasoit Avenue, East Providence, Rhode Island, is the oldest poet's house in New England. Few seventeenth-century houses are so unquestionably dated. Against this documented evidence is the tradition that the Col. Dudley Bradstreet house in Andover, Massachusetts, was the home of his mother, Anne Bradstreet, the earliest known New England woman poet, whose first book of verse was published in England in 1650. However, the claim made for this Anne Bradstreet house seems to rest solely on tradition.†

Returning to Walker's eighteen pages of manuscript, we find that a study of this document adds greatly to our knowledge of the man. In the first place, his penmanship shows a mixture of sixteenth and seventeenth century style letters, with the latter predominating. A good example of sixteenth-century handwriting is found in the letter of old John Kingsley, shown *ante*, page 21. Some of the characters in this letter were in use as early as 1538. Secondly, Walker's handwriting demonstrates that he was a constant writer, for it is of that non-hesitant style where one letter flows into another, proficiency in which is acquired only by continual practice. In the early Rehoboth records, with the exception of Edward Smith, Rehoboth's first town clerk, none of the town clerks had Philip Walker's free and easy style of penmanship. The town clerks were only occasional writers and most of their handwriting shows a labored effort. Walker must have been a prolific writer, for in this one manuscript he penned some 4,000 words, a continuous writing effort which it is safe to say was unequalled by any early Rehoboth man other than the two ministers, Samuel Newman and his son Noah.

A search of the Rehoboth record books fails to disclose any of Walker's handwriting. This being the case, it is necessary to look

\* Much about Philip Walker will be found in *Early Rehoboth*, vols. I and II. In volume I is a picture of the Walker house taken about 1890 and a sketch of the old attic stairway.

† Sarah Loring Bailey, writing in 1880, said: "The tradition has always been that the Bradstreet house was the residence of Mr. Simon Bradstreet. That it was the home of his son, Col. Dudley Bradstreet, is authenticated. The latter died 1702. He married 1673. His mother [Anne Bradstreet] died the year before. His father, Mr. Simon Bradstreet, removed to Salem about the time of the marriage, doubtless relinquishing the house to his son. It is stated in the Journal of Mrs. Anne Bradstreet that their house was burned to the ground [10] July 1666. Undoubtedly they built another immediately. The tradition has been that the frame of the house was brought from England; but, however this may be, it is not likely that Mr. Simon Bradstreet was homeless for seven years, or, if he had within so recent a period built a house, his son would immediately build a new one. Some years ago the writer, whose birthplace the house was, took some pains to trace its history through the centuries". Without any proof to substantiate the statement, a picture of the Bradstreet house is shown opposite page 137, under the title "Home of Mr. Simon and Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, Col. Dudley Bradstreet, Rev. Thomas and Rev. John Barnard, and Rev. William Symmes, D.D." [Bailey's *Historical Sketches of Andover* (1880), p. 127].

At the break of day, 22 Feb. 1697/8, Andover was attacked by the Indians; Lieut. Col. Bradstreet's house was rifled, his kinsman Wade, Capt. Chubb, his wife, and three more slain and some houses and barns burned. The town records were taken away by the Indians [*Ibid.*, pp. 182-3].



That many years had kept this Ligo alive  
 & in a fildes had the best Contrived  
 to doo what in his lay the best call  
 for ffead & matous mottiphishall

After seven Surprised upon ye Sabote day  
 with strowpaul lads did suplicate & pray  
 This Impious boe to stay his fuball stroke  
 a little time yf she might god ynuoke

Tii lik ffor pardon ffor sinner in Oriel his house  
 this Orail boege dispart & would not have his  
 dash out his brayns as he had done befor  
 his fittings Infault tumbling in its goro  
 fiding, & house & killing & souen more

They glide away like Soapault on a rock  
 or ship in flotes watry seagons bod  
 before ponsuore broas a que or knote  
 upon their vely Soapault wrotten Red

With srey departur after sur a stroke  
 without reason, dooats Equally provoke  
 our Bloding harte for our miltier ffrinds  
 To think wyl god in sur a soung yntonds.

By a friend to his Country & ffrinds  
 P. Walker

An exact size photostatic reproduction of five stanzas of Philip Walker's poetry commencing on page 15 of his poem entitled "The first smile of god in this land" (see *post*, page 46), together with his signature at the end of his eighteen-page manuscript. This is the only known extant handwriting and signature of Philip Walker, and is here published for the first time.

These stanzas record the murder of Rachel, the wife of Thomas Mann, and of her infant daughter, a heretofore unknown Indian atrocity committed at Swansea on 24 June 1675, the date of the outbreak of King Philip's War.

In addition to the historical importance of his poetry, his orthography is of particular interest in that it shows rather an unusual combination of sixteenth and seventeenth-century handwriting styles. For instance: his capital "C" is decidedly sixteenth-century, as is his small "h" with the top loop below the line; double "f" for capital "F"; "x" for "r"; and the lowered capital "C" for the "&" sign. Mixed in with these characters are also found the seventeenth-century capitals "B, I, L, R, S, T, and Y"; the small "h" with loop above the line; "e", and the "&" sign. The recorded handwriting of no other Rehoboth man seems to have had the styles of two centuries jumbled to the extent found in Philip Walker's writing, of which the foregoing five stanzas are only a small sample.

elsewhere for the explanation of his practiced hand. We know that he was closely associated with the Newmans, both father and son. From the settlement of the town in 1643 until his death in 1663, Samuel Newman was busily engaged in compiling a concordance to the Bible. The first edition was published in London in 1643, followed by a revised edition in 1650, and another revised edition in 1658; he was undoubtedly working on a fourth revision at the time of his death. This was a tremendous job of copying and, as it was impossible for Samuel Newman to do it alone, he must have had plenty of help.

It is suggested that Philip Walker's fluency in writing may have been acquired in his younger days by way of countless hours spent in copying from the Bible for Samuel Newman's concordance. This would explain how Walker became such a practiced penman.

Philip Walker's free-flowing penmanship, with each letter carefully formed and the whole exceptionally legible for the date and style of writing, tells much about him,\* as does his spelling, which is a rare example of phonetic spelling even for the unorthographic seventeenth century,—of which more later.

Only a brief reading of his verse and prose is necessary to bring him out of the shadowy centuries and into the light as a deep-thinking, forcible, religious man who had his own individual ideas about current events and was not at all afraid to express them. We find him with a somewhat unexpected knowledge of ancient, medieval, English, and New England history; Greek and Roman mythology; some knowledge of the physical sciences; of English writers of the period; and also considerable knowledge of the Bible.

Deacon Walker was undoubtedly a self-educated man, for whatever regular schooling he had must have been obtained before 1643, when as a boy of about fifteen years of age he came with his mother to the Seekonk settlement. From that time on, the business of clearing land, house building, planting crops, and providing food for his mother and himself must have precluded any further formal schooling. Under the circumstances, the extent of knowledge displayed in his verse and poetry is astonishing. With the exception of the Newmans, he probably had as good a general education as anyone in Rehoboth.

Walker's education must have been obtained by extensive reading, with perhaps some help from Samuel Newman. From the founding of Seekonk in 1643 there were plenty of books in the settlement. Samuel Newman had a large library, but unfortunately there is no record of the names of the books. On his death he left his "library" to his son Noah, who was later a minister, but the only book mentioned by name in his will is his "Concordance" which he left to his son Samuel. One of Walker's nearest neighbors was William Carpenter, who came to Seekonk in 1643 and was buried there on 7 Feb.

\* According to the principles laid down by Frith, Walker's type of handwriting indicates that he was unpretentious, benevolent, good-hearted, liberal, cautious, and that he was of high intelligence with a well-regulated mind; of logical reasoning power, imagination, talent; a lover of detail and slightly sensitive [*A Guide to the Study of Graphology*, by Henry Frith, F.A.S., London, 1886].



1658/9. He had a considerable library and in his will, made 10 Dec. 1658, he mentioned the following books: "Ainsworth's five books of Moses, Canticles, and Psalms; Brightman's Revelation; Concordance to the Bible (probably Newman's); Mahew's Four Evangelists upon the fourteen chapters of Saule (or Paul); Latin books; Greek and Hebrew grammars, Greek Lexicon; Perkin's Works; Barrow's Private Contentions called Harts Divisions; a book of Psalms; a Dictionary; Bibles (3), Practice of Piety, a volume of Prayer; Perkin's books, Christ's Sermon on the Mount; Burrough's Jewell of Contentment, the Oil of Gladness; Dr. Jarvis' Catechism, and Helen's History of the World" [*Plymouth Colony Wills*, vol. II, pp. 80-83].

Deacon Walker made many suggestions about the conduct of the war, some of which were ultimately adopted. He advocated an all-out war to kill the Indians as fast as possible; that the English leave the garrison-houses and fight; that more friendly Indians be employed to help kill the enemy Indians; and even offered the novel plan of giving the enemy poisoned liquor.

All through Walker's work, runs the belief that the Lord is punishing the English for their sins by turning the Indians loose on them with fire and death. This same theme is found in all the writings of this period, and is especially to be noticed in the contemporaneous letters of Newman, Cotton, Kingsley, and other writers printed in this book. This is not surprising for New England was largely ruled by the Law of Moses.

Walker displayed an unusual power of direct expression and the ability to use some rather uncommon words with just the right meaning to express his thoughts, as for instance, in the first stanza of his poem on "Captain Perse and his coragios Company" where he said "picaring", which is undoubtedly the phonetic spelling of the now obsolete word "pickeering", meaning reconnoitering or scouting—just the word he needed. Then there is that line about the death of the Narragansett Sachem "Miontonimo" (*Quanonshet*), near Pawtucket on 11 Apr. 1676, where he said, "his buffel head on a powl thay raysed". Here he gave a complete word picture of *Quanonshet*, for a "bufflehead" is a duck, the male of which has a remarkable fullness of feathers on the head with plumage black above and white below.

Although a poor speller, Deacon Walker had a good command of language and put his thoughts into words regardless of his ability to spell. There is no doubt as to what he meant, for his words as he spelled them usually had the exact number of syllables. In his words "goea", "whoea" and "doea" he carried out the same inflection with the addition of a syllable which doubtless had something to do with his dialect. Once we have the idea of his phonetic spelling we can usually determine the right word. The following are a few of his phonetic spellings: "Cru" for crew, "dun" for done, "Elikssander" for Alexander, "gilti" for guilty, "gresi" for greasy, "inosent" for innocent, "juils" for jewels, "otion" for ocean, "powl" for pole, "sed" for said, "sitty" for city, "Urope" for Europe, and "Zurksses" for Xerxes.

Walker's verse and prose are written partly in a dialect unlike anything known in early Rehoboth. The writer has read in manuscript more than 3,000 pages of original Rehoboth records and has found no such words as "goea", "doea" and "whoea". They usually have the "e" ending but never the "ea". Then, to name just a few, are the words "toun, bang, hant, saes, goake", etc. These are all foreign to any written words known to have been in use in Rehoboth. In the preceding and following chapters are shown some half dozen contemporaneous letters written by Rev. Noah Newman, Rev. John Cotton, John Kingsley, Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas, Lieut. Peter Hunt, Maj. John Pynchon, and extracts from numerous other letters, which taken together give an accurate cross-section of the words in use and of common spellings in Walker's period.

The writer suggests that Walker \* was a Scotchman and that he wrote in a Scottish dialect. Due to his sometimes fantastic phonetic spelling this statement is difficult to prove, for the evidence is not too conclusive, but the idea is nevertheless worth further investigation. Seekonk was founded by English, Irish, Welsh, and Scotch settlers, so that the verse could have been written in the dialect of any of these countries. It does not seem to be in English dialect, certainly not Irish or Welsh, which leaves only the Scottish. Consulting the Scottish Glossary † in the poetical works of Robert Burns, we find that Walker's "blud" may be the Scottish word "bluid"; "toun", toun, a hamlet; "bang", bang, to beat; "hant", hae, to have; "saes", sae, so; "goake", gowk, a fool or simpleton.

In his two poems there are four lines in which he seems to have used Scottish words. The first and strongest case is the line, "they may goea goake with them the self same way". Here he has apparently used the Scottish word "gowked" meaning foolish, which is just the right word. In his line, "That Sasaman has & may Saes bee" he has probably used the Scottish word "sae", which means "so" and is the word needed. In his third line, "But give it out they never so wear bangd", the Scottish word "bang" means to beat, and this dialect word was apparently selected to rhyme with "hanged". In his fourth line, "Lets search y<sup>e</sup> Cort y<sup>e</sup> Cuntri toun & Sitty", the Scottish word "toun" means hamlet or farmhouse.

Among the manuscript letters in the Massachusetts Historical Society is a letter written from Taunton, Massachusetts, on 1 Sept. 1671 by James Walker (supposed brother of Philip) to Governor Prince of Plymouth Colony. A copy of this letter was printed in the *Collections* of the Society in 1800, vol. VI, page 197. The letter as printed could easily have been written by a university man, for the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are carried to such a

\* "Lower in his *Surnames* says that the name Walker signifies either (Anglo Saxon *wealeere*) a fuller or an officer whose duty consisted in walking over or inspecting a certain piece of forest ground. In the north of England a fulling mill is still called a *walk*-mill. The same custom obtains in the south of Scotland where the Walkers are numerous" [Walker's *Memorial of the Walkers of Old Plymouth Colony* (1861)].

† *Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, with a complete Glossary (Edinburgh 1787, London 1819), Boston, 1847.



degree of perfection as to raise a question of its authenticity. An inspection of the original letter shows it to have been edited\* in ink by a later hand, apparently for the 1800 printing. The original letter has been so much written over that it is practically impossible to make a true *verbatim* copy. The following transcript is the best that could be made:

much Honored Sir:  
 after my humble respects presented to you th[ ] are to aquaynt you with Philips answer to yo[ ] Letter my soons beeing visited with the ague, forced mee to procure brother Haruie to goe ouer to coosen James Broune with the letter, whoe sent for m<sup>r</sup> Williams to interprit; m<sup>r</sup> Williams not beeing well, came not til afterwards; yet coosen James & brother haruie went downe to mount hope & the dance beeing broken vp Philip, & the most of his cheefe men weare much in drinke; only Acumou[in] & tom sancsuik† weare sober soe that Philip could not then giue a answer. only there passed sum words betwixt Philip & cosen James, & Philip struck of coosen James Brounes hat. the day following the went agayne to Philip & m<sup>r</sup> Williams with them the ltter being red, & Philip caused fully to vnderstand it, they could get noe positiu answer about Philips comeing to Plimmoth, because m<sup>r</sup> Eliot had sent for him to Boston, & he looked for another mesenger that day which mesenger they met about [two] miles from Philips house which mesenger tould them y<sup>t</sup> his message was to desire Philip to bee at Punkapoge [the present town of Stoughton] the last day of this weeke at boston the tusday following. Philip & tom Exclmed much agaynst sasiman‡ fo reporting that anie of the naragansit Sachems were there. not farther to troble you; but rest desiring the good lord to be with you, & [guide] you in all youre weightie afayres yours to serue

James Walker

Taunton, sep<sup>t</sup>: 1: 1671:

for our much honored  
 Gouvernour m<sup>r</sup> Prin[ce]  
 at Plimmoth  
 these

[Original letter, *Massachusetts Historical Society*, Governor Prince Papers, No. 76.]

In the following pages will be found Walker's verse and prose transcribed *verbatim* by the writer from photostats made from the original manuscript in the American Antiquarian Society, with footnote comments and explanations. For a full understanding and appreciation of this work, it is necessary to know something about the background of King Philip's War, which will be found in the preceding and two following chapters.

Deacon Walker's first and longer poem, entitled "Captan Perse and his coragios Company" is an epic graphically describing the tragic ambush and almost total annihilation by the Indians of Capt. Michael Pierce and his whole company at Rehoboth on 26 Mar. 1676 in what is know as "Captain Pierce's Fight", as follows:

\* It is hard to understand why these seventeenth-century letters are not printed *verbatim* "as is" without having the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation first carefully edited and modernized. Volumes of these ancient letters have been printed and in some cases so glorified by the editor that it is impossible to tell whether the writer was a university graduate or a man with little schooling. These original letters are oftentimes our most valuable source evidence and the only clue to the writer's education.

† He was one of the captains of Philip's father, *Ousamequin*, and called "Saunkussecit of Wau-chimoqt", as written probably by Roger Williams, and "Sunck Suit, called Tom of Wachamoqt" as witnessed by Benedict Arnold, Indian interpreter [*Early Rehoboth*, vol. II, p. 8].

‡ This was John Sassamon whose body was found in 1675 under the ice on Assowomset Pond.

[C]aptan Perse and his coragio<sup>s</sup> Company

[ ]ero[ ]  
 [ ]kon[ ]  
 [I]ndian:  
 huntrs }  
 or cow }  
 kilers }  
 cald }  
 y<sup>t</sup>  
 roves  
 woods  
 [Walker's  
 note]

I T ffel unlucky y<sup>t</sup> thi march\* wos Soner  
 then thi apoynted time to y<sup>t</sup> meroner†  
 in thy picaring‡ thou Lacks<sup>t</sup> thos muskitters  
 and his Experianc gaynd mongst Buckaneers

Which are a Rugged Cru of hunting rouers  
 much Like thes Sauag Sneking brutish grovers\*

\* hunters in y<sup>e</sup>  
 woods  
 [Walker's note]

\* In the first stanza of his poem Deacon Walker states unequivocally that Captain Pierce marched his company to attack the Indians at Rehoboth before an appointed time when he was to have been joined by a company of musketeers under the command of a "meroner" who had gained his experience among buccaneers. The noun "meroner" is perhaps an incorrect spelling of "marooner", the old meaning of which was buccaneer. On the other hand, the word may be an incorrect spelling of "mariner". In either case there can be no doubt as to the identification of the mariner and musketeers referred to, for the man could have been none other than that famous mariner Capt. Samuel Mosely and the musketeers his Boston company of privateers.

It has always been inexplicable that Captain Pierce should have marched his small company of English across the Seekonk Plain to attack the Indians at Blackstone River, a distance of some five miles away from the Newman garrison-house, at a time when it was generally known that the Indians were concentrating in very large numbers around the town. That he was to have been joined by Captain Mosely but decided to make the attack alone without waiting for reinforcements places the whole affair in an entirely different light, for this fact is mentioned by none of the historians and is an extremely important addition to our meagre knowledge of Pierce's Fight.

Deacon Walker's statement cannot be lightly passed over, for it is an "on the spot" record made by one of the town officials who was in a position to know what he was talking about. In addition to being a deacon in Mr. Noah Newman's church, he was also one of the two Rehoboth constables and was undoubtedly quartered in Minister Newman's garrison-house, the Rehoboth headquarters of Captain Pierce.

According to Hubbard, "Captain Pierce being apprehensive of the Danger he was in, by the great Numbers of the Enemy, like to overpower him with their Multitude, he sent a Messenger, timely enough to *Providence*, for Releif; but . . . whether through Sloth or Cowardice, is not much material, this Message was not delivered to them to whom it was immediately sent; by Accident only some of *Rehoboth* understanding of the Danger, after Evening Exercise (it being on the Lord's Day, March 26, 1676) repaired to the Place; but then it was too late to bring help" [Hubbard's *Narrative* (Drake Ed., 1865), vol. I, pp. 174-5].

The only authentic account of the losses suffered in Captain Pierce's Fight is contained in a letter written from Rehoboth on 27 Mar. 1676 (*ante*, page 14), the day after the fight, by Rev. Noah Newman of Rehoboth to his friend the Reverend John Cotton at Plymouth, and in his second letter dated 19 Apr. 1676 (*ante*, page 15), telling of Rehoboth's three days' labor in burying the English slain in Pierce's Fight.

† Capt. Samuel Mosely was one of the most conspicuous and best-known officers in King Philip's War. A cooper by trade, he later became a skillful mariner and married Anne, daughter of Governor Leverett's sister Anne, wife of Mr. Isaac Addington.

Our authority for the composition of Captain Mosely's company is found in the letter written in 1675 by the unknown Boston merchant to his friend in London in which he said: "Immediately after [20 June 1675] notice came hereof of the trouble at Swansea to the Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony (*Boston* being Metropolis, and the Honourable *John Leveret* Governour thereof). Drums beat up for Volunteers and in three Hours time were Mustered up about an Hundred and ten Men, Captain *Samuel Mosely* being their Commander. This Captain *Mosely* hath been an old Privateer at *Jamaica*, an excellent *Souldier*, and an undaunted Spirit, one whose Memory will be Honourable in *New-England* for his many eminent Services he hath done the Publick. There were also among these Men about Ten or Twelve Privateers that had been there sometime before . . . There went out also amongst these Men one *Cornellis*, a Dutchman, who had lately been Condemned to die for Piracy" [*The Present State of New England with Respect to the Indian War* (London, 1675), pp. 4, 5—*John Carter Brown Library*].

James Savage said that Captain Mosely, "in the way of trade, visited *Jamaica* and other parts of the West Indies where his adventurous spirit was excited and schooled, perhaps, by Sir Henry Morgan and associate *Buccaneers*, the result of which was his bringing home to Boston two prizes from some unmentioned enemy" [probably the Dutch]. These two vessels were prized by the Governor and Council on 9 Apr. 1675 as follows: "The shallop *Edward & Thomas*, £57:13:00; The shallop that *Roads* went out in, £15. On 9 July 1675 John *Roads*, Peter *Grout*, Richard *Foulers*, and Randal



But man Euentz cannot at all fforcee  
 it is the eternall gods propriitee  
 ffor 'twas decreed by y<sup>t</sup> Eternal power  
 y<sup>t</sup> gave them being to fixe y<sup>t</sup> fatal ower

That orders men & times & ends & all  
 Efittiant Cases Epidemicall  
 not as the ould Philosiphers beleve  
 prodigious planits Il Efectts doe give

They did like Hectters whoea well deserve y<sup>t</sup> nam[e]  
 New ly Intered in the bed of ffame  
 Whoea lost ther Blud not much unlike to marter[s]  
 by disadvantage with thes helish Tarters

In ffigthing for ther Cuntry & ther ffrinds  
 have dun ther dooea mad hear ther final Ends  
 meethinks ther vallou<sup>r</sup> should our harts provoke  
 To take reveng ffor Such a dredfull stroke

Judson, condemned malefactors, petitioned the court from jail" [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. V, p. 45].

At Swansea on 29 June 1675 "our horsemen with the whole Body of the Privateers under Captain Mosely pursued the Indians a mile and a quarter on the other side of Myles' Bridge" [Hubbard's *Narrative* (Drake Ed., 1865), vol. I, p. 70].

There is plenty of evidence that Captain Mosely was well known to the Indians and greatly feared by them. On 11 Oct. 1675 Roger Williams wrote from Providence to Governor Leverett at Boston saying that "he was requested by Captain Arthur Fenner of Providence to give him notice that he had it from a native that Philip's great design is . . . to draw Capt. Mosely and others of your forces, by training and drilling, and seeming flights, into such places as are full of long grass, flags, Sedge, &c., and then environ them round with fire, smoke and bullets. Some say no wise soldier will so be caught; but as I told the young prince on his return lately from you, all their war is comooting; they have commootined our houses, our cattle, our heads, &c., and that not by their artillery, but our weapons; that yet they were so cowardly that they have not taken one poor fort from us in all the country, nor won, nor scarce fought one battle since the beginning" [*Narr. Club Publications*, vol. VI, p. 375].

In the Narragansett Swamp Fight on 19 Dec. 1675, nine of Captain Mosely's company were slain and ten wounded. The Boston merchant writing under date of "the 9th 1675" said: "Our Forces entered the Fort, Captain Mosely being in the front, the *Indians* knowing him very well many directed their shot at him, as he afterward told the General [Winslow] that he believed he saw 50 aim at him" [Drake's *Old Indian Chronicle* (1836), p. 49].

Captain Mosely had great success in destroying the Indians and "by some was thought to take too great a delight in that exercise. The easy manner in which he was allowed to pass through some seemingly arrogant assumption of responsibilities" has been attributed by some writers to his close alliance with Governor Leverett and other influential persons in Boston. However, this contention is not substantiated by the records.

Captain Mosely was largely a free-lance fighter and fought the Indians whenever and wherever he found them without too much restraint or direction from any military commander. No captain in the Massachusetts Bay, or in any other colony, had such discretionary power. The extent of this extraordinary freedom from military direction is shown in the action of the General Court of Election held at Boston, 5 May 1676, which considered Captain Mosely's "conditions" under which he would serve as "a comander over such volunteers as may here after present themselves". His conditions were in brief as follows: "That neither he nor any of his company may be ordered to keep garrison but may always be at liberty to seek out and molest the enemy. That he may not be ordered under the command of any commander that is or may be sent out unless upon a sudden emergency for the special service of the country to join with other forces for their strengthening, but not to be obliged to continue with them longer than the emergency require. That his commission may be as large as may consist with the safety of the country and not to be bound up in marches or executions to particular places but to leave it to his best discretion for destroying the enemy, excepting only special orders from General Court or Council on special occasions. That the profit from captives or plunder be divided among himself and company".

The court appointed Maj. John Pynchon [son-in-law of Rev. William Hubbard], Maj. Thomas Savage, Mr. Humphrey Davy, and Capt. Lawrence Hamond a committee to confer with Captain Mosely and consider the conditions under which he would serve as commander. All of these "conditions" were accepted by the committee which in addition recommended that the country supply the company with money, ammunition, provisions, clothing, etc., and that it be quartered in towns at public charge. The committee made its report the same day and the court "allows, approves, and confirms the return of the committee as an act of this Court" [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. V, pp. 94-96].

‡ "Pickeering", an obsolete word meaning reconnoitering, skirmishing, marauding, scouting.

Stought hartts stood too<sup>t</sup> till last disdaynd to [fly]\*  
Such Ods has mad the Rooges er since mor shy  
who have no cas to brag of victtory

But give it out they never so wear bangd\*  
I hoape in time thayl all be shot or hangd

[2] Tis sed at York there is a scarlet dyer  
Ift bee a ridl antiant fframe a lyer  
Itt may bee fferd wee<sup>r</sup> hudwinkt in a trance  
as was our vergin queene † by Imps from france

Fo<sup>r</sup> maters ffraue as if y<sup>t</sup> Dragon beste  
were hither flone to make his helish nes<sup>t</sup>  
With opn jaes Intending to devour  
y<sup>t</sup> child of grace Lord god upone him Shour

The Vials of thy wrath apear for thine  
Lett all the poure of heven & earth Combin[e]  
Let hell know it is Curbd by poure devine

Show now thi self Lord in owr habitations  
who hast so Scatterdly disposd our Stations  
& gives us Corig and providence from thee  
for thers no other help or place to fflee

Lett shops & Crops & men of all Estates  
Sett hartt & hand to fight without debate  
For non there now can thinke ther Safe Securd  
How er Suplyd within owr owne Imurd  
Improve the utmost depending creturs can  
Leve the suckses to him y<sup>t</sup> rules Each man

Though what here spoke is but a singl notion:/  
and Like a drop lett ffall into the otion  
Yit my advice If I might hered bee  
Ti<sup>st</sup> to make a vertu of nesesitee:/

Arme & Incorig owr Indins whot wee Can  
a thief revers may prove an honist man  
the Boston Islanders ‡ Capcod § Monhegon ||  
ffo<sup>r</sup> honer profitt Smal thayl fight winnegon ¶

\* Outnumbered more than ten to one, and fighting back to back in a ring surrounded by Indians standing "thirty deep", there was no alternative for the English other than to fight to the inevitable end. The Indians were victorious due solely to their overwhelming numbers. Their loss was great, said at that time by *Hubbard* to have been one hundred and forty, a figure probably not too greatly exaggerated. Although victorious, the Indians never forgot the mauling they received in this fight and throughout the rest of the war were extremely shy about engaging another company of English.

† The virgin queen was undoubtedly Elizabeth (1533–1603), daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. Through thirty difficult years she and her ministers played off Spain against France. Under Elizabeth's reign the English Church was re-established by the 1559 Act of Uniformity, restoring, with modifications, the Prayer Book of Edward VI, and finally barring the door on Rome. The same year saw the expulsion of the French from Scotland, and the 1561 Peace of Edinburgh removed the danger of a French invasion of England by way of Scotland.

‡ The "Boston Islanders" were the praying Indians around Boston who were recruited by Major Gookin. A company of some fifty Indians was sent from Boston to Mount Hope under the command of Captain Isaac Johnson to serve with the Massachusetts Expeditionary Forces. Of these Indians, only seventeen remained in service in Plymouth Colony under Captain Henshaw on 31 July 1675; these accompanied him in his pursuit of Philip after his escape from Pocasset Swamp.

§ The "Cape Cod" Indians were the Plymouth Colony allies throughout the war.

|| The "Monhegan" Indians were those under the sachem Uncas. Some fifty of them marched from Rehoboth as allies of the English in the pursuit of Philip and in the later skirmish at Smithfield, R. I., on 1 Aug. 1675, proved themselves faithful to the English and excellent fighters.

¶ Deacon Walker appears to have been stumped in finding the right word to rhyme with "Monhegon". However, his knowledge of the Indian language seems to have saved the day, for in the Narragansett Indian word *Wunêgin*, meaning "well or good", he had a word that would not only rhyme (the way he spelled it) but also had just the right meaning [Roger Williams' *Key into the Language of America* (1643)].



[3] If with ther help god give to us Suckses  
wee may to them Ingage & not transgres  
Thay shal bee regan<sup>t</sup> of ther nation here  
weel them defend If any els apere/

ffor thers a proverb no<sup>t</sup> beyond belefe  
Imploy a wily Ro<sup>ag</sup> to cach a thefe  
The Cas becas in good & bad thers simpathe[e]  
as Contry Cases Caes Antipothee

Iff this bee dun thay mih<sup>t</sup> with grea<sup>t</sup> discretion  
y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Comand & staf be in our nation./  
by such a prudent politick Contrivanc  
wee may Expectt the varments ferst Conivanc

Call fforth our Burgers lett them now goea out  
Such as ar manly wise discrette & stout  
for tis a shame the hethen Cananit  
Should know Sum people are in such a fright

That Law nor reson neither Curig Can  
prevail to Face a hethen bruttish man  
Its known there now none can be safe securd  
How Er Suplyd within owr owne Imurd  
[*The above two lines are crossed out; similar  
lines appear on p. 2 of the MS.*]

Wods good Turn ought as thay by threat to hold us  
ffor dayly news and every voyce doth call us  
Whear garisons \* are mand leave two or three ner toun  
Lett all the rest goea fight y<sup>e</sup> Enemee

[4] for prudent Surgons Spread ther Salf quit r[ound]  
acording to the greatnis of the wound:/  
God only knows to what this war Portends  
ffelt most by us y<sup>t</sup> Loose owr dearest ffrinds

Thes murthros Rooges like wild Arabians thay  
Lurk heare & there of every thing make pr[ey]  
all Lives Estats in Cruill wise thay take  
throuout the Cuntry dredfull havok † make

So by degres a Lingring death wee dy ‡  
If wee dont Study how to bee as sly  
in owr surprisals to find them in ther ne[st]  
ffor all Advantages with enimis is best

\* Although located right in the center of the Indian war territory, Rehoboth had to shift largely for itself, for strangely enough Plymouth Colony failed to furnish troops to help protect the town. The result was that for many months after the outbreak of the war the male inhabitants holed up in the garrison houses and remained there. Deacon Walker thought that this was all wrong and that only two or three should remain in a garrison-house and that the rest of the men should go out and fight.

John Kingsley in his letter (*ante*, p. 20) written as late as May 1676 to his honored friend, a preacher of the gospel at Hartford, Conn., says that he is "ill of fever or ague and is not able to bear the sad stories of our woeful days when the Lord made over wolfish heathern to be our lords, to fire our towne, shout & Holow, to cal us to com out of our garisons . . . we are shut up in our garisons & doe not dare to go abroad".

† The best contemporaneous account we have, in fact the only account of the destruction committed by the Indians in Rehoboth, is contained in John Kingsley's letter in which he says the Indians "set fire to our towne, burnt our milles, break the stones, ye, our grinding stones, & what was hid in the earth they found, corne & fowles, kild catel & took the hind quarters & left the rest . . . they burnt cartes wheels, drive away our catel, ships [sheep], horses", etc.

‡ After the burning of Rehoboth the danger of starvation stared the survivors in the face. John Kingsley in his letter to Connecticut, asking for help, says that "every rod of grond neare garison is

Doughtles twer best ffor all owr soulderee  
that hunt thes wolves to march a nights to S[ee]  
Wheare they Pirado in ther Randevos  
And so slaught them with our poudere new

In som new ffiguer Artiliris never Sho[ws]  
That way is best y<sup>t</sup> bangs them with most b[lowes]  
& all the Indians Living neare Improvd  
wee are Concernd & mightily beehoved

Ther wifs & Childern as Hostigis retayn  
that Men may faithfull be y<sup>e</sup> Case remai[n]  
ffor tis ther Alys give to us this trobl  
Therfor ther obligations more then dubl

Who cant but judg whot ffancy melancoly  
Wont deale to ffooles acording to ther ffoly  
no stone unturnd no strattagem thay leave  
Like helish Saters boath us & ours bereve

[5] Off all our Cumforts in this presant world  
to ffyer and sword our Carkases are hurld  
affter abusd to Savig bests a pray  
thay doea & will doea thus from day to day

Tis very Just to doea the best wee Can  
to yous all mens by Sword or poysned dram \*  
to Send Such Soules to ther own place mor fitt  
If God Sucksed & say amen to It:/

ffor thers no sister of the musis nine †  
with Ovids pen nether Tertulas witt  
No Homer in hes Trogan warr define  
a Cruil actt so as thes Rooges actt it

The inosent will now ofendid bee  
to her reprof for the Indulgancee  
So much declald to brutes so like y<sup>e</sup> divel  
which chariti it self would count an Evill

And thos that have had pure & Zelos ends  
must rest Content with labor for ther payns  
Where ends were reall to cas blind souls to se  
Ther benefactors Shall rewarded bee

By him y<sup>t</sup> knows and serches harts and trisce  
The hole Creatione & Its Secricye

broken vp & where house & barne stood now put in beanes & squashes; but alase, what will doe against famin . . . famine stares vs in the face . . . I heare you have store of corne . . . It is better to die by sord than famen. Therefore I beg in my Lordes name to send Us some meal . . . I doe not beg for money to bild houses . . . If any will send meale, pray let deacon [Philip] Walker distribit it. I knowe no man like minded". See *ante*, p. 20.

As a result of this letter, the Colony of Connecticut collected 600 bushels of wheat to be sent to Boston and Seekonk (Rehoboth). On 30 May 1676 it was recommended (*ante*, p. 23) that "Deacon Walker, of Seaconk, receive and distribute what shall be sent to Seaconck".

\* This suggestion of poisoning the Indians' liquor was a novel idea. At the time the Indians burned the houses in Rehoboth they undoubtedly first rolled all the barrels of cider out of the cellars before putting the torch to the houses. Had this cider been poisoned there might not have been enough live Indians left the following day to burn the town of Providence.

† The nine goddesses—Calliope, Clio, Erato, Euterpe, Melpomene, Polymnia or Polyhymnia, Terpsichore, Thalia, and Urania—who presided over poetry, art, and science.



Deacon Walker's only known prose, entitled "The Stragamen of the Indians", is in the form of a proclamation from Satan to his servants the Powwahs or Indian priests, as follows:

[6] The St[ra]gam[e]n  
off the Indians

As a corupt tre brings forth Evill frugh[t] & a corupt ffountainne corupt & noysom stre[m]es] So doath ovr hethen Enimis being Corupt in the ffountainne and rate of the mater streme forth Poysned waters of death as Cayne the first Murtherer as Nero, Diocletian, and Domitio, Thos Hethen murthring Emperours y<sup>t</sup> wear such monsters of nature whos mad rage agaynst the Christians, as out of Hell fomd out ther veno[m] So that Som of them Commanding themselves to be worshipt as gods misrably tormenting the Chri[stians] with new devised various torments dayly that som of them put a hundred to death Every day [of] The weeke throuout y<sup>e</sup> yeare Except ther own bearth day which t[hey] Cept and Comanded y<sup>e</sup> peopl so to doea to ador ther I[ ] gods & to Joak ffrolik & Satisfy ther Insatiabl [lust?] By the Comand of thes monster wear most of the ap[ostles] & antiant Champions For fayth Zeal & holines pu[t] [to] death: as you may read in the history of y<sup>e</sup> Church [and the] Book of marters, Folio: 46 Section. 70 & 1 bok p[age] . . .] Like thes monsterus beasts are our presant Enem[ies] who atend only an evil Speritt sugested by Satan The princ y<sup>t</sup> ruls in this world whos regiment is the Children of disobedienc him thay only adore and ser[ve] and he by ther powas as bale prests proscribs t[hem] to his Law will and plesur declaring to them he [ ] The princ of darknes and profound hevines; but l[ike] a sutl Serpant in a Sophistik way So bewitc[h]es] Them y<sup>t</sup> he perswads them darknes is Light and evil is good: as he did y<sup>e</sup> woman: bewiching Her with whot great things he can doea for them: /

That he is sole Eperour of the Kingdom of Acro the Mis[ter] Captayn of the great dungin Eurebos King of hell and Controuler of the Infernall ffer[s] Teling them his Corts being without Suturs begins to howle and y<sup>t</sup> ther Captayn Jenerall no Longer indure therfor ses he wee now ma[ke] to you our Suplicatione. Y<sup>t</sup> ye Comit all cind [of] Cruilty [ ] you [ ]

[7] that your multituds fflock dayly at the gates of our dungin ffor ovr Insatiabl Chayos soe hee with his thousand ravinous Jawes is abl to Entertayne an Infinight Number of such Soules seing ovr Intres and Magniphiset Kingdom is by you suported & upheld. wherfor Wee Comend you & give you harty thanks for your former servis & advis you to Continu [to] goea on as you have begon and doea your Indevors To have & purchas the place which wee have prepared for you under the most wiked foundatione off ovr dwelling place: far ye well. Wishing you such Philisity which wee desyer & intend ffinally to reward & recompenc you with this Charter.

Given at the Senter of the earth in y<sup>t</sup> ovr darke Place wheare all the rablment of Divels for This purpos was Caled into ovr most Doloros Court and Consistory under the Carector off ovr [t]erabl Seale. ffor the Confermatione of the [ ] premises: / Far weell ovr ffrind Powwah: / \*

The founding of New England and its development in a religious way is the theme of Deacon Philip Walker's second poem, entitled "The first smile of god in this land". This poem contains some of his most colorful verse and considerable new historical data on the Indian war.

\* "Powwaw" is the Narragansett Indian name for their priest. Roger Williams says: "These Priests and Conjurers (like Simon Magus) doe bewitch the People, and not onely take their Money, but doe most certainly (by the helpe of the Divell) worke great Cures, though most certaine it is that the greatest part of their Priests doe merely abuse them and get their Money, in the times of their sicknesse, and to my knowledge long for sick times; and to that end the poore people store up Money, and spend both Money and goods on the Powwaws, or Priests in these times, the poore people commonly dye their hands, for alas, they administer nothing but howle and roar, and hollow over them, and begin the song to the rest of the people about them, who all joyne (like a Quire) in Prayer to their Gods for them" [Roger Williams' *Key into the Language of America* (1643)].

The first smile of god in this land

[a]s Sinthias Beuty in Aurora bright  
[ff]rom Estern orison bursts forth hir light  
[w]hen Sabl darknes had Conseld hir hed  
washing hir tresses in hir Liquid bed

Expeles the dark outvise the twinkling tapors  
Whos Scorching beames exhayle unholosom vapors  
[ff]rom Earth corrupted from the watri scy  
[ff]or want of heat naturs great Enimy

[So] has our Light from Sixtenehundred twenty \*  
[Th]rou gods permitanc shind gloriosly and plenty  
[Wha]ts ers the cas she now eclipst we see  
[And] loer [plunged down in] misire

[8] The souls y<sup>t</sup> first from Urope Came  
To trase ould Neptuns Thetes Streame  
ffrom Germain Banks & Nether Lands  
to gitt out of the Prelats hands

Playnly declard thay Came for zeale  
to practis whot god did reveale  
by grace & Sprit from holy writ  
Not as Sir John Comandid it

A great atempt to seeke strang Lands  
in peopl pore twos heavens hands  
y<sup>t</sup> sperited ther minds and hartts  
and Led them safe to desartt parts

It was not hoapes of presant worly tresur  
off Ginayes Gould or Canans Ease & plesur  
of India Silke Erabias Spice Invited  
No. no y<sup>e</sup> hasard shows y<sup>t</sup> grace Exited

Wee Came to wild America  
whos native brood to divels pray  
a savig race. for blud y<sup>t</sup> thirst  
off all y<sup>e</sup> nations most acurst

ffrom ffamin, Scurvi, feare thay past  
and yit for all god did at last  
as he in wisdom most devine  
purg ther dros from purer Coyne

Knowing an advers State is best  
to bring Elected Souls to rest  
god hee of earth man made a Hectter  
his grace & Sperit ther directer

Ther daring aspectts more afrights  
then Joshua did the Cananits  
owr newfound neibours of the land  
twas not in them twas heavens hand

[9] To thee bee praysd o god Eternall  
Though Hell thay raysd the Sprits Infernall  
thou Layds them all gaves us Sucksetion  
But sinc weef made a great degretione

There is som Secritt way unknowne  
[T]hat maks our land & peopl grone  
[ffr]om Acans sin or som transgretione  
In the levite ministratone

\* Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620.



[So]m Judas or som Ananias  
 [T]he hand of heven now will try us  
 [S]om Like Gahasa raking for  
 [T]hat which pur justis doth abhor  
 [Th]es things Examin Now whil weef lesur  
 [Wh]il thayr a spoyling of our Tresur  
 [Our] los y<sup>t</sup> great our goods & Lands  
 [and] many lives by Cruil hands:  
 [I]n this our great Advercitee  
 [le]t us Consider what may bee  
 [th]e Case ovr glorious angry god  
 [how] hevi on us Lays his rod  
 [Im] shure wee our Arant have forgott  
 y<sup>t</sup> makes us ffeelee the hethens shot  
 [ ] not a Scurg gods raysd to bee  
 [wh]o equalis our Cruiltee

## Consider

[W]hat was our Arant heare & what was not  
 [Wh]at wee atendid have whot weef fforgot  
 [Ju]stis and mercy doea & fear our god  
 our hartt not word alon to shape his rod: /

[10] Not to be proud nor yit the world atend  
 y<sup>t</sup> to to much is Each mans hiest End  
 Which to ayne under a pious Cloke  
 has Casd ovr god in this most dredfull Stroke

To shew if wee of godlines make gayne  
 hel punish Sinn with Sinn & wont mayntayn  
 Profesing peopel in a way not good  
 thou maskt within a pharasaik Hudd:

To streme the deepes so many thousan Mils  
 to have such ffavours and Inioy Such Smiles  
 off hevens bounty in our hemisphere  
 To rays Such Stocks & Flocks and have such chere

To Inioy Such oracls under a mercy Seate  
 & give his holy things to dayes a monstrous Cheat  
 Which holy Justis cant Indur to See  
 and not reveng Such greate Hipocrice

If wee  
 Intend to rays Estats & glory  
 In Such a hudwinkt hipocrittik Story  
 God will Consum us & our Eys Shall See  
 No mor Such hevens bounty given thee

Has not a ffilthy Averritious mind  
 Cropt & Debucht thi beutious virgin hew  
 Like crawling Ivi ever more Inclind:  
 to metamorphis \* statly tres in vew

As many sums being adid up together  
 as many Clouds Combining mak foul wether  
 So many Sinns the productts Punishment  
 Yit Som ther are y<sup>t</sup> are mor Eminent

[11] And cry to heven with a louder Call  
 For som ther is y<sup>t</sup> are mor Capitall

\* **Metamorphosis**—To change or pass from one form or shape into another; transformation with or without change of nature.

*Early Rehoboth*

Sinc Sivel Laws has drawn a grand Protest  
 a gaynst Each Sinn in open vew to man  
 That he y<sup>t</sup> hath agaynst the Law transgrest  
 Shall sufer then who rationally Cann

But Judg thay are Som Secritt Hidn Crimes  
 Handed a Long by great or Small or all  
 That doea predominat in thes our tims  
 y<sup>t</sup> doea for Justis at Bar of Judgment Call

When ould Roomes teachers ffelt the Smak of riches  
 non ther could Stand but of ther dabing Creaturs  
 & Still the substanc of the world bewitches  
 Lik blasting Comits or prodigious meturs

All such as Leafe religion pure for welth  
 or any other bace or by regard  
 how ever here in great Estate & helth  
 Shall by ther maker have their Just reward

Lett us not slight ovr felow neibours then  
 y<sup>t</sup> doea desent from us in Aprihention  
 who cary singuler Like honest men  
 Seem not to make like us so great declention

If thay in som things Ear we Er in others  
 The proudist hartts the wildest hart Im schure  
 Lett pratting pharisie deny ther brothers  
 Tent what we say but what god ses is pure

Hant wee had charity love & respectt  
 To thes abominabl Swinish Bruts  
 Letts now upon Such willy frams reflectt  
 Beefor to Late with Shame make our recruts

Letts not Justifi the wikid and Condem  
 [ page cut ] tis dredful  
 [ ] The [ ]

[12] Thers many aspects bears a fface devine  
 belovd of god & pretious in his sight  
 hantt we adord Dianos horid Schrine  
 To prop our Caling or our Crafty Slight

Ther was an actt to all our Land prodigious  
 tent to bee thought the ffounder was Perfidious  
 Wittingly in y<sup>t</sup> for he is judgd to be  
 on ffearing god & Indevring good yit hee

and many others are to bould and Laarg  
 To give proud Ignorant Sottes such seriaus Charge

To send a ffellow of so low degre  
 y<sup>t</sup> woss Subservil as wee know was hee  
 put ffrom his master upon Jelose  
 To prate and preach give lawes & teach  
 to men above his spher & reach

That he had given ofenc unto  
 befor now Sent to such a Cru  
 this dirful Commet Clerly schous  
 ffrom whenc wee see a Torent flows

Thou god by Just & righteous hand  
 Shoud pour was bound to clear the land  
 of gilty blud confest by hee  
 that hanged last \* was of the three

\* On 8 June 1675 Tobias and his son Mattashunannamo were hanged for the murder of John



That Sasaman \* has & may Saes bee  
 it has bin well his Patron & hee  
 had gon to Roome Or other partts had went  
 When hee a preest to Asawome † was sent

Sassamon, the educated Indian who had been secretary to King Philip. When the third Indian, *Wampapaquan*, was hanged he "broke the halter", as stated by both Roger Williams and Gov. John Easton. He was reprieved and later shot and is said to have confessed that he and the other two Indians had killed John Sassamon.

\* In 1676 Rev. William Hubbard wrote that "The Occasion of *Philips* so sudden taking up arms the last Year, was this: There was one *John Sausaman*, a very cunning and plausible *Indian*, well skilled in the English Language and bred up in the Profession of Christian Religion, imployed as a Schoolmaster at Natick, the *Indian* Town, who upon some Misdemeanour fled from his place to *Philip* by whom he was entertained in the Room and Office of Secretary and his Chief Councillor whom he trusted with all his Affairs and secret Counsels.

"Later he had Occasion to be much in the Company of *Philips Indians* and of *Philip* himself: by which means he discerned . . . that the Indians were plotting anew against us; the which out of Faithfulness to the English . . . [he] informed the Governor [Winslow of Plymouth], adding also that if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would presently kill him . . . *Philip* therefore soon after contrived the said Sausamans Death, which was strangely discovered notwithstanding it was so cunningly effected, for they had murdered him [29 Jan. 1674/5], met him upon the Ice on the great Pond [Assowomset (Middleborough) about 15 miles southeast of Rehoboth], and presently after they had knocked him down, put him under the Ice, yet leaving his Gun and his Hat [ducks] upon the Ice that it might be thought he fell in accidentally through the Ice and was drowned; but being missed by his Friend, who finding his Hat [ducks] and Gun, they were thereby led to the Place where his Body was found under the Ice.

"When they took it up to bury him, some of his Friends, specially one *David*, observed some Bruises about his Head, which made them suspect he was first knocked down before he was put in the water; however, they buried him near about the Place where he was found, without making any further Inquiry at present: nevertheless *David* his Friend [a Sogkonate Indian named *Chowohumma*], reported these Things to some English at *Taunton* . . . occasioned the Governor to inquire further into the Business, wisely considering, that as *Sausaman* had told him, If it were known that he revealed any of their Plots, they would murder him . . . wherefore by special warrant the Body of Sausaman being digged again out of his Grave, it was very apparent that he had been killed and not drowned, and by a strange Providence an Indian was found that by Accident was standing unseen upon a Hill, had seen them murther the said *Sausaman*, but durst never reveal it for fear of losing his own Life likewise, until he was called to the Court at Plimouth . . . where he plainly confessed what he had seen" [Hubbard's *Narrative* (Drake Ed., 1865), vol. I, pp. 60-63].

At a Court held at Plymouth 1 June 1675, "Tobias [alias *Poggapanoffoo*, one of Philip's Councillors] & Wampapaquan his son and Mattashanamo" were charged "that they did with joint consent upon the 29 Jan. 1674/5 at a place called Assowamsett Pond, wilfully and of sett purpose, and of Mallice fore thought, and by force and armes, murder John Sassamon, an other Indian, by laying violent hands on him and striking him, or twisting his necke, until hee was dead; and to hide and conseale this their said murder . . . did cast his dead body through a hole of the iyce into the said pond . . . wee, of the jury, one and all, both English and Indians doe joyntly and with one consent agree upon a verdict . . . that the prisoners [above named] are guilty of the blood of John Sassamon, and were the murderers of him according to the bill of inditement. The verdict of the jury being accepted by the court, the sentence of death was pronounced against them . . . to be hanged by the head untill their bodies are dead . . . executed the 8 June 1675, on Tobias and Mattashunnamo. On some considerations [the rope broke in hanging] Wampaquam was repiued for a month . . . but shot to death within the said month" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. V, p. 167].

In 1675, John Easton, the Quaker Governor of Rhode Island, wrote a "Relation" of what he knew of the beginning of the war. His ideas differ from those of Mather and Hubbard as will be seen by the following extract:

"In the Winter in the Year 1674, an Indian was found dead, and by a Coroner's Inquest of Plimouth Colony iudged murdered. He was found dead in a Hole thro Ice broken in a Pond with his Gun and sum Foulls by him. Sum English suposes him thrown in, sum Indians y<sup>t</sup> I iudged intele-gabell and impartiall in y<sup>e</sup> Case did think he fell in and was so drowned, and that the Ies did hurt his Throat, as the English said it was cut; but acnolege y<sup>t</sup> sumetimes naty Indians wold kill others but not as euer they herd to obscuer as if the dead Indian was not murdered. The dead Indian was caled Sansimum and a Christian y<sup>t</sup> could read and write. Report was he was a bad Man, y<sup>t</sup> King Philip got him to write his Will, and he made the Writing for a great Part of the Land to be his, but read as if it had bin as Philip wrote; But it came to be known, and then he run away from him.

"Now one Indian informed that three Indians had murdered him, and sheued a Coat y<sup>t</sup> he said thay gave him to conseall them. The Indians report y<sup>t</sup> the Informer had playd away his Coate, and these Men sent him y<sup>e</sup> Coate, and after demanded Pay, and he not to pay, so acused them, and knoing that it wold pleas the English so to think him a beter Christian, and the Reporte came y<sup>t</sup> the three Indians had confesed and acused Philip so to imploy them, and y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> English wold hang Philip; so the Indians wear afraid, and reported y<sup>t</sup> the English had flatred them (or by threats) to



ffor by relation thou hes layd in grave  
 wos Litl better then a sutl Knave  
 or els was wrongd by Coman fams reportting  
 as much as any with his truls was Sportting

[13] But in the mode demur with his Confessor  
 much Like a Sutl Secrit fols transgreser  
 So was his master Philip found in print  
 Now drawinge own reportt in blud not Ink

bely Philip y<sup>t</sup> thay might kill him to have his Land, and y<sup>t</sup> if Philip had dun it, it was ther Law so to execute whome ther Kings iudged deserved it, y<sup>t</sup> he had no Case to hide it.

"So Philip kept his Men in Armes. Plimoth Gouverner required him to disband his Men, and informed him his Jealousy was falce. Philip answered he would do no Harm, and thanked the Governer for his Information.

"The three Indians wer hunge, to the last denied the Fact; but one broke the Halter as it is reported, then desired to be saved, and so was a littel while, then confessed they three had dun the Fact; and then he was hanged [shot]. And it was reported Sausimun before his death had informed of the Indian Plot, and y<sup>t</sup> if the Indians knew it they wold kill him, and that the Hethen might destroy the English for their Wickedness, as God had permitted the Heathen to destroy the Israelites of olde.

"So the English wear afraid and Philip was afraid, and both increased in Arems. But for four Yeares Time, Reports and Iealosys of War had bin veri frequent, y<sup>t</sup> we did not think y<sup>t</sup> now a War was breaking forth; but about a Week before it did, we had Case to think it wold. Then to indever to prevent it, we sent a Man to Philip, y<sup>t</sup> if he wold cum to the Fery we wold cum over to speke with him. About four Miles we had to cum; thither our Messenger cum to them; they not aware of it behaved themselves as furious, but sudingly apeased when they understood who he was and what he came for, he called his Counsell and agreed to cum to us; came himself unarmed, and about 40 of his Men armed. Then 5 of us went over, 3 wear Magistrates. We sate veri friendly together", etc. [*A Relation of the Indian Warr*, by Mr Easton of Rhoad Island, 1675—J. Munsell, Albany, N. Y. (1858)].

William Sabin, the Rehoboth miller, was a veteran Plymouth Court grand jurymen, having served in that capacity for many years. He was foreman of the jury that brought in the verdict of guilty against the three Indians for the murder of John Sassamon which resulted in two being hanged on 8 June 1675. This hanging precipitated the opening of King Philip's War, which sixteen days later burst forth in all its horrors with the Indian massacre of the English at Swansea.

† Perhaps Deacon Walker's "Asawome" was the departed original owner of Assawomsett pond where John Sassamon was found under the ice. The Assawamset tribe of Indians occupied an extensive territory in which were located the present towns of Lakeville and Middleborough. The sachem's residence was in Assawamset Neck lying between Assawamset and Long Ponds.

On 29 Oct. 1668, *Pamontaquask*, alias the Pond Sachem, being weak in body, made his last will and testament bequeathing all his lands at Assawamsett or elsewhere, to his [ ] *Tuspaquin*, alias the Black Sachem for life and after his decease to *Soquontamouk*, alias William his son. Five Indians present witnessed the will including Pelex, alias *Nanauatauate*, son-in-law to John Sassamon [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. XII, p. 229]. "Old *Watuspaquin*" and his son "Will *Watuspaquin*" deeded to Felix (*Nanauatauate*), 11 Mar. 1673, 58½ acres of land at Assowamsett [*Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 230].

In March 1673, "old *Watuspaquin*" joined by his son "William *Tuspaquin*" made John Sassamon a gift of a 27 acre home lot at Assowamsett Neck [*Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 230]. John Sassamon gave this land to his son-in-law Felix in marriage with his daughter Bettey as appears in "a line or two rudely written by John Sassamons owne hand and witnessed only by old *Watuspaquin*" [*Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 230].

On 23 Dec. 1673, "old *Watuspaquin*" and "William *Watuspaquin*" gave a free grant or gift of land to a woman called *Assowetough* a tract of land called Nahteawanet the bounds of that neck is by the little swamp place called Mashquomoh to a pond called Sasonkususet to a great pond called Chupipoggut. "This we have given unto *Assowetough* with the consent of all the chief men of Assowamset that she might enjoy it peacefully without mollestation neither by us nor by ours or under us after us. But she shall have it forever especially her eldest daughter". Witnesses: the marks of Tobias, alias *Poggapanosso* [probably the Tobias hung for the murder of John Sassamon], old Thomas, *Pohonohoo*, and *Kankunuki* [*Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 235]. *Assowetough*, alias Betty do freely give and bequeath, 14 May 1696, the above tract of land unto my daughter Mercy & to her heirs forever. The X mark of Betty alias *Assowetough* [*Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 235].

Before Governor Winslow, 5 Mar. 1678/9, it was ordered by the court that all such lands as were formerly John Sassamon's in our colony shall be settled on Felix, his son-in-law, as his own proper right to him his heirs and assigns forever [*Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 230].

*Tuspaquin*, alias *Watuspaquin*, alias the Black Sachem, and his son William, alias *Watuspaquin*, made many land conveyances among which were sales to Edward Grey and Josiah Winslow, 30 June 1672; to Benjamin Church of Duxbury, house carpenter, and John Tomson of Barnstable, lands in Middleborough, 3 July 1673; and to John Tompson and Constant Southworth, 14 May 1675.



Hee y<sup>t</sup> has hops to chang such bruts is out  
he hangs but Juils in a Swinish Snout

Incarnat divels sent from the infernall Lake \*  
Like helish monsters make our harts to ake  
Thes are the Satirs make Jeneral devistation  
With Such like roges mayntaynd by Corporation :

But If the incom of the profit went  
not mor to privat Intrest & intent  
to gayn a proffit by Such Larg donations  
Specttators Sone would See great olterations

When thes donations first promoted were  
Charity & reson woud our greatest Care  
ffor owr own christian ffamilys & race  
to bred them up in knowlidg parts & grace

[A]nd it were well If it converted weare  
to Such a way Comitted to the Care  
of sum by oath y<sup>t</sup> thay might ffaithful bee  
Not only ffamd For good by Charitee  
as other plases wher wee find thay bee  
give oath & bond ffor ther ffidelitee †

ffor ast has bin tas dun no good to none  
but to owr enimys and to ther ffrinds alone  
Pamperd them up with arts & parts & pour  
To rayn on us this dredffull bludy Shouer

[14] But blud ffor blud Shal bee ther portion Just  
If by Indulganc som don<sup>t</sup> betray our trust  
by keping rogs & Serpants in our brest  
& so betray & ruin all the rest  
which if thay doea y<sup>e</sup> wish & harty pray  
they may goea goake ‡ with them the self same way

ffame has repeated news now goeas  
Thers ffalen many of our ffoose  
tis sayd the Sothern § forses stout  
Mongst many hav kild a rogea o<sup>th</sup> rout  
Miontonimo || that gresi lout

\* By the "infernall Lake" he probably meant Assawomsett Pond where John Sassamon was found under the ice. Deacon Walker is also comparing the brutal and wanton nature of the Indians with that of the satyrs in Greek Mythology, who were "woodland deities having goat-like ears, pug noses, short tails, and budding horns, and were of a wanton nature and very lascivious".

† At this point Deacon Walker had written thirteen of his seventeen and one-half pages of manuscript, and we now seem to have enough data to determine, without much question of doubt, the date on which this work was written. The first poem in the manuscript is on Pierce's Fight, and as this took place on 26 Mar. 1676, he probably commenced writing the manuscript shortly after that date.

In the three foregoing stanzas Deacon Walker is much worried about the honest and equitable distribution of the donations of corn and wheat promised to relieve the near famine condition at Rehoboth. On the 4th or 5th of May 1676, John Kingsley of Rehoboth wrote (*ante*, p. 20) the minister at Hartford saying that "famine stares us in the face" and requests that Rehoboth be sent supplies of corn or meal, further commenting that "if any will send meal pray let Deacon Walker distribute it. I know no man like minded".

As a result of this letter, Connecticut collected 600 bushels of wheat to be sent to Boston and Seekonk (Rehoboth), and on 30 May 1676 recommended (*ante*, p. 23) that "Deacon Walker of Seaconk receive and distribute what shall be sent to Seaconck". From this record it is apparent that after 30 May 1676 there was no further need for Deacon Walker to worry himself about the honesty and fairness of the grain distribution, for he was to be the sole distributor. Therefore, his manuscript was evidently written between 26 March and 30 May 1676.

‡ *Goake* is possibly the Scottish word *gowk*, meaning a "fool or simpleton" — a term of contempt.

§ The day after Pierce's Fight at Rehoboth, four Connecticut volunteer companies began their march into the enemy's country. Among the Captains of these companies the most conspicuous was George Denison of *Southern*.

"On 11 Apr. 1676 Captain *Denison* with an 100 English volunteers . . . and as many *Indians*

with Life has Lost his Apish Coate\*  
 & by a hack thay cut his throate  
 his buffel head† on powl‡ thay raysd  
 ffor all Such news the lord bee praysd

Hast Lost thy hed & pibald Coate  
 thou now shalt sing a nother noate  
 weel pack the up & wee will make  
 thees gay as any ratl Snake

Thou now mongst rablment of divels  
 y<sup>t</sup> hast been cas of many Evils  
 must yell & cry & ly nerdy  
 Gnash knaw & ffry Eternaly

The Impious actts off thes Infernal bests  
 actted abroad & in ther helish nests  
 would Swell a volum to a magnitud  
 one hidious actt ner us I hear Includ

A Serious modist well disposid woman  
 Well Spok of all and Ill bespok of no man  
 y<sup>t</sup> oft relevd a Sordid Cruil brute  
 y<sup>t</sup> like a beger to hir oft mad Sught  
 y<sup>t</sup> m[                    ] [*line not completed*]

- [15] That many years had kept this Roage alive  
 & in a siknes had the best Contrivd  
 to doea what in hir lay the best & all  
 ffor ffoode & maters mettiphisckall§

. . . ranging the *Narraganset* country, near *Poluxit* [Pawtucket], they fall upon a party of the enemy commanded by that famous but very bloody and cruel Sachem, *Quanonshot*, otherwise *Myantonomy* who the English formerly presented with a rich Lace Coat . . . " [The Boston merchant's letter to London, 22 July 1676, signed "N.S.", Drake's *Old Indian Chronicle* (1836), p. 91].

¶ This was Nanuntenuo, a son of Miantunnomoh and chief sachem of all the Narragansetts. The first name by which he was known to the English was Canonchet. He was also sometimes called Miantunnomoh, after his father. He is said to have commanded the Indians at Pierce's Fight. He and some 42 Indians were killed or captured in April 1676 by the Connecticut troops and under the watchful eye of Capt. George Denison, Canonchet was taken to Stonington, Conn., "and that all might share in the glory of destroying so great a prince, and come under the obligation of fidelity, each to the other, the *Pequods* shot him, the *Mohegins* cut off his head and quartered his body, and the *Ninnicrosts* men made the fire and burned his quarters, and, as a token of their love and fidelity to the English, presented his head to the council of Hartford" [The Boston merchant's letter to London, Drake's *Old Indian Chronicle* (1836), p. 92].

\*"His Apish Coate" means that he was aping the English by wearing the gorgeous Lace Coat presented him by Governor John Leverett when, at Boston on 18 Oct. 1675, "Quananchetts, sachem, in behalf of himself, Cananacus, the old Queen, and Pomham", signed an agreement to deliver to the Governor and Council at Boston, on or before 28 Oct. 1675, all the hostile Indians that had fled to Narragansett. This agreement was witnessed by Richard Smith of Narragansett, James Browne of Swansea, Samuel Gorton, Jr., of Warwick, and an Indian Interpreter [*Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies*, vol. II, pp. 360-1]. Quananchetts failed to carry out the agreement.

John Cotton, writing from Plymouth 19 Apr. 1676, says: "On Lord's day, Apr. 9, some Connecticut forces, Capt. George Denison being chiefe, took and killed 42 Indians, of which *Quanonshet* was one, who was taken in that coat he received at Boston . . ." [Original letter, Bliss' *History of Rehoboth*, pp. 101-2].

† Buffle-head is a North American duck having the feathers of the head elongated, with plumage black above and white below [Funk & Wagnalls *College Dictionary* (1946), p. 161].

‡ At Swansea on 24 June 1675 the Indians adopted the practice of cutting off the heads of the slain English and putting them on poles stuck in the ground. Thereafter the English mounted the head of every dead *sachem* on a pole. The English first started the practice in 1671.

§ Metaphysical—Beyond or above the physical or experiential; transcendental. Dealing with abstractions; apart from or opposed to, the practical. Designating certain poets of the 17th century, notably Cowley and Donne, whose verses were characterized by metaphysical conceits and extravagant imagery, intended to demonstrate the learning of the authors; term originating with Dr. Samuel Johnson. Fantastic; fanciful; imaginary. Supernatural or preternatural [Funk & Wagnalls *College Standard Dictionary* (1941), p. 721].



Yit when surprisd upon y<sup>e</sup> Saboth day  
 With Strechtout hands did Suplicate & pray  
 This Impious best to stay his fatall Stroke  
 a Littl time y<sup>t</sup> She might god Invoke

Tis lik ffor pardon ffor Sinn in Christ hir Savour  
 this Cruil Roage dispacht & would not leave hir  
 dasht out hir brayns as he had dun befor  
 hir Sucking Infant tumbling in its gore  
 firing the house & killing Seven more\*

\* The five preceding stanzas tell of a heretofore unknown Indian atrocity at the outbreak of King Philip's War, committed near the Rehoboth line in Swansea on 24 June 1675. This incident is not mentioned in any of the early records or contemporary histories.

Deacon Walker in his simple lines of poetry pictures the savage, ferocious, and diabolical cruelty of an Indian to a kindly young married woman who had fed and nursed him in his sickness, and who on the day of the Indian uprising asked in payment for all this kindness only that he stay his tomahawk for a moment so that she might make her peace with God. Ignoring her plea, he killed the suckling babe at her breast, dashed out her brains, set fire to the house, and murdered seven more persons.

This young woman was a Rehoboth girl, Rachel<sup>3</sup> Bliss, born there 1 Dec. 1651, daughter of Jonathan<sup>2</sup> and Miriam (Harmon) Bliss. When twenty-three years of age she married in Rehoboth, 28 Oct. 1674, Thomas<sup>2</sup> Mann, a *third* rank Swansea Baptist, born in Scituate, Plymouth Colony, 15 Aug. 1650, son of Richard<sup>1</sup> and Rebecca Mann. (Cf. *Early Rehoboth*, vol. I, pp. 36, 38, 39, 42, 43, 56, 63; vol. II, pp. 40, 45, 54, 55, 144.)

Thomas<sup>2</sup> Mann was severely wounded in Capt. Michael Pierce's Fight in Rehoboth on 26 Mar. 1676 and was one of the only three English survivors. He was a long time recovering from his wounds, the seriousness of which may be judged by the bill of £12 to the Town of Rehoboth for his care and subsistence, exceeding by many times the cost of any other wounded soldier.

There can be no doubt that the mother and her "sucking infant" mentioned by Deacon Walker can be no other than Rachel Mann and her unnamed daughter, recorded in Rehoboth as having both been buried on — June 1676. This is the only Rehoboth or Swansea record during King Philip's War where a mother and child are both buried the same day. The burial entry "— June 1676" in the Rehoboth records is clearly an error and should read "24 June 1675". There is no record of as many as seven persons being killed by the Indians at either Swansea, or Rehoboth, on any day in June 1676. In Rehoboth there are only three burials recorded for June 1676, and there are no Plymouth Colony 1676 returns for Swansea.

As required by law, William Carpenter, Town Clerk, made a return to the Plymouth Court of the marriages, births, and burials in Rehoboth for the years 1675 and 1676 [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. VIII, pp. 62-4]. This return lists eight burials in 1675 and thirty-seven in 1676, a total of forty-five. The entries are haphazard and not in consecutive order by months. The burial of "Rachel Man, the wife of Thomas Man, in June 1676" is preceded by four November entries and followed by entries in July, May, August, and June. Twenty-two entries later, on the next page, appears "Thomas Mans child buried in June 1676", preceded by entries dated in September, May, and March and followed by entries of March and February. In the Rehoboth Town Records the entry "Thomas Mans child" reads "———, daughter of Thomas Mann".

This disorder of records apparently bothered the town clerk, for in his 1680 return he makes the following comment: "Lett none maruell att the promiscuous and disorderly setting downe of the names of such as are or may be married, or doe or may be born, or may dye; for they are sett as they were brought to mee, as disorderly as they are sett downe. If the Courts order had bin minded respecting this matter, they had bine otherwise placed then they are".

If any more evidence is necessary to prove that Rachel Mann died in 1675 and not in 1676 as recorded in the Rehoboth records, we find it in the second marriage of her husband Thomas Mann, who married at Rehoboth on 3 July 1676 Mary<sup>2</sup> Wheaton, born at Rehoboth 4 Nov. 1656, daughter of Robert<sup>1</sup> and Alice<sup>2</sup> (Bowen) Wheaton. If his first wife died in June 1676 as the Rehoboth record reads, then he, a childless widower, would have had to marry a second wife in about ten days after the murder of his first wife and infant child, which, to say the least, is not at all probable.

"Surprised on the Sabath day" is a bit of poetical license on the part of Deacon Walker. The massacre at Swansea took place on Thursday 24 June 1675, on which day the inhabitants gathered at the church where they met "in the way of Humiliation". The Sundays for the month of June 1675 were the 6th, 13th, 20th, and 27th, on none of which days are any Swansea deaths recorded. The calendar for the year 1675 is the same as that for the year 1643.

Deacon Walker's statement that at the time the Indians killed the mother and infant they also killed seven others and set fire to the house is partly corroborated by William Hubbard, who writing at approximately the same time said: "On the 24th of *June* 1675 was the Alarm of War first sounded in *Plymouth Colony* when eight or nine of the English were slain in and about *Swanzy*: They first made a Shot at a Company of English as they returned from the Assembly where they had met in way of Humiliation that Day, whereby they killed one and wounded others: and then likewise at the same time they slew two Men on the High-way, sent to call a Surgeon and barbariously the same Day murdered six men in and about a Dwelling-house in another Part of the Town: All of which Outrages

Thay glide a way Like Serpants on a rock  
or Ship in Thetes watry Segrene bed  
before perssuers Sceas a gun or knock  
upon ther ugly Scerpant wrethen hed

With sly departur after Such a Stroke  
Without reveng doeath Equally provoke  
Owr Bleding harts for owr most derist ffrinds  
To think what god in Such a Scurg Intends

Wee rang may in our northern Climats Could  
Unsheltered may heaven Canope behould  
& rays Som Stars y<sup>t</sup> in our hemispher  
Which in owr Latitude wee See no<sup>t</sup> here

Whearby wee Lern Astroligi mor like  
Then artt of mars or Stratigams to fight  
owr best bred Souldiars & Artilires  
in Stid of drilling regiments may\* trees

[16] Rang in Battalia & Sound a charg to y<sup>m</sup>  
Beat a retreat & so Cum home agen  
Tent artts of disiplin acomplish can  
Surpris ther rear ther wing or van

No ffigur fform or batlment  
ther Amboscades Sly prevent  
a bace Sly Ill contrived rout  
y<sup>t</sup> art nor manhud can<sup>t</sup> find out

If Zurksses† with his great Armad  
or Scanderbag‡ y<sup>t</sup> Castrion princ  
or Ziscos§ troopt might hear pirado  
but Like the ffrankes might son goea henc

If warlik greeks y<sup>t</sup> rang batalias first  
or hardy germans of the froson Zone  
the ffaythles Turks would wish themselves acurst  
great Tamnerlin|| might fight himself alone

& Elikssander¶ thou to mars trew born:/  
Whos multituds soupt Meedyanders dry  
thayd Shak ther tressis turn tany back in scorn  
quockwish say thay & so away thay fly

were committed so suddenly, that the English had no time to make any Resistance" [Hubbard's *Narrative* (Drake Ed. 1865), vol. I, p. 65].

On 24 June 1675, the following nine burials are recorded at Swansea: Gershom Cobb, Joseph Lewis, John Salisbury, John Jones, Nehemiah Allen, Robert Jones, William Lohun, and William Salisbury. William Hamon was buried 29 June 1675 [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. VIII, p. 61]. This list contains the names of the seven men that Deacon Walker said were killed by the Indians at the house which they burned after killing Rachel Mann and her infant daughter. Rachel Mann's mother was a Harmon, and it may be that William Hamon was a relative. Further research might establish the location of the particular house where this massacre took place.

As required by law, Nicholas Tanner, Town Clerk, made a return on 4 Mar. 1675 to the Plymouth Court of the marriages, births, and burials for Swansea "which were this year" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. VIII, p. 61]. The burials number fourteen of which nine are men buried on 24 June 1675, and one, William Hamon, buried on 29 June 1675. The first burial recorded is that of Deliverance Peck, wife of Nathaniel Peck, 30 Apr. 1675. The other thirteen burials are those of men.

\* To observe May-day—May pole.

† Probably Xerxes (519?–465 B.C.) A Persian king (486–465); grandson of Cyrus the Great; defeated by the Greeks at Salamis.

‡ Scanderbeg, George Castriot (1403–1468). An Albanian chief, the national hero of Albania; maintained Albanian independence against Turkey.

§ Ziska (1360?–1424). A Bohemian general; leader of the Hussites.

|| Tamerlane (1336–1405). A Tatar conqueror of Asia.

¶ Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.), King of Macedon; conqueror of Asia.



Lets search & try let us not bee begild  
 ffor presant Judgment shouls our Camp<sup>s</sup> defild  
 Lett no man plead y<sup>m</sup> ffreer than another  
 to such Id Say a Pharicy<sup>s</sup> thy Brother

Lets search y<sup>e</sup> Cort y<sup>e</sup> Cuntri toun & Sitty  
 the Tribe the house the person find tis pity  
 to mis the knowledg of the thing or things  
 ffor which gods angry & his Judgment brings

Lets serch owr selves Each man his Secrit hart  
 And Search the templ in Each privat partt

[17] Thay y<sup>t</sup> offended are when thay doea make  
 du aplicatione & in dugin take  
 At what is sayd in thes asertions trew  
 That he may See y<sup>ts</sup> half an Ey to vew

Let him fforbeare to mind such things y<sup>t</sup> can  
 ffor my Inditers no State Religon\* man  
 no no his genos runs a nother way  
 Whille hee has hartt to think or mouth to pray

To his most glorious all hartt scerching god  
 to mind his dispensations ffeare his rod

So Let it bee thou Independant being  
 Great god allmighty Infnight all seing  
 behoulding all things nought is hid from thee  
 Lett no man swell or kik or wink at whot  
 is her inscertid omited or forgott

or like the Comons of the Rushians Say  
 Non should but kings & prests & prelats pray  
 that is a Rudimentt y<sup>ts</sup> termd to bee  
 by Lerner Pall but Begerlle

So blest be god & all the heavenly host  
 Sinc Christs asention y<sup>t</sup> the holy ghost  
 has reposest his own regenorat harts  
 Lightnd by grace expeld the thikist darks

Casd by y<sup>t</sup> vale that Sinn & Sateayn Cast  
 & yit thers much y<sup>t</sup> through Coruptions last

doding and Cloging all owr sinful naturs  
 both good & bad all though refined Creturs  
 but bering witnis gaynst owr selves Adoring  
 owr god of grace in humbl wise Imploring

\* State Religion means the Congregational denomination, as that was the "State" religion of Massachusetts Bay Colony, and no man could become a freeman unless he was a member of the Congregational Church. This requirement was not so strict in Plymouth Colony, although the Congregational was the recognized official church.

Deacon Walker was an ardent follower of Rev. Samuel Newman and his son Rev. Noah Newman. From the death of Samuel Newman in 1663 to the organization of the Town of Swansea on 5 Mar. 1667/8, the Rehoboth Congregational Church was split apart by dissension, with the Baptists in control. In 1668 the Baptists left Rehoboth and under the religious leadership of John Myles founded Swansea. (Cf. *Early Rehoboth*, vol. I, pp. 25-46.) Rev. Noah Newman became pastor of the Rehoboth church, and in the spring of 1670 Philip Walker became junior deacon of the Church, serving with the senior deacon, Thomas Cooper.

That Deacon Philip Walker was a liberal, broad-minded man is proved by the fact that after Swansea was destroyed by the Indians, he fed for one month a John Myles, probably the minister, head of the Swansea Baptist Church, and the man who was large responsible for the dissensions in the Rehoboth Congregational Church. (Cf. *Early Rehoboth*, vol. II, p. 45.)

In Christ that hee by Imputation may  
 by his ffree grace our darling Soule Conway  
 to that Eletiam\* Paradise may rayse  
 [ ? line cut off from bottom of page]

[18] To serve the times or Clos with a traditione  
 is horid Sin & wors then Superstitione  
 but gospel truth in gospel tims to Imbrace  
 it renders men how Ere Estemd has grace

Not say as other Men becas thay say it  
 it may undo thee & thi Soul betray it  
 y<sup>t</sup> is a Evil termd in wright to bee  
 by Lernid Palle blind zeal Hipocrisce

Such Christians made by Sathans act not grace  
 Shall have ther portions with the hethens race

Lord god of sperits trew grace of thee wee beg  
 therfor from thee the only ffountain hed  
 wee have all good returning back agen  
 Boath glory honer prays for them Amen: /

ffinis

by a frind to his Cuntry & ffrinds

P. Walke<sup>r</sup>

[Four more lines, cancelled and illegible]

An interesting picture of the Philip Walker house is shown opposite page 26. This illustration is from a heretofore unpublished photograph owned by Miss Faith Shedd, the present occupant and owner of the house. This original photograph, taken about 1860, or a little earlier, is on glass,  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches high by  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches long, the back protected by a coating of black paint. The photograph is bordered by an engraved scalloped copper mat, the whole enclosed in a plain daguerreotype style embossed copper frame.

A picture of this Walker house, reproduced from a photograph taken about 1890, together with a picture of the original attic staircase, reproduced from a pencil sketch made by the author in 1892, will be found in *Early Rehoboth*, vol. I.

A comparison of the 1860 and 1890 pictures adds to our knowledge of the house and its surroundings. See *ante*, page 28. The 1860 photograph shows a stone wall in front of the property on the west side of the street now called North Broadway. This wall was not in existence in 1890, but for many years after that time this particular strip of road was a quagmire. The roadway was later filled in to a depth probably equal to the height of the old stone wall.

The 1860 picture shows two magnificent elms, one in the foreground, and the other at the end of the house, both in vigorous con-

\* Elysian—Belonging to Elysium; hence, supremely blessed or happy. Elysium—Greek Mythology. The Greek paradise or abode of the blessed dead, variously represented as in midair, or in the sun, or in the center of the earth next to Tartarus, or in the Islands of the Blest. A place or a condition of supreme delight; a paradise [Funk & Wagnalls *College Standard Dictionary* (1941), p. 380].



dition. The 1890 picture shows half of the elm at the left of the house to be dead. It eventually died and was cut down about ten years ago.

The right (northeast) end of the present house is the original part. The other end was added some hundred years later. Through the years no important structural changes have been made in the house, the sides of which are at present covered with shingles which were nailed over old clapboards fifty years ago. Many years since, all of the downstairs fireplaces were fitted with early type Franklin stoves. The original plank front door now serves as the cover for a cistern.

Some fifty years after Philip Walker was writing poetry in Rehoboth there was another poet in the part of the town known as the Rehoboth North Purchase, set off in 1694 as the town of Attleborough. His name was Joshua Barres and he seems to have suffered the proverbial fate of poets, poverty. At a Proprietors' Meeting in 1727 he presented a petition in the form of five stanzas of poetry asking the gift of ten acres of common land. For once his poetry paid dividends, for it got him not ten acres of land, but eleven.

At a meeting of the proprietors of the Rehoboth North Purchase held at Attleborough on the first Tuesday of June 1727 for a division of land, Joshua Barres presented the following petition:

“Your Honours Now I do Implore  
To Read my poor petition  
I hope your Hearts will open be  
To pittty my Condition.

“Ten acres of the Common Land  
I pray that you would give  
Then Thankfull I will be to you  
As Long as I do Live.

“Such a Kindness I must Confess  
from you I dont Deserve  
When I'm in Health I freely work  
Why should you Let me starve.

“From Day to Day my Dayly Bread  
I get it by my sweat  
But to my sorrow I Beg and Borrow  
When sickness doth me Let.

“No more in Rime Here at this Time  
No more I have at Hand  
And so I'll End your faithfull Friend  
And Servant To Command.

“Joshua Barres

“Attleborough June y<sup>o</sup> 5th 1727”.

“Upon the Hearing of the above said petition of Joshua Barres there were sundry persons in the said Meeting which Were proprietors Which gave him Land To Take up upon their Rights in the afore

sd devison their Names are as followeth: William Whipple, Half an acre; Mr. David Freeman, one acre; John Slack, half an acre; Mr. Joseph Bucklen, one acre; Deacon Mayhew Dagget, one acre out of his Rights; Sam<sup>11</sup> Tiler gives the one half of sd acre & Dagget the Rest; Mr. Nathaniel Carpenter, one half acre; Mr. Jonathan Sprague, Half an acre; Pentecost Blackinton, Half an acre; Decon Samuel Newman, one acre; Mr. William Richardson, half an acre; James Bucklen, half an acre; Mr. John Chadwick, a quarter of an acre; Mr. Samuel Day, one acre; Samuel Titus, a quarter of an acre; Doct. Thomas Bowen, half an acre; Capt. John Foster, half an acre; and Capt. Foster put up for Major George Leonard, one acre.

“It was voted at the sd Meeting That Joshua Barres should have Liberty to take up the above said Land before any of the present Division be Laid out — Fourteen acres of land more or less, eleven acres of which was given sd Barres” [*Proprietors' Records Rehoboth North Purchase*, Town of Attleborough (copy at Taunton Registry of Deeds), vol. I, Books I, II, pp. 77-8].

This land was laid out to Joshua Barres on 29 Sept. 1727 by Thomas Wilmarth and John Slack, committee, and Anthony Sprague, surveyor [*Ibid.*, vol. I, Books I, II, pp. 78-9].



## CHAPTER III

### THE MASSACHUSETTS MILITARY EXPEDITION TO MOUNT HOPE

On 21 June 1675, the day following the first attack by Philip on the people of Swansea, Gov. Josiah Winslow sent a letter to the Massachusetts Council asking for aid "only in protecting Plymouth Colony from the allegiance of Philip with the Narragansett and Nipmuck Indians which tribes are within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts", stating that if Plymouth could have "fair play" with their own Indians he trusted that they could take care of themselves. On the back of the letter is a copy of the answer of the Council dated 21 June "at 5 o'clock", assuring him of immediate assistance and that they would dispatch messengers with all speed to both the Narragansetts and Nipmucks.

The same day the Massachusetts Council commissioned Capt. Edward Hutchinson, Seth Perry, and William Towers to take a warning message to the Narragansetts and to leave a letter with Roger Williams at Providence [*Mass. Archives*, vol. LXVII, papers Nos. 201, 202; *Bodge*, p. 88].

The following letter written from Wickford by Roger Williams to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., at Connecticut, gives the details of the meeting between the Boston Commissioners, headed by Captain Hutchinson, and the Narragansett Indians:

From Mr. Smith's at Nahigonsik, June 25, 1675.

Sir,—This inclosed of a former date comes to my hand again at Mr. Smith's. Mr. Smith is now absent at Long Island. Mrs. Smith, though too much favoring the Foxians (called Quakers) yet she is a notable spirit for courtesy toward strangers, and prays me to present her great thanks for your constant remembrance of her, and of late by Capt. Atherton.

Sir, this morning are departed from this house Capt. Hutchinson and two more of Boston Commissioners from the Governor and Council of Boston to the Narragansett and Cowesit Indians. They came (three days since) to my house at Providence, with a letter to myself from the Governor and Council at Boston, praying my advice to their Commissioners and my assistance, &c., in their negotiations with the Narragansett Indians. I (within an half hour's warning) departed with them toward the Narragansett. We had one meeting that night with Quaunoncku, Miantunnomu's youngest son, and upon the opening of the Governor's letters, he readily and gladly assented to all the Governor's desires, and sent post to Mausup, (now called Canonicus), to the Old Queen, Ninicraft and Quawnipund, to give us a meeting at Mr. Smith's. They being uncivil and barbarous, and the Old Queen especially timorous, we condescended to meet them all near the great pond, at least ten miles from Mr. Smith's house. We laid open the Governor's letter: and accordingly they professed to hold no agreement with Philip, in this his rising against the English. They professed (though Uncas had sent twenty to Philip, yet) they had not sent one nor would: that they had prohibited all their people from going on that side, that those of their people who had made marriages with them, should return or perish there: that if Philip or his men fled to them, yet they would not receive them, but deliver them up unto the English.

They questioned us why Plymouth pursued Philip. We answered: he broke all laws, and was in arms of rebellion against that Colony, his ancient friends and protectors, though it is believed that he was the author of murdering John Sossiman, for revealing his plots to the Governor of Plymouth, and for which three actors were two weeks since executed at Plymouth, (though one broke the rope, and is kept in prison until their Court in October.)

2. They demanded of us why the Massachusetts and Rhode Island rose, and joined with Plymouth against Philip, and left not Philip and Plymouth to fight it out. We answered that all the Colonies were subject to one King Charles, and it was his pleasure, and our duty and engagement, for one English man to stand to the death by each other, in all parts of the world.

Sir, two particulars the Most Holy and Only Wise made use of to engage (I hope and so do the Commissioners) in earnest to enter into those aforesaid engagements.

First, the sense of their own danger if they separate not from Plymouth Indians, and Philip their desperate head. This argument we set home upon them, and the Bay's resolution to pursue Philip (if need be) and his partakers with thousands of horse and foot, beside the other Colonies, &c.

3. Their great and vehement desire of justice upon Tatuphosuit, for the late killing of a Narragansett young man [sic] of account with them, which point while we were discoursing of, and their instance with me to write to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts about it (which I have this morning done by their Commissioners) in comes (as from Heaven) your dear son Major Winthrop to our assistance, who affirmed that he saw Tatuphosuit sent bound to Hartford jail, and his father Uncas, taking boat with him. The Sachems said they knew it, and had written about it (by my letter inclosed) to yourself: but they were informed that he was set free, and was keeping his Nicommo, or dance in triumph, &c. Your son replied that either it was not so, or if it were, it was according to your law of leaving Indians to Indian justice, which if neglected you would then act, &c. In fine, their earnest request was that either Tatuphosuit might have impartial justice, (for many reasons, or else they might be permitted to right themselves, which the Commissioners thought might be great prudence (in this juncture of affairs) that these two nations, the Narragansetts and Mohegans might be taken off from assisting Philip (which passionately he endeavors), and the English may more securely and effectually prosecute the quenching of this Philippian fire in the beginning of it. The last night they have (as is this morning said) slain five English of Swansey, and brought their heads to Philip, and mortally wounded two more, with the death of one Indian. By letters from the Governor of Plymouth to Mr. Coddington, Governor of Rhode Island, we hear that the Plymouth forces (about two hundred) with Swansey and Rehoboth men, were this day to give battle to Philip. Sir, my old bones and eyes are weary with travel and writing to the Governors of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and now to yourselves. I end with humble cries to the Father of Mercies to extend his ancient and wonted mercies to New England, and am, Sir,

Your most unworthy Servant

Roger Williams.

[*Narr. Club Publications*, vol. VI, pp. 366-369.]

Two days later Roger Williams wrote another letter from Wickford to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut, as follows:

From Mr. Smith's 27 June, 75, (so called.)

Sir,—Since my last (enclosed) the next day after the departure of Capt. Hutchinson and the messengers from Boston, a party of one hundred Narragansett Indians, armed, marched to Warwick, which, as it frightened Warwick, so did it also the inhabitants here; though since we hear that the party departed from Warwick without blood shedding: however, it occasioned the English here (and myself) to suspect that all the fine words from the Indian Sachems to us were but words of policy, falsehood and treachery: especially since now the English testify, that for divers weeks (if not months) canoes



passed to and again (day and night between Philip and the Narragansetts) and the Narragansett Indians have committed many robberies on the English houses. Also, it is thought that Philip durst not have proceeded so far, had he not been assured to have been seconded and assisted by the Mohegans and Narragansetts.

Two days since, the Governor and Council of Rhode Island sent letters and messengers to Mausup (Canonicus) inviting him to come to them to Newport, and assuring him of safe conduct to come and depart in safety. His answer was, that he could not depart from his child which lay sick: but (as he had assured the Boston messengers) so he professed to these from Newport, that his heart affected and sorrowed for the English, that he could not rule the youth and common people, nor persuade others, chief amongst them, except his brother Miantunnomu's son, Nananautunu. He advised the English at Narragansett to stand upon their guard, to keep strict watch, and, if they could, to fortify one or more houses strongly, which if they could not do, then to fly. Yesterday, Mrs. Smith (after more, yea most of the women and children gone) departed in a great shower, by land, for Newport, to take boat in a vessel four miles from her house. Sir, just now comes in Sam. Dier in a catch from Newport, to fetch over Jireh Bull's wife and children, and others of Puttaquomscutt. He brings word that last night Caleb Carr's boat (sent on purpose to Swansey for tidings) brought word that Philip had killed twelve English at Swansey, (the same Canonicus told us,) and that Philip sent three heads to them, but he advised a refusal of them, which some say was done, only the old Queen rewarded the bringers for their travel. Caleb Carr saith also, that one English sentinel was shot in the face and slain by an Indian that crept near unto him: that they have burnt about twelve houses, one new great one (Anthony Loes): that Philip had left his place, being a neck, and three hundred of Plymouth English, Swansey and others know not where he is, and therefore Capt. Oliver (being at Mr. Brown's) rode post to Boston for some hundreds of horse: that some hurt they did about Providence, and some say John Scot, at Pawtucket ferry, is slain. Indeed, Canonicus advised the English to take heed of remaining in lone out places, and of travelling in the common roads.

Sir, many wish that Plymouth had left the Indians alone, at least not to put to death the three Indians upon one Indian's testimony, a thing which Philip fears; and that yourselves (at this juncture) could leave the Mohegans and Narragansetts to themselves as to Tatuphosoit, if there could be any just way by your General Court found out for the preventing of their conjunction with Philip, which so much concerneth the peace of New England. Upon request of the Government of Plymouth, Rhode Island hath set out some sloops to attend Philip's motions by water and his canoes: it is thought he bends for an escape to the Islands. Sir, I fear the enclosed and this will be grievous to those visible spirits, which look out at your windows: mine, I am sure to complain, &c., yet I press them for your and the public sake, for why is our candle, yet burning, but to glorify our dreadful former, and in making our own calling and election sure, and serving God in serving the public in our generation.

Your unworthy servant,

Roger Williams.

[*Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 370-372.]

Massachusetts quickly responded to Plymouth's call for help by sending an expeditionary army of five companies, two leaving Boston on 26 June, another on the 27th, followed by two more on the 28th, accompanied by six wagons of provisions and supplies, supplemented by a sloop and brigantine by water with additional provisions and supplies; in all about 400 men under the command of Capt. Thomas Savage, the Massachusetts commander-in-chief. These troops marched to Swansea and joined the Plymouth Colony forces already there numbering about 120 men under the command of



Capt. James Cudworth, Plymouth Colony commander-in-chief. The combined army numbered about 500 Englishmen, besides the Plymouth Colony friendly Indians.

The Massachusetts Expeditionary Force remained in the field for twenty-four days, from 26 June to 19 July 1675, at the expiration of which time four companies returned to Massachusetts, leaving one company of about 120 men under the command of Capt. Daniel HENCHMAN to act with the Plymouth Colony force in guarding Philip in the Pocasset Swamp.

The net military results of the expedition amounted to little or nothing. From 5 July to the 10th most of the Massachusetts forces were in Pettaquamscut negotiating a treaty with the Narragansett Indians. The treaty was signed by Maj. Thomas Savage, Capt. Edward Hutchinson, and Mr. Joseph Dudley, representing Massachusetts, and by Maj. Wait Winthrop and Mr. Richard Smith representing Connecticut. On the part of the Indians, four called "Councillors and Attornies" signed for *Canonicus*, *Ninigret*, *Mata-taog*, old Queen *Quaiapen*, *Quananshit*, and *Ponapham*, the six then sachems of the whole Narragansett Country. The English witnesses were Captains HENCHMAN, PRENTICE, and PAIGE and Joseph Stanton, the Connecticut Indian interpreter.

Article VI of the treaty provided that if the sachems or any of their people should capture Philip alive and turn him over to the English they should be paid forty "Trucking-cloth" coats, or for his head, twenty like coats.

Returning from Pettaquamscut, the Massachusetts forces arrived at Rehoboth on 15 July where they quartered for the night. The next morning, hearing of no Indians nearer than a great Swamp at Pocasset, eighteen miles from Taunton, they marched twelve miles to a house at Mattapoiset, midway between Mount Hope and Pocasset Neck. On 17 July they marched twenty miles to Taunton; arriving in the evening and finding the people generally gathered into eight garrison houses. The next day was Sunday. On Monday, 19 July, they marched eighteen miles to the Pocasset Swamp\* where Captain Cudworth had found Philip and fought him on 16 July. The Plymouth and Massachusetts forces entered the swamp, fought until dark, and then abandoned the fight with the loss of two English and five or six wounded, as told by Captain Cudworth.

Hubbard said that "It was judged that the Enemy by this Means brought into a Pound, it would be no hard Matter to deal with them,

\* The Pocasset Swamp is located in what is now the town of Tiverton, R. I. The contemporary historians, Mather and Hubbard, and the Boston merchant in his letter to London, all speak of this "great swamp seven miles long". Captain Church, who was familiar with the country simply called it "a swamp".

An inspection of the United States Geological Map, the Massachusetts-Rhode Island, Fall River Quadrangle Survey, edition of 1944, shows the large "Pocasset Cedar Swamp", roughly about three-quarters of a mile square, with an extreme length from southwest to northeast of one and a quarter miles. The north end borders on the Fall River and State line with a series of smaller swamps stringing along south through Tiverton for a distance of six or seven miles. This is by no means a single swamp for there is plenty of high land between these small swamps, as will be seen by the contour lines on the map shown opposite page 70.



and that it would be Needless Charge to keep so many Companies of Soldiers together to wait upon such an inconsiderable Enemy, now almost as good as taken whereupon most of the Companies [four] belonging to the Massachusetts were drawn off, only Capt. Henschman with an hundred Foot being left there together to attend the Enemies Motion, being judged sufficient for that End”.

At no time during the whole Indian War were King Philip and his warriors cornered and confronted by such an overwhelming number of armed soldiers, who outnumbered them probably some five or six to one. The military tactical error of the English in withdrawing their superior forces at the very time when victory was in their grasp for the reason that the enemy was too small in numbers to fight, is something new in the history of wars. Up to this time the total loss of life in this war had been only about thirty English killed, and approximately the same number of enemy Indians.

This military blunder was the most serious made in the war and was to prolong it for more than a year with the subsequent loss of some 600 English lives, a figure larger than the total number of armed soldiers who had Philip cornered in the Pocasset Swamp. Had a decisive all-out battle been fought, the number of English killed could not possibly have been more than a tiny fraction of the number who eventually lost their lives.

The whole military strategy at this time seems to have been not to risk the lives of soldiers by fighting, but rather by a parade of troops in force to overawe the Indians, with the idea that this would prevent the Narragansett Indians of Rhode Island and the Nipmuck Indians of Massachusetts from coming into Plymouth Colony to the assistance of Philip.

There can be no doubt that it was in the Pocasset Cedar Swamp on the extreme north where Philip, Weetamoe, and their Indians were attacked by the English on 19 July. All the other swamps south in this chain were too small to hide effectively a body of Indians large enough to require one hundred wigwams as reported by Hubbard. Another thing to be remembered is that the English built Fort Leverett southwesterly of the great swamp for the purpose of preventing the Indians from escaping, and that when they actually escaped it was out of the north end of the swamp into open country and straight on over the Taunton River. See map.

None of the contemporary historians left any record of the organization of the military forces sent by Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies to Swansea. In June Capt. James Cudworth was commander-in-chief of the Plymouth Colony forces. Between this time and 4 Oct. 1675 he had been advanced to the rank of Major when the court “re-established him in the office of General or commander-in-chief” [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. V, p. 175].

The organization of the Plymouth Colony forces was as follows: Capt. James Cudworth,\* General and Commander-in-chief; Capt.

\* James Cudworth was one of those who had houses in Scituate in September 1634 when Rev. John Lathrop arrived there. The following January he was admitted a freeman of Plymouth



Mathew Fuller,\* Surgeon; Lieut. Benjamin Church; Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas, Commandant of the Mount Hope garrison; and Mr. Constant Southworth,† Commissary. There were 116 men in Captain Cudworth's company, and 20 at Mount Hope garrison under Lieutenant Thomas.

When it comes to a study of the organization of the Massachusetts forces we have much original source material, thanks to Rev. George Madison Bodge for his research in the Massachusetts Archives and John Hull's *Journal of Accounts*, all of which will be found, well documented, in his *Soldiers in King Philip's War* (3rd Ed., 1906).

The instructions of the Massachusetts Court to Thomas Savage as major of the expeditionary forces to Swanzy under Major General Denison as commander-in-chief of the colony read: "and in case the Lord should disenable y<sup>r</sup> General so as to take him of the service you shall take charge and command of all according to the commission given unto him", etc. [*Mass. Archives*, vol. XLVII, p. 207; *Bodge*, p. 90]. Major Savage had been commissioned for this service before 24 June 1675. General Denison was ill and Major Savage served in his place.

The organization of the Massachusetts forces was as follows: Maj. Thomas Savage,‡ commander-in-chief; Mr. Joseph Dudley,§ chap-

Colony. He afterwards removed to Barnstable but returned to Scituate in a few years. He was a deputy from Barnstable in 1640 and 1642; from Scituate in 1649 and for several years afterwards; captain of the Scituate militia in 1652; an assistant 1656 to 1658; and a commissioner of the United Colonies in 1657. He was a firm friend of toleration, and being judged a "manifest opposer of the government" was left out of the magistracy and the board of commissioners and deprived of his military command in 1658. In 1660 he was disfranchised but was restored in July 1673. In 1674 he was chosen an assistant and served until 1680. In Philip's War, 1675, he was chosen "General and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces that are or may be sent forth against the enemy". In 1681 he was chosen Deputy Governor and Commissioner and the same year was appointed to proceed to England as agent of the Colony to obtain a new charter which should include Narragansett. He went on his mission to England in the summer of 1682. On his arrival he contracted smallpox, of which he died [*N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register*, vol. XIV, p. 101].

\* Matthew Fuller, son of Edward, a brother of the famous Dr. Samuel, was at Plymouth in 1642; went to Barnstable, in 1652, where he was the first physician. He was lieutenant of the Barnstable company in 1652; a deputy from Barnstable in 1653; went with Captain Miles Standish as lieutenant in the Dutch expedition in 1654; fined 50s. in 1658 for "speaking reproachfully of the Court, etc."; appointed on the Council of War the same year; Captain in 1670; chosen "Surjean general" for the Dutch expedition in 1673. At the October Court following the first conflicts in Philip's War there was allowed "to Capt. Mathew Fuller as surjean generall of the forces of this collonie and for other good service, p'formed in the countrys behalfe against the enemie, in the late expeditions, or which may be done in the future, as occation may require, 4s a day". He died in 1678 [*Freeman's Hist. Cape Cod*, ii, 324; *Savage's Gen. Dict.*, ii, 217; *Plym. Col. Rec.*, ii, 37, 45, 50; iii, 17, 24, 55, 150, 153; v, 48, 136, 175, as printed in foot-note in Church's *Entertaining Hist.* (Dexter Ed., 1865), vol. I, p. 26]. Church said that "Capt. Fuller told him that for his own part he was grown ancient and heavy and he feared that the travel and fatigue would be too much for him" [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 27].

† Constant Southworth, Plymouth, b. in 1615; d. 11 Mar. 1679. He was not brought to New England in the *Ann* in 1623 by his widowed mother when she came to m. Governor Bradford, but came, it is presumed, in 1628. He m. 2 Nov. 1637, Elizabeth, dau. of William Collier. Deputy in 1647 and for 22 years following. On the death of his brother, Capt. Thomas Southworth, he was chosen assistant in 1670 and for the next eight years until his death in 1679. He was also Treasurer of Plymouth Colony. His dau. Alice m. 26 Dec. 1667 Benjamin Church [*Savage's Gen. Dict.*, vol. IV, p. 143].

‡ Thomas Savage, Boston, merchant, son of William of Taunton, co. Somerset, England, blacksmith, had been apprenticed at Merchant Tailors, London, as the company records prove, in the 18th of James, 9 Jan. 1621; came in the *Planter* from London in April 1635, age 27; admitted to the church in January and freeman 25 May 1636; artillery company 1637; m. about 1637, Faith, d. February 1652, dau. of William and Ann (Marbury) Hutchinson, and for receiving the revelations of his mother-in-law or entertaining the opinion of Rev. John Wheelwright, he was disarmed in



ain; Mr. William Locke \* and — Toten,\* surgeons; Lieut. Theophilus Frary, John Morse, and Jacob Elliott, commissaries [*Bodge*, pp. 66, 91].

The Middlesex Troop,—Capt. Thomas Prentice, Lieut. Edward Oakes, Cornet John Wayman, Quartermasters Joseph Belcher and Mathew Bridge; and Corporals Solomon Phips and John Gill [*Bodge*, p. 81].

A Foot company,—Capt. Daniel Henchman, Lieut. Enoch Greenleaf, Ensign Perez Savage (wounded in June 1675), and Thomas Wigfall, Clerk Ralph Hall; Sergeants Henry Timberlake, John Tayor, Henry Harwood, Charles Blincott, James Johnson, and Robert Orchard; Marshal Peter Bennett, and Butcher Samuel Johnson [*Bodge*, p. 45].

A Volunteer Company,—Capt. Samuel Mosely, Lieut. Joshua Winslow, Ensign Jacob Allen, Sergt. James Thomas, and Corp. Richard Barnam [*Bodge*, p. 64]. (It is said that the forces of Cap-

November of that year and driven to unite with Governor Coddington and others in the purchase of Rhode Island, where in 1638 he settled for a short time, and then returned to Boston. Children: Habijah, b. 1 Aug. 1638 (H.C. 1659); Thomas, bapt. 17 May 1640; Hannah, b. 28 June 1643; Ephraim, b. 2 July 1645 (H.C. 1662); Mary, bapt. 6 June 1647; Dyonisia, 30 Dec. 1649; Perez, b. 17 Feb. 1652. He m. (2) 15 Sept. 1653, Mary, dau. of Rev. Zachariah Symmes of Charlestown and had eleven more children. He was captain of the artillery company, 1651 and some later years; deputy 1654 and several years more for Boston, besides various years for Hingham and Andover; speaker, 1659, 1660, 1671, 1677, and 1678; had command of forces in Philip's War at its opening; assistant, 1680, 1681, and 1682. He made his will 28 June 1675, the day he marched to Philip's War. He d. 14 Feb. 1682. His widow m. Anthony Stoddard [*Savage's Gen. Dict.*, vol. IV, p. 26].

§ Joseph Dudley, son of Gov. Thomas Dudley, b. at Roxbury 23 Sept. 1647; d. there 2 Apr. 1720; graduated Harvard College, in 1665, where he studied theology; m. Rebecca, dau. of Capt. Edward Tyng. He had twelve children. His dau. Rebecca m. 15 Sept. 1702, Samuel Sewall; Ann m. 16 Dec. 1707, John Winthrop; and Catherine m. 20 Apr. 1714, William Dummer. Freeman 1672; deputy 1673, 1674, and 1675; assistant 1676 to 1685. Commissioner of United Colonies 1677 to 1681. He visited England in 1682.

By a commission from King James II, dated 27 Sept. 1685, he was made President of New England, meaning Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, and the Narragansett country. He was appointed Chief Justice of the unconstitutional Superior Court in 1687 and fell into trouble in the revolution of 1689, being arrested and imprisoned in the castle as one of the friends of Sir Edmund Andros. He was sent to England with Andros.

He was Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight for eight years under Lord Cutts, as *Hutchinson*, II, p. 86 shows. He came back to Massachusetts in 1702 with a commission as Captain General and Governor-in-chief of Massachusetts Bay, including Maine and New Hampshire, and served until November 1715 [*N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register*, vol. X, p. 337; *Savage's Gen. Dict.*, vol. II, p. 76].

Mr. Joseph Dudley spent considerable time in Rehoboth during King Philip's War and was well known there. He was chaplain for the Massachusetts troops under command of Maj. Thomas Savage in the Mount Hope expedition, from 26 June to 19 July 1675, and was one of the signers of the Treaty of Peace made with the Narragansett Indians on 15 July 1675. John Hull's *Journal* shows that on 14 Sept. 1675 he was paid £8:11:04 for salary as chaplain on this expedition [*Bodge*, p. 91]. He served as chaplain with the Massachusetts forces in the Narragansett Swamp Fight at Petaquamscot on 19 Dec. 1675. He wrote two letters from Mr. Richard Smith's garrison to Governor Leverett which are perhaps the most valuable extant official reports of this campaign. The first is dated 15 Dec. 1675 [*Mass. Archives*, vol. LXVIII, p. 101] and the second, 21 Dec. 1675 [*Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass.*, vol. I, p. 273]. Both these letters are printed in full by *Bodge*, p. 193.

\* *Bodge* found that William Locke was the regular surgeon who went out with the army on 26 June [*Mass. Archives*, vol. LXIX, pp. 58, 60]. In John Hull's *Journal* *Bodge* discovered that for service under Major Savage, 28 September, Theophilus Frary, Commissary, received £3/4; Jacob Eliot, Commissary, 15s; and [ ] Toten, Chirurgion £16. He said that this "Toten" was Dr. John Touton a Huguenot who at this time lived at Rehoboth, and that his service may be inferred in part from the following order in *Mass. Archives*, vol. LXVII, p. 221: "Mr. John Toton to take Peter Sympkins, Robert Smith and Isaac Ratt to attend him and goe for the reliefe of the wounded . . . and in case of their refusal you are required by the constables to send them forthwith to Capt. Hudson who is required to send them to Boston". Dated 22 July 1675 [*Bodge*, p. 91].

"Toten" or "Touton" is not a Rehoboth name and does not appear in any of the original records from 1643 to 1740.



tains Henschman, Prentice and Mosely numbered 260 men besides officers and teamsters, etc., which force, estimated in round numbers as 300 men, marched out of Boston on 26 June) [*Bodge*, p. 90].

A foot company, mounted as troopers,—Maj. Thomas Savage. This company consisted of 60 men [*Letter* of the Boston Merchant].

A foot company, mounted as troopers,—Capt. Nicholas Paige,\* Lieut. John Whipple, and Cornet Thomas Noyce [*Bodge*, p. 85]. This company consisted of 60 men [*Letter* of the Boston Merchant]. Accompanying the companies of Major Savage and Captain Paige were six carts of provisions and supplies [*Ibid.*].

The contemporary historians have nothing to say about the very necessary commissary department of this army in the field, or how they were supplied and fed. There are few records for Plymouth Colony, but fortunately the Massachusetts Archives contain very complete records for the Massachusetts army.

At Boston, 28 June 1675, the Massachusetts Council's committee "imployd for this present Expedition against the Indians ordered to send the following provisions † aboard the Sloop *Swanne* whereof Samuel Woodbery is master to be sent for the supply of our forces viz<sup>t</sup> 2000 weight of Bisket 40 barrels of pease in casks, 10 Barrels of Pork, 10 Kintalls of drye fish, 1 hogshhead of Rumme, six jarrs of oyle, 4 barrels Raisons, 1 Barrel of Sugar, 1 hogshhead of Salt, ¼ cask of wine. Moreover you are to load aboard the Brigandine called the *Joseph* whereof Edward Winslow is master the like quantity of provisions as above expressed abating two barrels of Raisings & with two barrels of powder on each vessel . . . you are also to take the bills of lading of these goods and to bee delivered to the commisaries of the Army Theophilus Frary and John Moss or either of them" [*Mass. Archives*, vol. LVII, p. 211; *Bodge*, p. 91].

Under the same date Edward Winslow, master of the *Joseph*, was ordered "forthwith as wind and weather will permit with your vessel to sail to Swansey or as near thereunto as you may and there deliver to Left. Theophilus Frary and John Morse Commissaries for this Colony and the forces (now) vnder the command of Major Thomas Savage all such provisions Armes &c now on board you for the use of the army. John Leveret, Gov<sup>r</sup>" [*Mass. Archives*, vol. L&VII, p. 211; *Bodge*, p. 92.]

The total provisions sent around the Cape by the sloop *Swan*, Samuel Woodbury master, and the brigantine *Joseph*, Edward Winslow master, to the Massachusetts Army at Swansea, were as follows: Biskett, 4000 lbs; pease, 80 bbls.; pork, 20 bbls.; drye fish, 20 kintalls (100 lbs.), equalled 2000 lbs.; rumme, 2 hogshheads; oyle, 12 jars; raisons, 6 bbls.; sugar, 2 bbls.; salt, 2 hogshheads; wine, ½ cask; and powder, 4 bbls.

\* Captain Paige's wife was Anne, a granddaughter of Capt. Robert Keayne and niece to Mr. Joseph Dudley.

† A "Committee's estimate of what Provisions &c will serve 500 Souldiers one month: Biskett 15<sup>m</sup>, Porke 20 barrills, Beefe 30 barrills (or some think only Pork and send Salt), Bacon 10<sup>o</sup> wt., Cheese 10<sup>o</sup>; Stockings & Shooes 200 pr. each, Shirts and Draws 100 each, Wastcoats 50, walletts 100, 300 small baggs for each man to carry nokake; 300 bush oates; 100 bush barley; 50 bush Indian corne parched and beaten to nokake; 6 bar. powder; 12 <sup>o</sup> shott; Flintts 20<sup>o</sup>" [*Mass. Archives*, vol. LVIII, p. 135; *Bodge*, p. 92].



It will be noted that in the above cargoes there are no flints or shot listed. These probably came overland from Boston to Rehoboth on the six carts. According to the schedule, each soldier was allowed four spare flints and 4.4 lbs. of powder for thirty days service. If there were 400 men in the army, this would have called for 1600 spare flints and 1760 lbs. of shot.

On 5 July 1675 the Massachusetts Council sent a letter to the Connecticut Council addressed to Gov. John Winthrop saying that at the request of Plymouth Colony "wee have accomidated them with ammunition and men, *i.e.*, ab<sup>t</sup> 80 troopers furnished with carbines & small musketts ab<sup>t</sup> 100 dragoones & ab<sup>t</sup> 100 foote soldjers so that with their attendance with waggons &c. y<sup>e</sup> whole may be neere 400 men also two vessels well fitted with men provisions & ammunition we have sent ab<sup>t</sup> the Cape to accomidate all their necessityes so far as we could judge, &c." [*Conn. Archives*, War Doc. vol. I, Doc. 5; *Bodge*, p. 89].

In John Hull's *Journal of Accounts* are found the following maritime disbursements, the first nine of which Bodge presumes are to the master and crew of the sloop *Swanne* and the rest probably the crew of the "Brigandine" *Joseph* of which Edward Winslow was master and Samuel Winslow of the crew, when on 24 July the Council ordered that "they be released from the Brigandine to come home" [*Mass. Archives*, vol. LXVII, p. 226; *Bodge*, p. 92].

20 August 1675—Maritime Disbursements Dr to Viz.

Samuel Woodbury *	03 00 01	Nath Phillips	01 10 00
Robert Breck	01 05 00	Henry Rock, als. Cock	01 10 00
Joshua Matson	01 10 00	William Cantrell	01 10 00
Nathaniel Gallop	02 00 00	William Christian	02 09 00
Thomas Alson	01 10 00	Nathaniel Huett	02 09 00
William Hascall	01 10 00	Redeemed Scott	02 09 00
Samuel Cross	02 16 00	Simon Daniel	02 09 00
John Kennedye, Als.	02 09 00	Thomas Norton	02 09 00
Cannede		John Mane	02 02 00
John Ball	02 09 00	Edward Perkins	03 19 00
William Aldridg.	03 10 00		

[John Hull's *Journal of Accounts*, *Bodge*, p. 92.]

The best and the most comprehensive contemporaneous account of the Massachusetts Expedition into Plymouth Colony, 26 June to 19 July 1675, is found in the following excerpts from William

\* At a Council meeting held at Fort William Hendrick 26 May 1674, Capt. Cornelis Ewoutse, arriving that day with his Snow the *Zeehont*, reported having captured, on the coast of New England, three small New England prizes. On the 1<sup>st</sup> instant a sloop laden with grain and on the 13<sup>th</sup> a sloop and a ketch laden with tobacco and "hath brought in the two sloopes and expects the ketch hourly and brought in the skippers of all three vessels".

Samuel Woodbury, of Swanzey, skipper of the sloop *Swan*, declared the sloop to be the property of himself and John Dixy's widow now residing at Swansy; that he loaded at Milfort and sailed thence on Thursday the 9<sup>th</sup> instant for Swansy and was taken by Capt. Cornelis Ewoutse near Prudence Island; declares the record of his cargo is in his chest on board the *Swan* and guesses that the cargo consists of 700 bushels of wheat, 60 or 70 bushels of pease, and 60 bushels of maize.

On 29 June 1674, by the Articles and Proclamations of Peace between the Crown of England and their High Mightiness The State's General of the United Netherlands published on the 6th March at the Hague, it is found that agreeably to said treaty of Peace the following vessels and cargoes be restored to their owners: Samuel Woodbury, skipper of the sloop *Swan*; Richard Pattersol, skipper of the *Egmond and Mathew*; and William Lewis, skipper of the Ketch *Prosperous*". Done at Fort William Hendrick this 4 July 1674" [*Colonial Hist. of New York*, Holland Documents, vol. II (1858), pp. 716, 726, 727].



Hubbard's *Narrative*. In footnotes will be found excerpts from the other contemporaneous histories written by Increase Mather and Capt. Benjamin Church; also, from the letters of the Merchant of Boston to his friend in London. The whole presents a consolidated printed record which has been checked with the original publications in the *John Carter Brown Library*. Other explanatory notes have been added:

[18] "On the 26th of June a Foot-Company under Capt. *Daniel Henchman*, with a Troop under Capt. *Thomas Prentice*, were sent out of *Boston* \* towards *Mount Hope*; it being late in the afternoon before they began to March, the central Eclipse of the Moon in *Capric*. hapned in the evening before they came up to *Naponset River*, about twenty miles from *Boston*, which occasioned them to make an halt, for a little repast, till the moon recovered her light again . . . But after the Moon had waded through the dark shadow of the Earth, and borrowed her Light again, by the help thereof the two Companies marched on towards *Woodcoks House*,† thirty miles from *Boston*, where they arrived next morning; and there retarded their motion till the afternoon, in hope of being overtaken by a company of Voluntiers, under the Command of Captain *Samuel Mosely*, which accordingly came to pass; so as on June 28 they all arrived at *Swanzy*, where by the advice of Captain *Cudworth* the Commander in chief of *Plimouth Forces*, they were removed to the Head Quarters; which for that time were appointed at Mr. *Miles* his house, the Minister of *Swanzy*, within a quarter of a mile of the Bridge leading into *Philips Lands*.

"They arriving there some little time before night [28 June], twelve of the Troopers, unwilling to lose time, passed over the Bridge, for discovery into the Enemies Territories, where they found the rude welcome ‡ of eight or ten

\* Mather said: "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 remem[4]bred, that some days 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 divers Englishmen on the ground, weltering 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 enemyes themselves being judges) the least wrong before we did at all offend them, or attempt any act of hostility towards them" [Mather's *Brief History* (Drake Ed., 1862), p. 56].

These commissioners mentioned by Mather were Capt. Thomas Savage and Mr. Brattle, sent from Massachusetts to Plymouth Colony to talk with Philip. The Massachusetts Council's letter sent to Connecticut under date of 28 June 1675 tells about their being sent "four days since to speak to Philip".

† Woodcock's place, owned by John Woodcock, was in the Rehoboth North Purchase lands about ten miles northeast of the Rehoboth "Ring of the Green". On 28 June 1647 the town gave John Woodcock the land originally allotted to Edward Patterson. Woodcock had grants of land in the Rehoboth North Purchase in 1666 and in 1668 and built his house there. During the war the house was fortified and used as a garrison; later as a tavern, and stood until 1806, when it was torn down to make way for a new building known for years as Hatch's Tavern. It was on the Boston and Providence Turnpike, in what is now Attleborough, near the Baptist Church. John Woodcock was made a freeman of Rehoboth in 1673.

‡ Mather said: "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 awful Providence happened at this time: for a souldier (a stout man) who was sent from *Watertown*, seeing the *English Guide* slain, and hearing many profane oaths among some of our Souldiers (namely those Privateers, who were also Volunteers [Captain Mosley's company] 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" [Mather's *Brief History* (Drake Ed., 1862), pp. 57, 58].

The distracted man mentioned by Mather appears to have been William Sherman of Watertown, for in October 1675 the Massachusetts court ordered "that Desire Sherman whose husband William



*Indians* firing upon them out of the Bushes, killing one *William Hammond*,\* wounding Corporal *Belcher*, his Horse being also shot down under him; the rest of the said troopers having discharged upon those *Indians* that ran away after their first shot, carried off their two dead and wounded companions, and so retired to the main Guard for that night, pitching in a Barricado about Mr. *Miles* his house. The enemy thought to have braved it out by a bold assault or two at the first; but their hearts soon began to fail them when they perceived the *Massachusetts & Plimouth-Forces* both engaged against them: for the next morning [29 June] they shouted twice or thrice, at half a miles distance, and nine or ten of them shewing themselves on this side the bridg: our Horsemen with the whole body of the Privateers under Captain *Mosely*, not at all daunted by such kind of Alarms, nor willing so to lose the Bridg, ran violently down upon them over the said Bridg, pursuing them a mile and a quarter on the other side:

“Ensign [19] *Savage*,† that young martial Spark, scarce twenty years of age [bapt. in 1652] had at that time one bullet lodged in his Thigh, another shot through the brim of his Hat, by ten or twelve of the Enemy discharging upon him together, while he boldly held up his Colours in the Front of his Company: but the weather not suffering any further action at that time, those that were thus far advanced, were compelled to retreat back to the main guard, having first made a shot upon the *Indians* as they ran away into a Swamp near by, whereby they killed five or six of them, as was understood soon after at *Narhaganset*: This resolute charge of the English-Forces upon the Enemy made them quit their place on *Mount-hope* that very night, where *Philip* was never seen after, till the next year, when he was by a divine Mandate sent back, there to receive the reward of his wickedness where he first began his mischief.

“The next day Major *Savage* (that was to command in chief over the *Massachusetts* Forces, being come up with other Supplies about six a clock over night,) ‡ the whole Body intended to march into *Mount Hope*, and there beat

Sherman, Jr., who fell distracted in the service of the country be allowed £20 towards relief of them and family” [*Massachusetts Archives* as cited by Drake].

\* The first record we have of William Hammon is his signature, by mark, as a witness to King Philip’s Quitclaim Deed to Rehoboth dated 13 Mar. 1667/8. The other witnesses were Tom Interpreter (probably Tom of Watchemoket), by mark, John Myles, Jr., John Landon, by mark, and Joseph Sabin.

At a Rehoboth town meeting held 12 Dec. 1670 it was agreed that “William Hammon for his encouragement to tary in the towne should have seven acres of land on the other side of the mill River against Samuel Carpenter and James Redway lot . . . that if he goeth out of the town before seven years be passed to resigne it up to the town but if he tary longer than seven years to be his owne” [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 190]. William Hammond had a daughter Elizabeth, born in Rehoboth 24 Sept. 1673 (not 1661 as stated by *Savage*) [*Rehoboth Vital Records*, Book I, p. 37].

At a Rehoboth town meeting held 23 Jan. 1673/4 the town voted “that William Hammond should have liberty to exchange the Land that the town formerly granted him and have it at a place desired by him” [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 220]. The next mention of a William Hammon in Rehoboth was at a town meeting held 10 July 1714, when he was elected to serve on the jury of trials [*Ibid.*, Book II, p. 159].

*Savage* mistakenly said that William Hammond was in Captain Prentice’s troop and consequently may have been one of the volunteers from Cambridge or Dedham [*Savage’s Gen. Dict.*, vol. II, p. 348].

† Ensign Peres *Savage* was in Capt. Daniel Henchman’s company [*Bodge*, p. 52]; on 10 Dec. 1675 a lieutenant in Capt. Samuel Mosely’s company [*Bodge*, p. 71]; and on 19 Dec. 1675 was severely wounded in the Narragansett Swamp Fight. He never married and after the war went to England where he carried on trade with Spain. He died at Mequinez, in Barbary, before 1695. He was the son of Maj. Thomas *Savage* and Faith, dau. of William and Ann (Marbury) Hutchinson. See *ante*, p. 58.

‡ The merchant of Boston writing to his friend in London under date of 10 Nov. 1675 said: “The Authority of *Boston* made Captain *Thomas Savage* the Major General in the Expedition, who with sixty Horse and as many Foot went out of Boston; having prest Horses for the Footman, and six Carts to carry Provisions with them: Whereof Mr. *John Morse* was Commissary General abroad and Mr. *Nathaniel Williams* Commissary at Home: They traveled day and night till they came to their Garrisons and within three days after, marched Horse and Foot (leaving Guards in the Garrisons) towards *Mount Hope* where King *Philip* and his Wife was; they came upon him at unawares, so that *Philip* was forced to rise from Dinner, and he and all with him fled out of the Land, called *Mount Hope*, up further into the Country; they persued them as far as they could go



up the Enemies quarters, or give him Battel, if he durst abide it: but the weather being doubtful, our Forces did not march till near noon, about which time they set out, with a Troop of Horse in each wing, to prevent the danger of the Enemies Ambuscadoes; after they had marched about a mile and a half, they passed by some Houses newly burned: not far off one of them they found a Bible newly torn, and the leaves scattered about by the Enemy, in hatred of our Religion therein revealed; two or three miles further they came up with some Heads, Scalps, and Hands cut off from the bodies of some of the English, and stuck upon Poles near the Highway, in that barbarous and inhuman manner bidding us Defiance:

“The Commander in Chief giving Order that those monuments of the Enemies cruelty should be taken down, and buried: the whole body of the Forces still marched on, two miles further, where they found divers Wigwams of the Enemy, amongst which were many things scattered up and down, arguing the hasty flight of the Owners; Half a mile further, as they passed through many Fields of stately Corn, they found *Philip's* own Wigwam; every place giving them to perceive the Enemies hasty departure from thence; after they had marched two miles further they came to the Sea side, yet in all this time meeting with no *Indians*, nor any sign of them, unless of their flight to some other places.\* The season like to prove very tempestu-

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for *Swamps* and killed fifteen or sixteen in the Expedition, and returned . . .” [Drake's *Old Indian Chronicle* (1836), p. 11].

Neither Mather nor Hubbard gave the date on which Maj. Thomas Savage and his two companies left Boston for Mount Hope. Major Savage made his will on 28 June 1675, which fixes the date, for James Savage said that he made it the day he left Boston and that it was so well drawn that he made no further changes. The will was proved 9 Mar. 1682 [Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, vol. IV, p. 26].

\* Church said: “They [the Massachusetts forces] marched until they came to the narrow of the Neck [Mount Hope] at a Place called *Keekkamuit* where they took down the heads of the Eight English Men killed at the head of *Metapoiset*-Neck and set upon Polls after the barbarous maner of those Salvages. There *Philip* had staved all his Drums and conveyed all his Canoo's to the East-side of *Metapoiset* (now Cole's) river . . . Mr. Church told them [the military command] that *Philip* had doubtless gone over to *Pocasset* side to ingage those Indians in Rebellion with him: which they soon found to be true. The enemy were not beaten out of *Mount-hope* Neck tho 'twas true they fled before any persued them. 'Twas but to strenghen themselves and to gain a more advantageous Post. However, some and not a few pleased themselves with the fancy of a Mighty Conquest [including our contemporary historians, Mather and Hubbard].

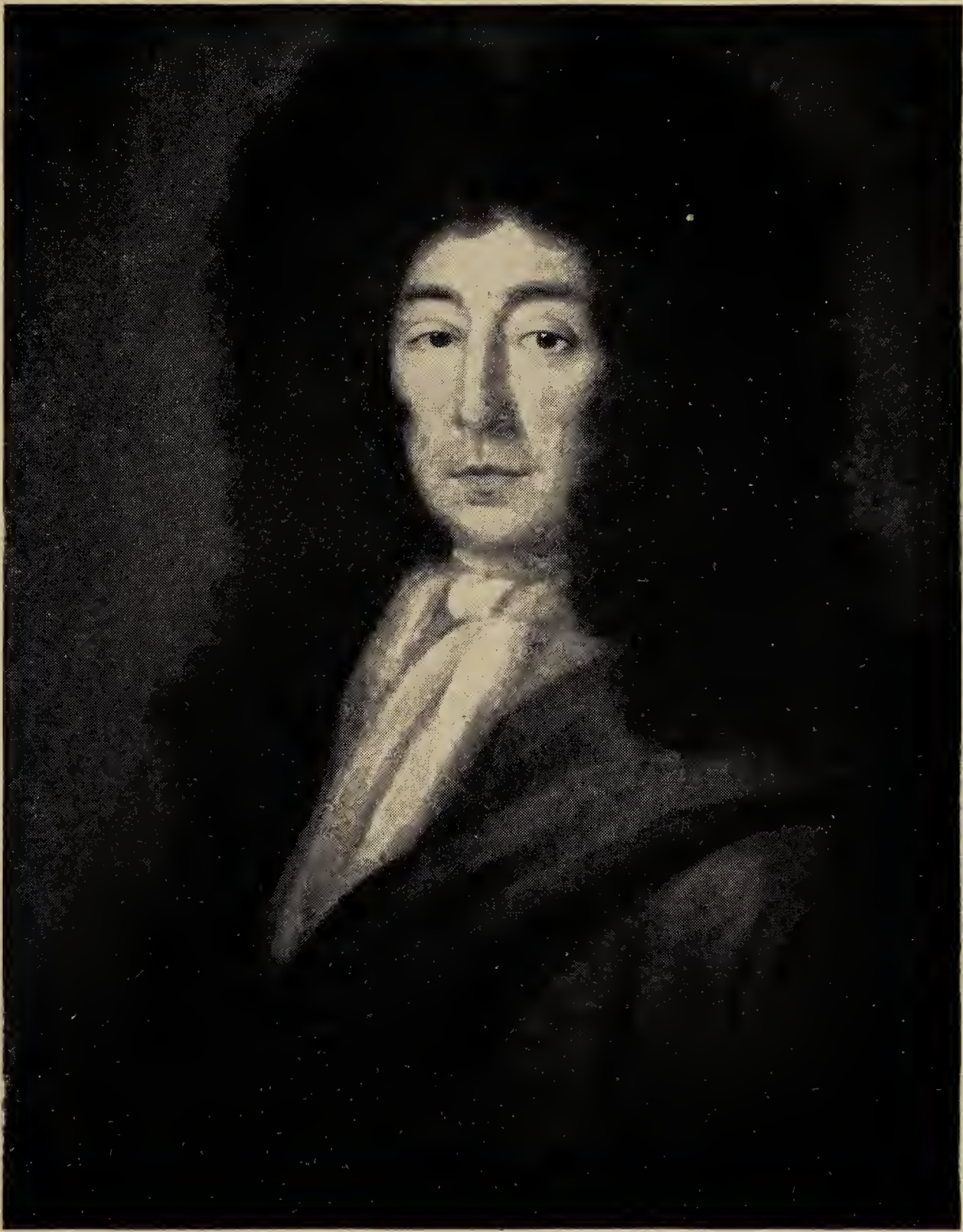
“A grand Council was held and a Resolve passed to build a Fort there [at Mount Hope] to maintain the first ground they had gained by the Indians leaving it to them. And to speak the Truth it must be said, that as they gained not that Field by their Sword nor their Bow; so 'twas rather their fear than their courage that obliged them to set up the marks of their Conquest. Mr. Church looked upon it, and talk of it with contempt and urged hard the pursuing the Enemy on *Pocasset*-side and with greater earnestness . . . The Council adjourned themselves from *Mount-hope* to *Rehoboth* where Mr. Treasurer [Constant] *Southworth* being weary of his charge of Commissary General (Provision being scarce & difficult to be obtained, for the Army that now lay still to Cover the People from no body, while they were building a Fort for nothing) retired and the Power & Trouble of that Post was left with Mr. Church [son-in-law] who still urged the Commanding Officers to move over to *Pocasset* side, to persue the enemy [7] and kill *Philip* which would in his opinlon be more probably to keep possession of the Neck, than to tarry to build a Fort” [Church's *Entertaining History* (Dexter Ed., 1865), vol. I, pp. 23–26].

These eight heads on poles were probably those of “Gershom Cobb, Joseph Lewls, John Salisbury, William Salisbury, John Jones, John Fall, Nemiah Allen, and Robert Jones”, who were killed at Swansea on 24 June and their decapitated and mutilated bodies buried there that day [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. VIII, p. 61].

General Fessenden, in his *History of Warren, R. I.*, (1845), page 71, said that after diligent search he found the remains of this Mount Hope Fort and described them as “situated opposite the narrows of Kickemuit river, in Bristol, R. I., on the top of the most southwestern of several hills on the north side of a cove. They consist now chiefly of the remains of the fireplace in the fort. This fire-place was made by preparing a suitable excavation and laying low stone walls at the sides and the end for which flat stones were used, evidently brought from the adjoining beach. The remains of these ruins are now beneath the surface of the ground, which at this place is depressed several inches below the average surface of the ground in the immediate vicinity. The hill is fast wearing away by the action of the water which washes its base. The wearing away has already reached the fire-place from which the charcoal and burnt stones are often falling down the steeply incllnd plane beneath”.

On his expedition to capture Annawan, Captain Church stopped at this Mount Hope fort where his Indians had “catch'ed Ten Indians, and guarded them all Night in one of the Flankers of the old





*Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society*

### GOVERNOR JOSEPH DUDLEY

Chaplain of the Massachusetts Military Forces to Mount Hope, Plymouth Colony, in 1675. He was frequently in Rehoboth. Involved in the troubles of Sir Edmund Andros, in 1689, he was confined in gaol at Boston for five months and then sent to England. There he became a member of Parliament; served for eight years as Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight under Lord Cutts; and returned to New England in 1702 with a commission as third Royal Governor of the Massachusetts Bay.

With a troop of horse and attended by seven members of the Council of the Massachusetts Bay, including Capt. Nathaniel Thomas, Governor Dudley was in Rehoboth on 1 and 8 Sept. 1702 on his way to and from Newport in his unsuccessful attempt, as Captain General and Vice Admiral, to take over command of the Rhode Island Military Forces. On 14 Oct. 1709 he returned to Rehoboth to attend the First Continental Congress held in America.





ous, and rainy, Captain *Cudworth* with some of the men of *Plimouth* passed over to *Road-Island*.

"The forces under Major *Savage* were forced to abide all night in the open Field, without any shelter, notwithstanding the abundance of rain that [20] fell; and in the morning, despairing to meet with any Enemy on *Mount-Hope*, they retreated back to their Quarters at *Swanzy*, in the way meeting with many *Indian* dogs, that seemed to have lost their Masters. That night Captain *Prentice* his Troop for conveniency of Quarters, as also for discovery, was dismissed to lodge at *Seaconke* or *Rehoboth*, a Town within six miles of *Swanzy*. As they returned back in the morning, Captain *Prentice* divided his Troop, delivering one half to Lieutenant *Oakes*,\* and keeping the other himself, who as they rode along, espyed a Company of *Indians* burning an house; but could not pursue them by reason of several Fences, that they could not go over till the *Indians* had escaped into a Swamp.

Those with Lieutenant [Edward] *Oaks* had the like discovery, but with better success, as to the advantage of the ground, so as pursuing of them upon a plain,† they slew four or five of them in the Chase, whereof one was known to be *Thebe*,‡ a sachem of *Mount-Hope*, another of them a chief Councillor of *Philips*; yet in this attempt the Lieutenant lost one of his company, *John Druce* § by name, who was mortally wounded in his bowels, whereof he soon after died, to the great grief of his companions. After the said Troop came up to the Head-Quarters at *Swanzy*, they understood from Captain *Cudworth* that the Enemy were discovered upon *Pocasset*, another neck of Land lying over an Arm of the Sea, more towards *Cape Cod*:

"However, it was resolved that a more narrow search should be made

English *Garrison*; that their prisoners were part of *Annawons* company, and that they had left their Families in a Swamp above *Mattapoiset Neck* [now *Gardner's Neck*, *Swansea*]"'. On Captain *Church*'s arrival at the fort enough "Horse-beaf" was roasted to last the company a whole day [*Church's Entertaining History* (Dexter Ed., 1865), vol. I, pp. 159, 161].

\* *Savage* was in error when he said that Captain *Prentice*'s lieutenant was *Thomas Oakes*, brother of *Urian Oakes*, President of *Harvard College*. It was *Edward*, another brother, who was the lieutenant, as is proved by *John Hull*'s account book showing that on 21 Sept. 1675 Lieut. *Edward Oakes* of Captain *Prentice*'s company drew £5 for services [*Bodge*, p. 81]. *Edward Oakes*, Cambridge, freeman 18 May 1642, brought from England his wife *Jane* and children *Urian* (H.C. 1649) and *Edward* [*Savage's Gen. Dict.*, vol. III, p. 302].

† *Mather* said: "In the beginning of *July*, there was another Skirmish with the Enemy, wherein several of the *Indians* were killed, amongst whom were *Philips* chief Captain, and one of his Councillors. Now it appears that *Squaw-Sachem* of *Pocasset*, her men were conjoyned with the *Womponoags* (that is *Philips* men) in this Rebellion. About this time they killed several English at *Taunton*, and burnt divers houses there. Also at *Swansy*, 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" [*Mather's Brief History* (Drake Ed., 1862), pp. 59-61].

Neither *Mather* nor *Hubbard* gave the date of this Indian attack on *Taunton*. The date is fixed, however, for *Shadrach Wilbore*, *Taunton* Town Clerk, in his return to the *Plymouth* Court said: "John *Tisdall*, Senior killed by the *Indians*, the 27<sup>th</sup> June 1675" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. VIII, p. 69]. *Drake* in a footnote to *Hubbard* said that in March 1677 three *Indians* were arraigned at *Plymouth* "for murdering *John Knowles*, *John Tisdall*, Sen., and *Samuel Atkins*. The *Indians* were *Timothy Jacked*, alias *Canjuncke*, *Naffamaquat*, and *Pompacanthé*". They were sentenced to be sent out of the colony. The writer is unable to find this original record. See *post*, p. 97.

‡ *Peebe*, one of *Philip*'s counselors, was a sachem who lived on a point of land called *Peebe Neck* located in *Sowams* now in the town of *Barrington*, R. I. On 13 Mar. 1668 King *Philip* gave a quit-claim deed to *Rehoboth* of eight square miles of land lying on the east and west sides of *Palmer's River*. The deed is signed by the "marks of *Umpதாகისок*, councillor; *Philip*, councillor; *Sunecone-whew*, *Philip*'s brother; *Peebee*, Councelor; the mark of *Philip P* Sachem, and the mark of *Tom Interpreter*".

§ *John Druce* was buried at *Swansea* 2 July 1675 [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. VIII, p. 61]. According to *Savage*, he was of *Cambridge* village (now *Newton*), son of *Vincent Druce*; was mortally wounded on 1 July 1675, in the morning march of Captain *Prentice*'s troop from *Rehoboth* to *Swansea*, was brought home and died the next day. His nuncupative will was proved by oath of *Joseph Dudley* [chaplain of the expedition] on 16 August following. Lieutenant *Druce* left a widow *Mary* and three small children, the oldest six years [*Savage's Gen. Dict.*, vol. II, p. 74].



after them, both upon *Mount-Hope*, and upon the ground between *Swanzy* and *Rehoboth* to scour the Swamps, and assault them, if they could find where they were intrenched. Captain [Daniel] *Henchman*, and Captain *Prentice*, were ordered to search the Swamps; while Captain [Samuel] *Mosely*, and Captain [Nicholas] *Page* with his dragoons attending on Major [Thomas] *Savage*, should return back into *Mount-Hope*, that they might be sure to leave none of the enemy behind them, when they should remove to pursue them elsewhere.

“About ten a clock the next morning, *July 4*, Captain [Daniel] *Henchman* after a long and tedious March, came to the Head-Quarters, and informed that he came upon a place where the Enemy had newly been that night, but were escaped out of his reach: But that night before they were determined of any other motion, Captain [Edward] *Hutchinson* \* came up from *Boston* with new Orders for them to pass into *Narhaganset*, to treat with the Sachems there, and if it might be, to prevent their joining with *Philip*. Capt. [James] *Cudworth*, by this time was come up to the Head-Quarters, having left a Garrison of forty men upon *Mount-hope Neck*. The next morning was spent in consultation how to carry on the Treaty; it was then resolved that they should go to make a peace with a Sword in their [21] hands, having no small ground of suspicion that the said *Narhagansets* might joyn with the Enemy; wherefore, they thought it necessary to carry all the *Massachusetts* Forces over into the *Narhaganset* Country, to fight them, if there should be need; Captain [Samuel] *Mosely* passed over by water to attend Captain [Edward] *Hutchinson* in his dispatch; the other Companies with the Troopers riding round about: as they passed, they found the *Indians* in *Pophams* Country (next adjoining to *Philips* Borders) all fled, and their Wigwams without any people in them.

“After they came to the *Narhaganset* Sachems, three or four days were spent in a treaty, after which a peace was concluded on sundry Articles between the Messengers of *Connecticut* Colony, (who were ordered to meet with those of the *Massachusetts*) and the Commanders of the Forces sent against *Philip*: Hostages were also given by the said *Narhagansets* for the performance of the agreement. A Copy of the said Agreement, and the Articles on which a Peace was concluded, here follow. It being always understood, that *Plimouth* Colony was included in the said Agreement, although their Forces were not then present, but remained at home near the Enemies Borders, to secure their Towns, and oppose *Philip* as there might be occasion, if he offered to make any new attempt in the mean time.

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*Articles, Covenants and Agreements had, made and concluded by and between Major Thomas Savage, Captain Edward Hutchinson, and Mr. Joseph Dudley, in behalf of the Government of the Massachusetts Colony, and Major Wait Winthrop, and Mr. Richard Smith, on behalf of Connecticut Colony on the one party, and Agamaug, Wompsh, alias Corman, Taitson, Tawageson, Councillors and Attornies to Canonicus; Ninigret, Matataog, old Queen Quaiapen, Quananshit & Pompaham the six present Sachims of the whole Narhaganset Country on the other party, referring to*

\* On 3 July 1675, the Massachusetts Council sent Capt. Edward Hutchinson from Boston to Mount Hope with orders to make a treaty with the Narragansett Indians. The same day, by court order, he was paid £5. From John Hull's Journal credits it appears that the following men accompanied him: Edward Hutchinson, Jr., John Bennet, Samuel Williams, Hugh Clark, John Pason, John Minott, Nathaniel Holmes, John Ruggles, and James Barrett [*Bodge*, p. 93].

Capt. Edward Hutchinson was the eldest son of William and Ann (Marbury) Hutchinson. He came to New England in 1633, a year before his parents. With his uncle and father, he was among the first to settle at Newport, R. I., in 1638. In a few years he returned to Boston. At the time of King Philip's War he owned a large farm in the Nipmuck country and was well known to the Indians, several of whom he employed. On 14 July 1675 the Nipmuck Indians fell on the town of Mendon, burned some of the houses, and killed several of the inhabitants. This was the first Massachusetts blood shed in Philip's war.

Captain Hutchinson, leaving Rehoboth, after making the Narragansett Treaty, returned to Boston and with a small company was sent to Quabaog to make a treaty with the Nipmuck Indians. He was treacherously ambushed and severely wounded on 2 August, dying at Marlborough on 19 Aug. 1675. For detailed account, see Mather's *Brief History* (Drake Ed., 1862), pp. 63-67.



*several Differences and Troubles lately risen between them; and for a final conclusion of settled Peace and Amity between the said Sachims, their Heirs and Successors forever, and the Governours of the said Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and their Successors in the said Governments for ever.*

*'I. That all and every of the said Sachims shall from Time to Time carefully seize, and living or dead deliver unto one or other of the above said Governments, all and every of Sachim Philips Subjects whatsoever, that shall come [22] or be found within the precincts of any of their lands, and that with greatest diligence and faithfulness.*

*'II. That they shall with their utmost ability use all Acts of Hostility against the said Philip and his Subjects, entring his Lands or any other Lands of the English, to kill and destroy the said Enemy, until a cessation from war with the said Enemy be concluded by both the above said Colonies.*

*'III. That the said Sachims, by themselves and their Agents, shall carefully search out and deliver all stoln Goods whatsoever taken by any of their Subjects from any of the English, whether formerly or lately, and shall make full satisfaction for all wrongs or injuries done to the Estate of any of the Subjects of the Several Colonies, according to the Judgment of indifferent men, in case of dissatisfaction between the Offendors and the Offended Parties, or deliver the Offendors.*

*'IV. That all Preparations for War, or Acts of Hostility against any of the English subjects, shall for ever for the future cease; together with all manner of Thefts, Pilferings, killing of Cattel, or any manner of breach of peace whatsoever, shall with utmost care be prevented, and instead thereof, their strength to be used as a Guard round about the Narhaganset Country, for the English Inhabitants safety and security.*

*'V. In token of the above said Sachims reality in this Treaty and Conclusion, and for the security of the several English Governments and Subjects they do freely deliver unto the above said Gentlemen, in the behalf of the above said Colonies, John Wobequob, Weowthim, Pewkes, Weenew, four of their near Kinsmen and choice Friends, to be and remain as Hostages \* in several*

\* These four Indian hostages were taken to Connecticut as seen by the following letter. Also, the Narragansetts did bring in a few heads of Philip's Indians.

ffor the hounoraball John Winthrope Esqu<sup>r</sup> Gou<sup>o</sup>: of Coneticott Colloney: this Humbly p<sup>r</sup>sent in Boston.

much hounoured: my Dewe seruis to you & to your sonn & daufers, I writt to you not Longe sinc, & understod by the post you were not well, . . . my wiufe . . . heres you intend for Eingland . . . I intend thether & shoald be glad to waight one you in the same shipe, nothing hinders me; butt would fayne see all apearenc of ware ouer: as to the naragansets, here are maney inland indyans Come hither, as they—pretend to shelter themselufe for feare of the—Einglish sowders, the naragansets still request fauor—for wittamore and her Company & the seconett Squo & hers: here is also seuerall of Phillips Company Come in & brought in by those, which those doe osbceuer all they Can, and will not Confese howe maney, it Cononocous: hath broght in to me in all 14 heds, seuen of which was Latly & sume of them Phillips Chefe men, These being a greate numbr it will be good to be moderate with them as it for should we haue war with them they would doe greate damage, ninicroft sent in also two heds Longe sinc; I haue writt att Large to Gour<sup>r</sup> Leurett hounor; which I refer you two, being herewith sen[t], I should be glad if I Could be aictiufe in aney respectt: wherby I might promotte aney thing that would lend to the peasce & wellfare of the Cuntrey, it Latly I ame informed att ssecond hand from Captt Syluister, thatt it was reported att Hartfo[rd] that I had sowld the indgens A barall of powder, it was A greate untrueth, for I deneyed all indy[ans] selling them aney att all, and the more for thatt I sawe them greedy for it, & that Long before the ware begune with Philip:, so that whosoeuer was the raysar of that report did much a buse me. besyds I haue had butt one barell of powder in my Custody this yeare, most of which haue yet by me: [ ] hounoured sir I request the fauor from you: to wright me a lyne or two of the Certanty of your gooeing for Eingland & the time, my seruis to m<sup>r</sup> Willis & m<sup>r</sup> Richards, I would request your aduisce as relating to A farmen I bought of Captt Atherton he hauing administracion from Coneticott, presenting noe sequeraty to the Courtt this farmen was tyed for sequerety, the farmen I bought the rest of the brothers ratyfieth the salle of it receues part of the money, Capt Atherton demands: the resudewe I refewse to paye aney more ether to him or them except the Court orders it to whome . . . the mony Lyes redy . . . Sir haue not elce butt bige your exceusce and Craue your fauar ame your hounors most obleged & humbell seruent

Richd Smith

Wickford 12 Septm 1675

The naragansett sachems: deseiers theyer hosteges may returen, they: hauing they say aproued themselufs Loyall by bringing in of heeds:—Indorsed: m<sup>r</sup> Rich: Smith rec: Sept: 17

[Original Letter, *Mass. Hist. Society*, Winthrop Papers, vol. XVIII, p. 111].



places of the English Jurisdictions, at the appointment of the Honourable Governours, of the above said Colonies, there to be civilly treated, not as Prisoners, but otherwise at their Honours Discretion, until the above said Articles are fully accomplished to the satisfaction of the several Governments, the departure of any of them in the mean time to be accounted breach of the Peace, and these present Articles.

'VI. The said Gentlemen in the behalf of the Governments to which they do belong, do engage to every the said Sachims and their Subjects, that if they or any of them shall seize and bring into either the above said English Governments, or to Mr. Smith, Inhabitants of Narhaganset, Philip Sachim alive, he or they so delivering, shall receive for their pains, for[ty] Trucking-cloth Coats; \* in case they bring his Head, they shall have twenty like good Coats paid them: for every living Subject of said Philips so delivered, the Deliverer shall receive two Coats, and for every Head one Coat, as a Gratuity for their service herein, making it appear to Satisfaction, that the Heads or Persons are belonging to the Enemy, and that they are of their seizure. [23]

'VII. The said Sachims do renew and confirm unto the English Inhabitants or others, all former Grants, Sails, Bargains or Conveyances of Lands, Meadows, Timber, Grass, Stones, or whatsoever else the English have heretofore bought or quietly possessed and enjoyed, to be unto them, and their Heirs, and Assigns for ever; as also all former Articles made with the Confederate Colonies.

'Lastly, The said Councillors and Attorneys do premeditatedly, seriously, and upon good advice, Covenant, Conclude and Agree all abovesaid solemnly, and call God to witness they are, and shall remain true Friends to the English Government, and perform the above said Articles punctually, using their utmost endeavour, care and faithfulness therein: In Witness whereof they have set their Hands and Seals. Petaquanscot July 15. 1675.

'Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the presence of us underwritten, being carefully interpreted to the said Indians before sealing.

Tawageson his Mark C.  
Taytson his Mark D.  
Agamaug his Mark T.  
Wampsh, alias Corman his  
Mark X.'

Daniel Henchman.  
Thomas Prentice.  
Nicholas Paige.  
Joseph Stanton † Interpreter  
Henry Hawlaws. ‡  
Pecot Bukow. ‡  
Job Neff. ‡

"During this Treaty of peace with the *Narhagansets*, Captain [James] *Cudworth* with the Forces of *Plimouth* under his Command, found something to do nearer home, though of another nature as it proved, *sc.* to make War whilst the other were (as they thought) making Peace: in the first place therefore he dispatched Captain [Mathew] *Fuller* (joyning Lieutenant [Benjamin] *Church* together with him in Commission) with fifty in his Company to *Pocasset*, on the same account, as the other went to *Narhaganset*, either to conclude a Peace with them, if they would continue Friends, and give Hostages for the confirmation thereof, or fight them if they should declare themselves Enemies, and join with *Philip*; himself intending to draw down

\* The Boston Merchant writing to his friend in London on 10 Nov. 1675 said "That for every Indian's Head—Skin [scalp] they [the Narragansetts] brought they should have a Coat (*i.e.* two yards of Trucking Cloth, worth five Shillings *per* yard here) and for every one they bring alive two Coats: for King *Philips* Head, Twenty Coats, and if taken alive Forty Coats. These went out and returned in fourteen days time bringing with them about Eighteen Heads in all" [Drake's *Old Indian Chronicle* (1836), p. 18].

† Joseph Stanton was the well-known Indian interpreter of Connecticut.

‡ These Indian witnesses were probably some of the friendly praying Indians around Boston. On 6 July 1675 Capt. Isaac Johnson with a small English escort convoyed from Boston to Mount Hope 52 Indians raised by Major Gookin. For some reason, a part of these Indians were sent back to Boston with Captain Johnson on 10 July 1675 [Bodge, p. 159]. Seventeen of these praying Indians remained in Plymouth Colony on 30 July and these were with Capt. Daniel Henchman.



his forces to *Rehoboth*, to be ready for a speedy march to *Taunton*, and so down into the other side of the Country; upon the news that some of the enemy were burning and spoiling of *Middleburrough* and *Dartmouth*, two small Villages lying in the way [24] betwixt *Pocasset* and *Plimouth*

“Upon Thursday, *July 7*, Captain [Mathew] *Fuller* with Captain [Benjamin] *Church* went into *Pocasset* to seek after the enemy, or else as occasion might serve to treat with those *Indians* at *Pocasset*, with whom Mr. *Church* was very well acquainted, always holding good correspondence with them: After they had spent that day and most of the night, in traversing the said *Pocasset Neck*, and Watching all night in an House which they found there, yet could hear no tidings of any *Indians*; insomuch that Captain [Mathew] *Fuller* began to be weary of his design: Mr. *Church* in the meanwhile assuring him, that they should find *Indians* before it were long: yet for greater expedition they divided their company, Captain *Fuller* taking down towards the sea-side, where it seems after some little skirmishing with them, wherein one man only received a small wound, he either saw or heard too many *Indians* for himself and his Company to deal with, which made him and them betake themselves to an House near the Water-side, from whence they were fetched off by a Sloop before night to *Road-Island*.

“Captain [Lieut.] *Church* (for so may he well be stiled after this time) marched further into the *Neck*, imagining, that if they were *Indians* in the Neck, they should find them about a Peas-field not far off; as soon as ever they came near the said Field, he espied two *Indians* in the Pease, who also had at the same time espied him, and presently making some kind of shout, a great number of *Indians* came about the Field, pursuing the said Capt. *Church* and his men in great numbers to the sea-side: there being not above fifteen with *Church*, yet seven or eight score of the *Indians* pursuing after them. Now was a fit time for this young Captain and his small company to handsel their valour upon this great rout of *Indians*, just ready to devour them: But Victory stands no more in the number of Soldiers, than Verity in the plurality of voices: And although some of these fifteen had scarce courage enough for themselves, yet their captain had enough for himself, and some to spare for his Friends, which he there had an opportunity of improving to the full.

“When he saw the hearts of any of his followers to fail, he would bid them be of good courage and fight stoutly, and (possibly by some divine impression upon his heart) assured them that not a bullet of the Enemy should hurt any one of them; which one of the Company, more dismayed than the rest, could hardly believe, till he saw the proof of it in his own person; for the Captain perceiving the man was not able to fight, made him gather Rocks together for a kind of shelter and Barricado for the rest, that must either of necessity fight or fall by the Enemies.

“It chanced as this faint hearted Soldier had a flat stone in his arms, and was carrying it to the shelter that he was making [25] upon the Bank, a bullet of the Enemy was thus warded from his Body, by which he must else have perished, which experience put new life into him, so as he followed his business very manfully afterward; insomuch that they defended themselves under a small shelf hastily made up all that afternoon, not one being either slain or wounded, yet it was certainly known that they killed at least fifteen of their Enemies: and at the last, when they had spent all their Ammunition, and made their Guns unserviceable by often firing, they were fetched all off by Capt. *Goldings* \* Sloop, and carried safe to *Road-Island* in despite of all their Ene-

\* Roger Goulding, died before 1702; married at Newport, R. I., 1 Jan. 1675, Penelope, born 10 Feb. 1653, died after 1702, daughter of Governor Benedict and Damaris (Wescott) Arnold. On 12 Jan. 1702, widow Goulding, then wife of — Cutler, was appointed guardian of her son George Goulding, 17 years of age.

On 11 Aug. 1676, Capt. Roger Goulding and Maj. Peleg Sanford reported the discovery of Philip's hiding place to Captain Church who offered the honor of beating up Philip's headquarters to Captain Goulding who accepted, with the result that the next day Philip was shot and killed in Mount Hope swamp by Alderman, Captain Church's Indian.

At a court held at Plymouth 1 Nov. 1676 “Capt. Roger Goulden of Rhode Island who hath approued himselfe to be our constant, reall friend in the late warr, and very officious and healpful as occation hath bine, when as our armies and souldiers haue bin in those ptes, and haue had nes-



mies; yea, such was the bold and undaunted courage of this champion, Capt. *Church*, that he was not willing to leave any token behind of their flying for want of courage, that in the face of his Enemies he went back to fetch his Hat, which he had left at a Spring, whither the extream heat of the weather, and his labour in fighting had caused him to repair for the quenching of his thirst an hour or two before.

"It seems in the former part of the same day, five men coming from *Road Island*, to look up their Cattel upon *Pocasset Neck*, were assaulted by the same *Indians*, and one of the five was Capt. *Churches* Servant, who had his Leg broke in the Skirmish, the rest hardly escaping with their lives: this was the first time that ever any mischief was done by the *Indians* upon *Pocasset Neck*. Those of *Road-Island* were hereby alarmed to look to themselves, as well as the rest of the English of *Plimouth*, or the *Massachusetts-Colony*.

"This assault rather heightened and increased, than daunted the courage of Capt. *Church*; for not making a cowardly flight, but a fair retreat, which providence offered him by the Sloop aforesaid, after his Ammunition was spent, he did not stay long at *Road-Island*, but hasted over to the *Massachusetts Forces*, and borrowing three files of Men of Capt. *Henchman* with his Lieutenant, Mr. *Church* and he returned again to *Pocasset*, where they had another skirmish with the Enemy,\* wherein some few of them, fourteen or

sesite of transportation of our men to the said island, and otherwise very reddy to doe vs good, this court doth graunt vnto Capt. Roger Goulden one hundred acres of land vpon the northsyde of Seaconnet means linne" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. V, p. 214].

Roger Goulding was a freeman, Newport, 1 May 1677; taxed for £2:10:10 in 1680; Deputy, 1685; Major of the Island, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1690, and 1691. [Austin's *Gen. Dict. of R. I.*, p. 84.]

\* Church said: "The next day [9 July 1675] meeting with the rest of their little Company whom he had left at *Pocasset*, (that had also a small skirmish with the *Indians*, and had two Men Wounded) they return'd to the *Mount-hope* Garrison; which Mr. *Church* us'd to call the loofing Fort. Mr. *Church* then returning to the Island to seek Provision for the Army, meets with *Alderman*, a noted *Indian* [who shot and killed Philip on 12 Aug. 1676] that was just come over from the *Squaw Sachem's* Cape of *Pocasset*, having deserted from her, and had brought over his Family: Who gave him an account of the State of the *Indians*, and where each of the *Sagamores* head quarters were. Mr. *Church* then discours'd with some who knew the Spot well where the *Indians* said *Weetamores* head quarters were, and offered their Service to Pilot him. With this News he [12] hastned to the *Mount-hope* Garrison. The Army express'd their readiness to imbrace such an opportunity.

"All the ablest Souldiers were now immediately drawn off equip'd & dispatch'd upon this design, under the Command of a certain Officer: and having March'd about two Miles, viz. until they came to the Cove that lyes *S. W.* from the Mount, where orders was given for an halt. The Commander in Chief [the Lieutenant] told them he thought it proper to take advice before he went any further; called Mr. *Church* and the Pilot, and ask'd them, *How they knew that Philip and all his Men were not by that time got to Weetamores Camp; or that all her own Men were not by that time return'd to her again?* With many more frightful questions. Mr. *Church* told him, *they had acquainted him with as much as they knew, and that for his part he could discover nothing that need to discourage them from Proceeding, that he thought it so practicable, that he wiith the Pilot would willingly lead the way to the Spot and hazard the brunt.* But the Chief Commander insisted on this, *That the Enemies number were so great, and he did not know what numbers more might be added unto them by that time; And his Company so small, that he could not think it practicable to attack them.* Added moreover, *That if he was sure of killing all the Enemy, and knew that he must lose the Life of one of his Men in the action, he would not attempt it.* Pray Sir, then (Reply'd Mr. *Church*) *Please to lead your Company to yonder Windmill on Rhode-Island, and there they will be out of danger of being kill'd by the Enemy, and we shall have less trouble to supply them with Provisions.* But return he would, and did, unto the Garrison until more strength came to them: And a Sloop to transport them to the Fall [*Quequechan*] River, in order to visit *Weetamores Camp*" [Church's *Entertaining History* (Dexter Ed., 1865), vol. I, pp. 40-43].

Hubbard tells of Church, hastening from Rhode Island over "to the Massachusetts Forces and borring three files of Men of Capt. *Henchman* and his Lieutenant", and returning again to *Pocasset* where they had another skirmish with the enemy. Captain Church said that this lieutenant refused to fight and returned with his men to the garrison house. It appears that this lieutenant was Enoch Greenleaf, but additional research is necessary for absolute proof. The only officers credited with service in Captain *Henchman's* company at the time of the Mount Hope Expedition, that Bodge could find in his search of John Hull's Journal, were Lieut. Enoch Greenleaf, £4/10 on 3 Sept. 1675; Ensign Perez Savage, £2/8; and Ensign Thomas Wigfall, on 27 Aug. 1675 [Bodge, pp. 88-9].

In a roster, date unknown, but about the time of King Philip's War, Maj. Thomas Clarke was in command of the Suffolk Regiment. The officers for the 5th Boston company were: Capt. Daniel *Henchman*, Lieut. Hugh Drury, and Ensign Thomas Wing. The officers for the 7th Boston company were: Capt. Thomas Clarke, Jr., Lieut. Enoch Greenleaf, and Ensign Peter Townsend [Bodge, p. 473].





A half-size photographic reproduction of a section of the U. S. Geological Map, Massachusetts-Rhode Island, Fall River Quadrangle Survey, 1944 Edition, showing the Pocasset Cedar Swamp where one Plymouth Colony and five Massachusetts companies fought King Philip on 19 July 1675. When Philip escaped from the swamp on 29 July 1675, Capt. Daniel Henchman and his company of some 125 men were engaged in building a fort located between the southeastern side of this swamp and the shore of Mount Hope Bay on the west.







fifteen were slain, which struck such a terror into *Philip*, that he betook himself to the Swamps about *Pocasset*, where he lay hid till the return of the rest of the Forces from the *Narhagansets*, like a wild Boar kept at Bay by this small Party, till more hands came up.

"Thus were the *Plimouth* Forces busied, during the time of the Treaty with the *Narhagansets*, which being issued as it was.

"On Friday *July 15*, Our Forces marched for, and arrived at *Rehoboth*, where having no intelligence of the Enemy nearer than a great Swamp on *Pocasset*, eighteen miles from *Taunton*; they marched next day twelve miles to an House at *Matapoiset* (a small Neck of Land in the bottom [26] of *Taunton Bay*, in the mid-way between *Mount-hope* and *Pocasset-Neck*) from whence they marched for *Taunton*, *July 17*, whither after a tedious March of twenty miles they came in the evening, and found the People generally gathered into eight Garrison Houses:

"On Monday *July 18*, they marched eighteen miles before they could reach the Swamp where the Enemy was lodged: \* as soon as ever they came to the place, *Plimouth* Forces being now joined with them, our soldiers resolutely entred in amongst the Enemies, who took the advantage of the thick under-wood, to make a shot at them that first entred, whereby five were killed outright, seven more wounded, some of whose wounds proved mortal: After the first shot, the Enemy presently retired deeper into the Swamp, deserting their Wigwams (about an hundred in all) newly made of green Barks, so as they would not burn: in one of them they found an old man, who confessed that *Philip* had been lately there: having spent some time in searching the Swamp, and tired themselves to no purpose (yet it was said, one half hour more would have at that time utterly subdued *Philip* and all his power), the Commander in Chief (night drawing on apace) not thinking it safe to tarry longer in so dangerous a place (where every one was in as much danger of his fellows as of his foes, being ready to fire upon every Bush they see move (supposing *Indians* were there) † ordered a retreat to be sounded, that they might have time to dispose of their dead and wounded men, which accordingly was attended: *Plimouth* Forces who had entred the rear, retreating in the front.

"It was judged, that the enemy being by this means brought into a Pound, it would be no hard matter to deal with them, and that it would be needless charge to keep so many Companies of Soldiers together to wait upon such an inconsiderable Enemy, now almost as good as taken: whereupon most of the Companies belonging to the *Massachusetts* were drawn off, only Capt. *Henchman* with an hundred Foot being left there, together with *Plimouth* Forces, to attend the Enemies motion, being judged sufficient for that End.‡

Enoch <sup>2</sup> Greenleaf of Malden, a dyer, was probably born in England. He had an estate given him by his father in 1663 and removed to Boston. His father, Edmund <sup>1</sup> Greenleaf, came to Newbury about 1635 with wife Sarah and children Elizabeth, Judith, Enoch, and perhaps Daniel. He was a freeman, 13 Mar. 1639; head of militia under Gerrish, 1644; removed to Boston, about 1650; admitted an inhabitant, 27 Sept. 1654; and died in 1671 [Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, vol. II, p. 308].

\* Mather said: "*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 [5] 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 *English men* 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" [Mather's *Brief History* (Drake Ed., 1862), p. 62].

† "It is said that the *Indians* encased themselves in green Boughs, and thus deceived their Pursuers" [*Ibid.*, p. 63].

‡ Samuel G. Drake in his edition of Hubbard's *Narrative*, points out that "the Army Transactions thus far are pretty sharply criticized by Captain Church and apparently with justice; and probably his frank and honest manner will explain why he was not sooner in important commands."



Major *Savage*, Capt. *Paige*, with Capt. *Mosely* and their Companies, returned to *Boston*: Capt. *Prentice* with his Troop were ordered toward *Mendham*,\* where it seems, about the middle of *July* † some *Indians* wishing well to *Philips* design, had made an assault upon some of the inhabitants, as they were at their labour in the field, killing five or six of them: as soon as they had done, flying away into the Woods, so as they could not easily be pursued" [Hubbard's *Narrative* (Drake Ed., 1865), vol. I, pp. 67-86].

The foregoing is the complete history of the five-company Massachusetts Military Expedition to Mount Hope, Plymouth Colony, from 26 June to 19 July 1675 as written by the contemporary historians. At best the record is an inadequate outline of this twenty-four day campaign.

The day after the Pocasset Swamp fight, Capt. James Cudworth,

\* The town of Mendon originally bordered the northeast corner of the Rehoboth North Purchase in the part that is now the City of Woonsocket, R. I. Ousamequin, King Philip's father, claimed Sachemship over the *Nipmuck* Indians in this territory. The inhabitants of the two towns were closely associated and an early Rehoboth town meeting voted to lay out a road to Mendon. In 1660 some of the inhabitants of Braintree petitioned the court for a plantation at Mendon. A settlement was soon made at *Netmock* or *Nipmug*, and at Dorchester on 22 July 1662 the names of thirteen persons from Braintree and ten from Weymouth were registered as settlers. At Dedham, 30 Dec. 1663, Jonathan Basse and the "young man of Seaconke" that came with him, were accepted as inhabitants.

At a meeting held at Roxbury 5 Apr. 1664, the "Committee of *Nipmug*" granted Benjamin Alby, "for the encourageing of erecting a Corne Mill at *Netmocke*" a twenty acre lot and a fifty acre lot, the latter "neere the place where the Mill shall be erected on the side of the River that is the farthest from the Towne".

At a General Court held at Boston 15 May 1667, in answer to a petition of the inhabitants of a new plantation called *Squinsshepauke*, the name was changed to "Mendon", to belong to the county of Middlesex. On 14 July 1667, Benjamin Albee and Thomas Barnes had shares of meadow allowed them. In 1668 Benjamin Alby and two others were Commissioners for Mendon. In 1669 he and two others laid out land [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. IV, pt. II, p. 584]. In the same year, 50 acres of land was given to "Benjamin Alby about his labor concerning the Mill" together with a 20 acre house lot and the 20 acre house lot that "his son in law Thomas Barnes Dwells on is to have all privilegedes in the town as other 20 acre house lots shall have is confirmed" [*Metcalf's Annals of the Town of Mendon* (1880)].

On 19 May 1670, Benjamin Alby and his son-in-law Thomas Barnes were listed as *second rank* inhabitants at Swansea.

† Mather said: "For *July* 14. the *Nipnep* (or *Nipmuck*) *Indians* began their mischief at a town called *Mendam* (had we mended 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 [in this war] 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?*

"In the [6] 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 *Nipnet 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 [19th August] 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.

"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 succor, and now also (as since we have understood) did *Philip* with his broken Party come to *Quabaog*" [*Mather's Brief History* (Drake Ed., 1862), pp. 63-67].

In 1675 Captain Wheeler wrote a narrative on this Brookfield (*Quabaog*) fight. It is a small quarto pamphlet of 20 pages, first published in the N. H. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, vol. II (1827), and reprinted in Foot's *Hist. of Brookfield*.



commander-in-chief of the Plymouth forces, wrote the following letter \* to Governor Josiah Winslow. This letter is important, for it gives the viewpoint of the commander-in-chief of the Plymouth forces. We learn for the first time of Captain Cudworth's unrecorded skirmish of 16 July, in which he had two men killed and four wounded; also, of the death of the captain of the *Forlorn*, probably the Plymouth Colony supply vessel, and many other facts not mentioned by the contemporary historians. Captain Cudworth's letter follows:

*From the garrison on Mount-Hope neck,  
the 20th of July, 1675.*

Much Honoured

Yours of the 18th instant came by the post to me about eight o'clock at night. Understanding that you are unacquainted with our present condition, and the state of things at present amongst us; the account of which, by a post on Saturday last, I gave you of things as they then were, and this day, by post, acquainted with what has fallen out since; but lest they might miss of coming to your hand. On Friday last [16 July] I marched out with about an hundred and twenty men, to search for Philip and squaw sachem [Weeta-moe]; and as we were marching, we saw two Indians, one was shot down, the other fled; and before we killed him, he declared by pointing, whereabout the squaw sachem was, and whereabout Philip was; so we marched to find out the squaw sachem; and in our travel were fired upon out of the bushes, and in and out of swamps were fired at, and we had a hot dispute, especially when we were to go near to a swamp; in which skirmish we came to the place of rendezvous [Indian camp], but squaw and children fled. We have lost two men, and four more wounded. On Monday [19 July] following we went to see if we could discover Philip, the Bay forces being now with us; and in our march, two miles before we came to the place of rendezvous, the captain of the *Forlorn* was shot down dead; three more were then killed or died that night, and five or six more dangerously wounded. The place we found was a hideous dismal swamp [Pocasset Cedar Swamp]; the house or shelter, they had to lodge in, contained, in space, the quantity of four acres of ground, standing thick together; but all women and children fled, only one old man, that we took there, who said, *Wittoma* was there that day, and that Philip had been there the day before, and that Philip's place of residence was about half a mile off; which we could make no discovery of, because the day was spent, and we having dead men and wounded men to draw off. Also the old man told me, that in the skirmish we had with him on Friday [16 July], that we killed seven men, and hurt and wounded divers others. Now so it is, that we judge it not our work to assault him at such disadvantages; for the issue of such a design will be to pick off our men, and we shall never be able to obtain our end in this way, for they fly before us, from one swamp to another. Now that which we consider to be best, is to maintain our garrison [at Mount Hope], though but with twenty men, and that there be another garrison at *Pocassett*; and to have a flying army, to be in motion to keep the Indians from destroying our cattle, and fetching in supply of food; which being attended, will bring them to great straits; and therefore we judge it best not to give up our garrison until further order; and we see a necessity, that divers of our men should come home, being tired and worn out by labour and travel, by wants and straits; for indeed we have been sadly on it, upon account of provision; and unless some more effectual course may be taken for the future, there is no possibility for men to hold out; so that we judge an hundred men, at least, must be for the garrison and army; and we judge a flying army about the town, that may be helpful to get in men's harvests,

\* This is another one of those edited letters which unfortunately has been changed by modernizing the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. Much can be learned from these original letters when printed *verbatim*. When edited, however, they all appear to be the products of university men. His letter dated 16 Jan. 1673, which follows later, has also been edited.

and so to fly from one town to another, whose constant motion will keep the enemy in fear.

How these will come to be provided for, I cannot yet see. Pray let us hear from you, and be further ordered by you what to do; not intending to break up, or come away, until things be brought, by order from you, to better settlement. So craving pardon, ever resting yours to serve you,

James Cudworth

To Governor Josiah Winslow

[1 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. VI (1800), pp. 84-5.]

A General Court held at Plymouth 17 Dec. 1673, upon serious consideration of the seizure of several vessels by the Dutch at New York, voted to raise an expedition of one hundred men to go against the Dutch "by march or voyage". The officers chosen were: Capt. James Cudworth, Lieut. John Gorham, and Ensign Micaell Peirse; Serjants William Witherell, Thomas Harvey, John Witherell, and Philip Leonard. Capt. Mathew Fuller was chosen surjeañ generall for the expedition. Wages per day to be,—for a captain, 6s.; Lieutenant, 5s.; ensign, 4s.; Serjant, 3s; drummer 2s.6d.; and to a private soldier, 2s. [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. V, p. 136]. Peace was declared the next spring, so that there was no need for an expedition.

In the following letter to Governor Winslow, Captain Cudworth refused to accept the command of this expedition:

Scituate the 16th of January 1673.

To the much Honored Josiah Winslow

Governor of New-Plymouth.

Much Honored,

My service and due respects being presented; yours of the 19th of December, 1673, came to my hands the last day of that month; wherein your honour acquainted me, that the General Court, by a clear vote, have pitched upon myself to command an hundred men, in joining with the rest, in prosecuting the expedition against the Dutch; and hitherto I have been silent in returning your honour an answer, partly because, though there is some preparation, yet no determination, of any sudden going forth; neither, indeed, will the season admit of such an undertaking at present; also the many urgent occasions and pressing necessities of my own, has longer detained me than indeed has been meet. Hoping those considerations, though they will not justify, yet they may, in some measure, excuse my neglect herein.

Concerning the design, how well grounded and warranted such an undertaking is, to me seems doubtful, peradventure it may be my ignorance; and I do apprehend we are in great straight; but whether to sit still, or to be doing, will be best, it is too hard for any to determine. But whether we do the one, or the other, trouble and disquietment threatens to be our portion. However, it does behove all, that are to be principal actors in such a design, to be clear in themselves, not only concerning the lawfulness, but also how expedient such an undertaking may be; then they may, with more comfort and courage, manage that part of the works they are designed unto.

Sir, I do unfeignedly and most ingenuously receive the Court's valuation and estimation of me, in preferring me to such a place. It is not below me, or beneath me, (as some deem theirs to be), but is above me, and far beyond any desert of mine; and had the Court been well acquainted with my insufficiency for such an undertaking, doubtless I should not have been in nomination; neither would it have been their wisdom to hazard the cause and lives of their men upon an instrument so unaccomplished for the well-management of so great concern.

So being persuaded to myself of my own insufficiency, it appears clearly and undoubtedly unto me, that I have no call of God thereunto; for vox.



*populi* is not always *vox Dei*; and therefore I cannot, in any thing, give a more full and real demonstration of my loyalty and faithfulness unto my king and country, than in declaring my unfitness for the acceptation of the management of such a design; and should I embrace and accept of the call, knowing my own insufficiency for the work, what should I less, than what in me lies, but betray the cause and lives of men into the hands of the enemy.

Learned, judicious, and worthy Mr. Ward, in his animadversions to war, says, that the inexperience of a captain hath been the ruin of armies, and destruction of commonwealths; and that, in the time of peace, every brave fellow desires to be honoured with the name and charge of a captain; but when war is approaching, and the enemy at hand, they quake, their swords out of their scabbards, and had rather make use, in fight, of their wings, than of their talons. Beside, it is evident unto me, upon other considerations, I am not called of God, unto this work, at this time.

The estate and condition of my family is such, as will not admit of such a thing; being such as can hardly be paralleled; which was well known unto some, but it was not well nor friendly done as to me, nor faithfully as to the country, if they did not lay my condition before the Court. My wife, as is well known to the whole town, is not only a weak woman, and has so been all along; but now, by reason of age, being sixty-seven years and upwards, and nature decaying, so her illness grows more strongly upon her, never a day passes, but she is forced to rise at break of day, or before; she cannot lay for want of breath; and when she is up, she cannot light a pipe of tobacco, but must be lighted for her; and until she has taken two or three pipes, for want of breath, she is not able to stir; and she has never a maid.

That day your letter came to my hands, my maid's year being out, she went away, and I cannot get nor hear of another.—And then, in regard of my occasions abroad, for the tending and looking after all my creatures, the fetching home my hay, that is yet at the place where it grew, getting of wood, going to mill, and for the performing all other family occasions, I have none but a small Indian boy, about thirteen years of age, to help me. Also, a man that goes forth upon such a design, ought to set his house in order, and to settle his outward estate, so as though he never were to return again.

And your honour knows how I am blocked up there in respect of the difference and contest betwixt my brother Hoare and myself, which behoves me to stand as it were upon guard, to defend my just interest; and if God should take me away, my poor family, in all likelihood, cannot expect but to be great sufferers by him. Sir, I can truly say, that I do not in the least wave the business out of any discontent in my spirit, arising from any former difference; for the thought of all which is, and shall be, forever buried, so as not to come in remembrance though happily such a thing may be too much fomented; neither out of an effeminate or dastardly spirit; but as freely willing to serve my king and my country as any man whatsoever, in what I am capable and fitted for; but do not understand that a man is so called to serve his country with the inevitable ruin and destruction of his own family; neither indeed can it be imagined, that such an one can manage his business with any comfort and courage abroad, when, by reason of his absence, things are like to succeed so ill at home; neither can he expect a blessing of God upon his undertakings. These things being premised, I know your honour's wisdom and prudence to be such, as that you will, upon serious consideration thereof, conclude, that I am not called of God to embrace the call of the General Court.

Sir, when I consider the Court's act, in pitching their thoughts upon me, I have many musings, what should be the reasons moving them thereunto; I conceive it cannot be, that I should be thought to have more experience and better abilities than others; for you, with many others, do well know, that when I entered upon military employ, I was very raw in the theoretick part of war, and less acquainted with the practical part; and it was not long I sustained my place, in which I had occasions to bend my mind and thoughts that way; but was discharged thereof, and of other public concern; and therein I took *vox populi* to be *vox Dei*; and that God did thereby call and de-



sign me to sit still, and be sequestered from all public transactions; which condition suits me so well that I have received more satisfaction and contentment therein, than ever I did in sustaining any public place.

You also well know, that there are many settled and established military commission officers in this colony, who have sustained their place double and treble the time I sustained mine, which doubtless has given them large and fair opportunity to gain more experience, and to attain greater experience in military affairs than, in reason, can be expected from me; so that my not embracing the court's call cannot be a prejudice and detriment to the country, but a benefit and advantage, in causing them to make a better choice of some more able, and better experienced in affairs of that nature.

Sir, in all this I have not dealt feignedly nor fraudulently with you; but really and truly; hoping it will be so accepted and taken; desiring the Almighty to so endow you with all wisdom, for the management of such concerns as you are called to be exercised in; that all under you may live a peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty; and so prays he, that is willing, wherein he may, to serve you, Sir, who is

your humble servant,  
James Cudworth.

[1 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. VI (1800), pp. 80–83.]

Captain Cudworth was in command of the Plymouth forces at the outbreak of King Philip's War. Well over seventy years of age, his two letters are important, for they give us the only clear picture we have of him. After reading his letters, it is easy to conclude that he played a dominant part in the regrettable decision to discontinue the fight in Pocasset Cedar Swamp on 19 July 1675.

On 27 Jan. 1675/6, some 300 Indians attacked Pawtuxet, burned William Harris' house and about 50 loads of hay; killed his son, drove away 50 cows and 80 horses. Harris fled to Rhode Island, where he recorded the news of the war from reports brought in by various messengers. On 12 Aug. 1676, he wrote a long letter, some 6,500 words, to Sir Joseph Williamson, the King's Secretary of State, detailing the progress of King Philip's War.

Containing much information found nowhere else, this letter is an extremely important addition to the contemporaneous records of King Philip's War. The original is in the British Public Record Office, London, Colonial Papers, vol. XXXXII, No. 47, a transcript of which is printed in the "Harris Papers" (with notes by Dr. Clarence S. Brigham), *Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. X (1902), pp. 162–179. The following few excerpts show the importance of the letter:

" . . . allsoe formerly I haue told phillip (after he plotted against y<sup>e</sup> English) that he aboue all other Indeans should loue y<sup>e</sup> English & be true to them, for, had it not bin for y<sup>e</sup> plimoth old plantors (now dead) ye narragansets had then cutt of his fathers head (then called Mas-sa-soyt, since was called Osa-mea-quen, whom I knew forty years since . . .

"And that y<sup>e</sup> war was not only Just with Phillip but y<sup>e</sup> narragansets allsoe, for y<sup>t</sup> many of them wear with phillip in y<sup>e</sup> first fight\* (aboute mounte hope)

\* On 25 June 1675, Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas wrote Gov. Josiah Winslow the following letter from Swanzy telling of the Indian massacre that took place the day before. On the same day, Roger Williams wrote a letter to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr. See *ante*, page 53. Lieutenant Thomas confirmed Williams' report that Uncas had sent Philip 20 men and added the information that Masup [now called Canonicus] sent Philip word that if he would send him six English heads the Indians in the country would join him.

Swanzy Jun 25: 75

Right Honoured Sir

A particular account of our arrival here & the Sad providence that yesterday fell our at Matta-



And when phillip fled from thence y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> narragansets fled to narraganset, and y<sup>e</sup> narragansets sachems or rulers confesed them theyr men and were conducted with a great woman [*Awasunks*] of phillips party & her men to narraganset, wherevpon y<sup>e</sup> English demanded of y<sup>e</sup> narragansets why they receiued & shelltered theyr enemyes, and demanded them, but y<sup>e</sup> narragansets did not deliuer them, but entered into articles to deliuer phillips men, & theyr enemyes y<sup>t</sup> came among them, but did not, yet then makeing large pretences of peace, intending noe thing les, but they thought that if they should by a suden war lose theyr haruest: y<sup>t</sup> then it would soone disable them to continew y<sup>e</sup> war.

“Allsoe they receiued of y<sup>e</sup> English rewards: as if they had taken of some of phillips mens heads, but y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> heads (some of them) doubtles wear heads of Indeans y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> English & theyr confederates had killd, or els: some heads of others y<sup>t</sup> they slew y<sup>t</sup> wear run from them: to phillip formerly: for fear of being put to death by y<sup>e</sup> narragansets for supposed ofences committed against y<sup>e</sup> narragansets, or others of phillips men y<sup>t</sup> in time of peace contrauerted for phillip against y<sup>e</sup> narragansets . . . & soe tooke y<sup>t</sup> time to reueng themselues on them (when fallen into disstres & into theyr hands: for supposed deliuerance: willing to shelter themselues vnder them) and as to ye last sort against Whome they had such spleen: some of them I knew: & heard them debate, y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> defferences in open courte at Rhode Island, y<sup>e</sup> defference arose about a man (to say) an Indean y<sup>t</sup> liued at Rhode Island: y<sup>t</sup> kild his wife & a man y<sup>t</sup> (he sd) lay with her, y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> man was tryd & condemnd for y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> murder, but because he killd two, y<sup>e</sup> sachems s<sup>d</sup> they would haue two to put to death for y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> two killd, and out of phillips men, for y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> murdered wear related to y<sup>e</sup> narragansets: and y<sup>e</sup> murderor to phillip.

“The narragansets allsoe would haue had y<sup>e</sup> murderor to haue cast him bound into a fire, but y<sup>e</sup> court would not admit it . . . whereat: y<sup>e</sup> narragansets shewed great indignation & s<sup>d</sup>, that before y<sup>e</sup> English came: they could doe what they list with phillips party, and phillips partty pleaded theyr exemption from them, & theyr owne absolute power, and soe stood theyr defference; and one (a chiefe interpreter among them then) his head was brought to y<sup>e</sup> English by y<sup>e</sup> narragansets & tooke a reward as for killing one of phillips men, but doubtles y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> man (whome I had knowne neer forty year) was slayn by y<sup>e</sup> English: and then y<sup>e</sup> narragansets got his head: to get y<sup>e</sup> reward, & to keep of (for y<sup>t</sup> present) y<sup>e</sup> war, . . . y<sup>e</sup> narragansets had then among them many of phillips partty: whome they neither deliuered vp to y<sup>e</sup> English, nor brought in theyr heads, which shews they did all in deceite; yea, & all this while vp in y<sup>e</sup> country about hadley & deerfield & there aboute ayd phillip: and others of theyr party: against y<sup>e</sup> English to y<sup>e</sup> doing of very great mischief; And further, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> heads pretended to be taken of by y<sup>e</sup> narragansets from liueing men of phillips; as enemyes to ye English: seems not to be belieued . . .

“They marched after phillip in a few files: some miles long, & shot at ye greene shrubes (when they saw not y<sup>e</sup> enemy) . . . but at y<sup>e</sup> last found phillip in a swamp therabouts, and fought him, but did him litle hurt, and he them some allsoe, but when they had got allmoste to him: a retreat was sounded which drew them out of y<sup>e</sup> swamp, & ye Indeans followed them: & fought

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poine of the Lose of 6 men without doubt; you have from our Generall, which may I desire be an indusement to you to Strengthen our Towns that are weakened by our departure since the Indians doe throe exploits one out Houses & Straggled persons: it is reported Credibly [that] Uncuse Sent Phillip 20 men Last Saturday wa [ ] fonight; & Mausup Sent him word that if he Sent him 6 English heads then all the Indians in the Cuntry were ingaged against the English Sir our men are all well & Cherfull: through Gods mercy Send not your Southward mento us but secure your Selves with them; & Send us help from the Matashusets which is our Generalls & Counsells advice; the forces here are disperced to Seuerall places of the Towne & Some to rehoboth which this day we Intend to draw into a narrow compas which when we have done We intend to Lay ambushment in the Indians Walks to cut of there men as they doe to cut off our men for their present michon is to Send forth Scouts to ly in our walks to make disorder & Cut of our men I pray Sir rember me to my wife & bid her be of good Chire the Lord is our keeper our Soldiers here desire to be remembered to their wives & friends Will: ford is well of his Ague thus desiring your Honr & all gods Peoples prayers for us I remain your Honours Sarvant

Nath Thomas

them: as they marched away, but then y<sup>e</sup> Indeans would not agayne be founde; soe ye English marched home to y<sup>e</sup> bay (y<sup>t</sup> wear of ye bay) . . .

“phillip then takeing his march vp into y<sup>e</sup> Country, & some of his men haueing wounded a man at prouidence, & burnt some houses, prouidence men were willing to be with him, hearing he was to pas by ralied aboute thirty or thirty fiae, & went to ly in ambush for him, but he was gon by, & while they were lookeing him, ther came to them aboute thirty & fiae more of Rehoboth & tanton, two townes of plimoth patent, soone after them forty Indeans confederates with y<sup>e</sup> English, in all about a hundered (y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Indeans were vnckcas his men, A sachem in Conecticot patent) . . . And neer night came neer to phillip, in y<sup>e</sup> morning they followed agayne, vntill they met with phillips scoute, whome they shott dead, but phillip heard y<sup>a</sup> gun: & got redy, and instantly y<sup>e</sup> English came vp with them: & fought them & killd about fifty of phillips, & phillip hardly escaped: he left his powder: & stafe for haste, and fled vp into y<sup>e</sup> Country (but a great woman [*Weetmoe*] with phillip then, but left him & went with some narragansets to narraganset) . . .

“Allso a great mulltitude of Indeans came downe out of y<sup>e</sup> country: in one body, they met with one captayne pierce at a place neer Rehoboth called blackstones River, where he with aboute seuenty lusty vallyent men were fallen into an Ambush of allmoste all y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> thousand Indeans: & foute with them till they had spent theyr amminition: which when y<sup>e</sup> Indeans perceiued they ran vpon them: & slew all saue some few, whoe fought throughe them & fled, but they slew many of y<sup>e</sup> Indeans. The s<sup>d</sup> thousand came to rehoboth & there they burnt such houses as were not fortifyde & killd one man y<sup>t</sup> they found out of y<sup>e</sup> garrison from thence they came to prouidence and there burnt many houses vnfortifyd, and killd two persons y<sup>t</sup> wear ouf of y<sup>e</sup> garrisons And killd much cattell, And then went to patuxet & ther burnt some houses & an empty garriso, and fought against another, and shott fire vpon arrowes forty or fifty, but y<sup>e</sup> English put them out.

“It is supposed y<sup>e</sup> English haue lost fifteen hundered soules in this war (men, women, & children) in a towne called Rehoboth (aboute three miles from prouidence within plimoth patent, they presed there for y<sup>e</sup> war with y<sup>e</sup> Indeans) aboute y<sup>e</sup> proportion of one of six, and yet y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> towne a frontteer towne, at which time I think they say theyr whole forces English & Indeans was to be thirteen hundered, yea such resolution hath bin: y<sup>t</sup> If need had required (It was s<sup>d</sup>) they would haue gon out one of three of y<sup>e</sup> whole, they now in furtherance of y<sup>e</sup> war make powder allsoe.

“Captayne Benjamine Church of Plimoth & Captayne Pealeg Sanford of Rhode Island each of them with forty men & y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> phillip shott through y<sup>e</sup> heart by an Indean [*Alderman*] y<sup>t</sup> liues on Rhode Island and his head & hands are now on y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Island, here being one Mr Moore\* now bounde for y<sup>e</sup> north of England I will at y<sup>e</sup> next conuenyent opertunity make bolde to derect these by him to your Honnor . . .”

\* It is interesting to note that the last of the five Indian War letters, written by the Merchant of Boston to his friend in London, was carried to England by Caleb Moore, the same shipmaster who had in his possession, when he sailed from Rhode Island for England, William Harris' letter to Sir Joseph Williamson, the King's Secretary of State. From Newport the vessel went to Boston, where the shipmaster took aboard the Boston Merchant's letter—"The warr in England visably ended, Being a True and Perfect Account brought in by *Caleb More*, Master of a Vessel newly Arrived from *Rhode Island*". The Boston letter was licensed 4 November and "Published for general Satisfaction" at London; "printed by F. B. for Dorman Newman at the King's Arms in Poultry, 1677". See *ante*, page 6.



## CHAPTER IV

### KING PHILIP'S TWO ESCAPES

On 29 July 1675, ten days after the four Massachusetts companies were sent home in the belief that Philip and the squaw sachem Weetamoe\* were safely holed up in the Pocasset Swamp, both Indian leaders escaped. Accompanied by a party of Indians said to have numbered more than two hundred, Philip and Weetamoe crossed the Taunton River and headed northwest through Swansea and over the Seekonk Plains, where they were discovered and pursued by Rehoboth men until they forded the Pawtucket River into the town of Providence.

The pursuit was continued in Providence by the English, and in a battle fought three days later, at a place called Nipsachuck in the town of Providence, Philip was defeated with the loss of twenty-three men, including several of his chief captains, and fled into a nearby swamp. One hour after the battle ended, Capt. Daniel HENCHMAN arrived with reinforcements, numbering some eighty-five men, and took over command. Instead of following up his advantage, he rested that day and night and did not start his pursuit until the following day, allowing Philip and a few warriors to escape to the *Nipmuck* Indians, while Weetamoe with one hundred or more Indians, mostly women and children, escaped to the *Narragansetts*.

\* Weetamoe or *Namumpam*, squaw sachem of Pocasset, married, as her first husband, *Wamsitta* or *Nooanam*, alias Alexander, Philip's brother. Philip married Weetamoe's sister *Wootonckanuske*. After the death of her first husband Weetamoe married, secondly, Benjamin *Petananuett*, the name corrupted by the English into "Peter Nunnuit". He joined the English on the outbreak of the war, but she did not follow her husband as he appears to have expected. She married, thirdly, *Quanopen*, a Narragansett chieftain who was a near relative and second in command to *Nenanantentt* in the Narragansett Fort fight on 19 Dec. 1675. He was executed at Newport, R. I., 26 Aug. 1676.

At the Plymouth Court, 3 June 1662, "*Tatacomuncah*, an Indian, complained against *Wamsitta* for selling a neck of land called *Seaconett* which he said belonged to him—also, a squa sachem called *Namumpam* [Weetamoe] complained against him. Also, the court considered the differences between Philip, sachem of *Sowams*, and *Quiquequanchett* and *Namumpam*, his wife, for entertaining some *Narragansett* Indians that were with them against the will of Philip. At the same court, Richard Sisson, aged about sixty, testified that the deed of gift made by *Namumpam* to John Sanford and himself was a cheat, the intent to deceive *Namumpam*, squa sachem of her land—they to have corn and peague to secure her land from *Wamsutta* or Peter Talmon and to resign up the deed at her demand" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. IV, pp. 17, 24, 186].

On 27 Mar. 1673 a document was recorded testifying as to a tract of land bounded easterly by a small river or brook called by the Indians *Mastucksett* which compasseth the said tract of land to *Assonett* River and so to *Taunton* River and bounded northerly by land belonging to the English men—the whole tract had for many years been in the peaceful possession of *Piowan*. Signed by the mark of Benjamine, the husband of *Wetamo*; *Wetamo*, Squaw Sachem, her marke; *Pantause*, his marke; *Quanowin*, his marke; *Nescancoo*, his marke; and *Panowwin*, his marke [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. XII, p. 242].

On 27 June 1673, six Indians headed by "Benjamine the husband of *Wetamo* and *Wetamo* Squa Sachem" signed a document stating that for many years a place by the name of *Chippascutt* near the *Assonett* and *Taunton* Rivers had been in the possession of an Indian named *Piowan* [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. XII, p. 242].

On 22 July 1676 it was ordered by the Court that the Indians who gave themselves up to the government for mercy, should live on the west side of *Sepecan* River and so westward to *Dartmouth* bounds. Three Indians, "*Numpus*, *Isaac*, and Ben *Petananuett*" shall have the inspection of them. This order was confirmed again on 1 Nov. 1676 to "*Numpas*, *Isacke*, and Ben Sachem, alias, *Petananuett*" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. V, pp. 210, 215].



The account of Philip's escape and subsequent pursuit and fight as given in history books is one of the best examples of the paucity of our histories of King Philip's War. It indicates clearly the lack of original research by later historians who have been content to copy the contemporaneous histories written by Mather and Hubbard without realizing that both writers clearly suppressed the facts as known to them. Hubbard's account of Philip's escape is the fuller of the two, but is not accurate in many details. He did, however, give a hint or intimation to all later historians that there was much more to the affair than he had written, for he said "but what the reason was why *Philip* was followed no further is better to suspend than to too critically Enquire". But so far as the historians for the last two and three-quarter centuries are concerned, this hint fell on stony ground and never germinated.

Surprising as it may seem, the first Indian battle in King Philip's War fought on Rhode Island soil, and in which the first Rhode Island blood was shed, has been overlooked by most of the Rhode Island historians. Staples, in his *Annals of Providence* (1843), made no mention of the Pocasset Swamp Fight or of Philip's escape and the subsequent battle in the north end of the town of Providence. Arnold, in his *History of the State of Rhode Island* (1859), vol. I, p. 399, devoted four lines to the Pocasset Swamp Fight and disposed of the Providence fight by saying that Philip, accompanied by Weetamoe, withdrew from the swamp and hastened to join the Nipmucks.

Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, wife of Rev. Joseph Rowlandson, was taken captive by the Indians on 10 Feb. 1676 at the burning of Lancaster and later escaped to the English. She wrote an interesting narrative of her captivity. She stated that "she was purchased by a Narragansett chief named *Quinnapin* [*Panoquin, Sowagonish*], nephew of *Miantonnomo*, who had three wives, one of whom was Weetamoe. The third squaw was a younger one by whom he had two papooses. My master had three squaws living sometimes with one and sometimes with another. *Onux*, the old squaw at whose wigwam I was and with whom my master had been the past three weeks".

Mrs. Rowlandson, who served Weetamoe as a slave, described her as "a severe and proud dame she was; bestowing every day in dressing herself near as much time as any of the gentry of the land: Powdering her hair, and painting her face, going with her necklaces, with jewels in her ears, and bracelets upon her hands. When she had dressed herself, her work was to make girdles of wampom and beads. On one occasion she was dressed in a kersey coat covered with girdles of wampom. Her arms from her elbows to her hands were covered with bracelets; there were handfuls of necklaces about her neck and several sorts of jewels in her ears. She had fine red stockings, and white shoes, her hair powdered, and her face painted red, that was always before black" [*Narrative of the Captivity, Suffering and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (Boston, Ed. 1773), p. 29].

Weetamoe returned to Plymouth Colony with Philip; arriving at Mattapoiset, she was pursued by a company of English, and in attempting to raft herself across to Pocasset was drowned, 6 Aug. 1676, and her body washed ashore at Mattapoiset where the English found it, cut off the head, carried it to Taunton and stuck it on a pole without knowing whose head it was until some Indian prisoners cried out that it was their queen's head. Six days later, 12 August, Philip was killed at Mount Hope by *Alderman*, one of Weetamoe's Pocasset warriors who early joined the English.

At the Court Martial of the Indians held at Newport, R. I., 24 Aug. 1676, "*Quanopen* [husband of Weetamoe] admitted that he was in arms against the English; that he was in the Swamp Fight; had nothing to say against the Indians burning and destroying *Pettacomscutt*; was at the assaulting of Mr. William Carpenter's garrison at *Pawtuxet*; and that he was in arms at *Nashaway* and assisted in distroying and burning the town and taking and carrying away about twenty English captives. Sentenced to be shott to death in this Towne on the 26th instant at about one of the Clock in the Afternoone An Indian with one Eye, *Quanopen's* Brother, said his brother *Quanopen* was a commander in the warr but he was not, he being soe defective in his Eye Sight, that he was incapable—"Judgment at present suspended".

25 August—"Sunkeecunasuck said that he was at the burning and destroying of *Warwick* and that *Wenunaquabin*, and an Indian now in prison was at the burning and destroying of *Warwick* with him at the same time; that his brother *Quanopin* was the second man in Command in the *Narragansett* Cuntry, next to *Nenanontentt*. Voted guilty and to suffer death the same Time and Place with his *Quanopen*" [*Court Martial Records*, Newport, R. I.].





*Courtesy of The Essex Institute*

### GOVERNOR JOHN LEVERETT

Born in England in 1616, he returned there late in 1655 as agent for the Massachusetts Bay and remained until 1661. He served as Captain of Horse under Cromwell during the Civil War. In 1663 he succeeded Denison as Major General of the Massachusetts Military Forces. He was governor of the Massachusetts Bay from 1673 to his death in 1679. His daughter Ann married John, son of Rev. William Hubbard, the historian; another daughter, Mary, married Paul Dudley, son of Gov. Thomas Dudley and brother of Gov. Joseph Dudley; and his youngest daughter, Sarah, married Col. Nathaniel Byfield.

During King Philip's War, Capt. Daniel Henchman was engaged in building a fort at Pocasset (now Tiverton, R. I.) which he named "Fort Leverett", in honor of the governor. This was an elaborate work, planned to be seventy feet square with large flankers, two long houses, a magazine house, and a smith's forge.





Field, in his *History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* (1902), pages 402 and 403, gave a brief narrative of the Nipsachuck fight based on the copy of Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas' letter as printed by Drake in 1862. Following this letter he was led into the mistake of stating that there were several Providence men wounded in this fight instead of only one. Also, without the benefit of the original Newman letter, first printed in the following pages, he said Philip and his Indians crossed the Blackstone River at "Martin's Wade" a short distance south of the present village of Ashton, instead of at the "wading place" at Pawtucket River.

Mather and Hubbard, both writing histories which they intended to publish, apparently felt that they could not afford to say anything that would antagonize the Massachusetts General Court, which might later be asked to license the printing. One of these histories, Hubbard's, was subsequently licensed by the court, which also made its author a grant of £50 for a second history.

The two historians were also under the additional handicap of being Massachusetts ministers, which linked them still closer with the court, for under the existing State-controlled church form of government no man could be a voter without being a member of the Congregational Church. And then it must be remembered that the court did make the voters support the ministers.

Understanding this situation, we can readily see why at times the two ministers appear to have been such poor historians and were particularly so silent on the unfortunate withdrawal of the Massachusetts forces just at the critical time when the war could have been easily ended. Then, of course, the confidence in and strong backing of Capt. Daniel HENCHMAN by the Massachusetts General Court precluded the minister historians from making any mention of his military incompetence, but for which the war would have ended by the death or capture of Philip.

The whole Massachusetts strategy seems to have been to prevent the Narragansett and Nipmuck Indians from joining Philip in Plymouth Colony and then to let that colony attend to him, as it said it could. It was supposed that the Treaty of Peace made with the Narragansetts on 15 July, putting a price on Philip's head, would effectually prevent the Narragansetts from joining him in Plymouth Colony.

With Philip cornered in the Pocasset Swamp when the fight stopped on 19 July, Massachusetts left Capt. Daniel HENCHMAN with a company of more than 100 men to help the Plymouth forces handle Philip, and ordered three companies to Boston and one to Mendon to take care of the Nipmuck Indians.

Realizing that the Narragansett and Nipmuck Indians were effectively blocked from joining him in Plymouth Colony where the Plymouth forces held him trapped in the swamp, Philip was more afraid of the roving Captain CUDWORTH\* than he was of Captain

\* Of the seven Plymouth Colony Assistants who were in office 1 June 1675, five took the field and served in King Philip's War. These were Majors James Cudworth and William Bradford, Commissary Constant Southworth, Capt. John Freeman, and Lieut. James Brown. Gov. Josiah Win-

Henchman who was devoting his whole attention to building Fort Leverett on the southwest end of the swamp. So Philip out-manuevered the high command by having his Indians attack Dartmouth in order to split the English forces at Pocasset. The strategy worked, for on 29 July, ten days after the five English companies first cornered him in the Pocasset Swamp, Captain Cudworth marched his Plymouth forces to the relief of Dartmouth. That same night Philip escaped out of the north end of the swamp, followed the Massachusetts troops into Massachusetts and there joined the Nipmuck Indians who had been prevented from joining him in Plymouth Colony.

Philip's strategy was probably not anticipated by the high military command. The net result of the Massachusetts Expeditionary Army's campaign in Plymouth Colony was to drive Philip out of that colony into Massachusetts. Philip in Massachusetts, with nearly all of the New England tribes in sympathy with him, was far more dangerous than at Pocasset. On the loose with a company of his warriors, he roamed as far as the woods above Albany, where the Dutch plentifully supplied him with arms and ammunition.

It was not until Philip's escape from the Pocasset Swamp, followed immediately by a second escape from Capt. Daniel Henchman and his union with the Nipmuck Indians at Quabaug (Brookfield), that Massachusetts recognized the war for what it actually was—a general Indian uprising throughout the whole of New England. The full realization did not come until the whole line of Massachusetts border towns was in flames.

Following are the various accounts of Philip's escape as written by the four contemporary historians, Mather, Hubbard, Church, and the Merchant of Boston in his letters to his friend in London,—an escape which was to cost New England the additional loss of upwards of 600 lives, some 1,000 dwellings, and prolong the war for another year at a cost of more than £100,000.

When Mather the minister, in his role as historian, came to write the account of the escape of Philip from Pocasset Swamp and consequent pursuit by Capt. Daniel Henchman, commander of a Massachusetts company of foot soldiers, he apparently found himself between the devil and the deep sea. Here was a captain with the full confidence and backing of the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, the General Court, and of the Council of War, who through military incompetence, procrastination, or whatever we may call it, had permitted Philip and a few warriors to slip through his fingers, all of which was general knowledge.

Whatever Mather's reasons may have been, he completely failed as an historian to give anything like an accurate account of this important military action. He evaded making an adequate record of this pursuit of Philip, omitted any mention of Captain Henchman by name, and glossed over the whole episode with a little of that biblical comment which he so frequently substituted for history, and

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slow also served as general and commander-in-chief of the United Colonies Army in the Narragansett Fort Fight.



disposed of the whole matter in the following few inadequate lines:

"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 *Monhegins*, i. e. *Unkas* (who approved himself faithful to the *English* almost forty years ago in the time of the Pequod Wars and now also this present War) his *Indians*, they overtook *Philip's* 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 no 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*" [Mather's *Brief History* (Drake Ed., 1862), p. 65].

Hubbard,\* working under the same handicap of possible court disapproval as did Mather, certainly gave a far better account of Philip's escape, for he does mention Captain Henschman by name, although carefully avoiding all direct criticism of him, and partially alibied his delay in the pursuit of Philip by citing the exhaustion of his company by the long twenty-two (nearer ten) mile march. From what Hubbard did say, however, and what can be read between the lines, he made it abundantly clear that there was much more which could be said. He called attention to the fact that this fight was the third opportunity the English had had to end the war. The second, of course, was ten days before, when the six English companies of soldiers aided by the company of friendly Indians had Philip greatly out-numbered and cornered in the Pocasset Swamp and when on the verge of winning the fight and war the English sounded a retreat and came out of the swamp. Hubbard's account follows:

"But to return to *King Philip* who was now lodged in the great Swamp upon *Pocasset-Neck* of seven miles long: Captain *Henschman* and the *Plimouth* Forces kept a diligent Eye upon the Enemy but were not willing to run into the Mire and Dirt after them in a dark Swamp . . . They resolved, therefore, to starve them out of the swamp where they knew full well they could no longer subsist.

"To that End they began to build a Fort † [Church said: 'the army now lay still to cover the People from Nobody, while they were building a Fort for Nothing'], as it were to beleager the Enemy and prevent his Escape out of the Place where they thought they had him fast enough. *Philip* in the meantime was not ignorant of what was doing without and was ready therein to read his own Doom, so as if he tarried much longer there he knew he should fall into their Hands from whom he could Expect no Mercy. The Case being therefore desperate, he resolved with an hundred or two of his best fighting men made an Escape by Water, all Passages by the Land being sufficiently guarded by the English Forces. The Swamp where they were lodged being not far from an Arm of the Sea, coming up to *Taunton*, they taking the Advantage of a low Tide, either waded over one Night in the End of *July*, or else wafted themselves over upon small Rafts of Timber very early before Break of Day by which means the greatest Part of the Company escaped away into the woods leading into the *Nipmuck* country, altogether unknown to the English Forces

\* William Hubbard's son John married Gov. John Leverett's daughter Ann; his daughter Margaret married Maj. John Pynchon of Springfield, one of the Assistants of the Massachusetts Court from 1674 to 1686. William Hubbard's brother Richard married Sarah, daughter of Gov. Simon Bradstreet, and their daughter Sarah married Rev. John Cotton of Yarmouth.

† Capt. James Cudworth in a letter written from Mount Hope on 20 July 1675 to Governor Winslow urged the building of a fort at Pocasset, saying that he considered it best to maintain his garrison at Mount Hope with twenty men and that there be another garrison at *Pocasset*, and to have a flying army to be in motion with these two forts as bases. See his letter, *ante*, page 73.



that lay encamped on the other Side of the Swamp About an hundred or more of the Women and Children which were like to be rather Burdensom than Serviceable were left behind who soon after resigned up themselves to the Mercy of the English.

"*Philips* Escape thus from *Pocasset* could not long be concealed after the Day appeared, there being much champaign Land [Seekonk Plains] through which he was to pass, so as being discovered to some of *Rehoboth*, the Inhabitants presently followed him, together with a Party of the *Mohegans* (that a little before came to *Boston*, offering their Service against *Philip*, and were sent up into those Parts to be ordered by Capt. [Daniel] *Henchman*, but before they came to him were easily perswaded to go along with any of the English that were engaged in the Pursuit of *Philip*). News also thereof was carried to Capt. [Daniel] *Henchman*, who as soon as he could get over with six Files of Men (rowing hard \* all or most Part of the Day to get to Providence) followed after the Enemy. [28] The *Mohegins* with the Men of *Rehoboth*, and some of *Providence*, came upon their Reer over Night, slew about thirty of them, took much Plunder from them, without any considerable Loss to the English. Captain *Henchman* came not up to them (pursuing them only by the Tract) till the Skirmish was over; and having marched twenty two † Miles that Day, was not well able to go any further that Night; on the other Hand, the Forces that came from *Rehoboth*, and that belonged to *Plimouth*, having left their Horses three Miles off, could not go back to fetch them without much loss of Time; and therefore looking at it altogether bootless to go after them in the Morning, returned back the next Day, leaving Capt. *Henchman* with his six Files, and the *Mohegins* to pursue the Chase to *Nipsachet*, which he did the next Morning. Captain *Henchman*, that he might the better engage the *Mohegins* to march with him thirty Miles, gave them half his Provision, and was himself recruited again by the Care of Capt. [Andrew] *Edmunds*, of *Providence*, and Lieutenant *Brown*, who brought Provision after him to the *Nipmuck* Forts.

"Mr. [Noah] *Newman* the Minister of *Rehoboth* deserved not a little Comendation for exciting his Neighbors and Friends to persue thus far *Philip* animating of them by his own Example and Preference: But what the Reason was why *Philip* was followed no further is better to suspend than to too critically Enquire. This is now the third time ‡ when a good Opportunity for suppressing the Rebellion of the Indians was put into the hands of the English . . . But by this Means *Philip* escaped away to the westward, kindling the Flame of War in all the Western Plantations of the *Massachusetts* Colony wherever he came; so by this fatal Accident the fire that was in a likely way to be extinguished as soon almost as it began, did on the sudden break out through the whole Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*, both Eastward and Westward, endangering also the neighbor Colony of *Connecticut* . . .

[30] "The next thing in order to be related, is the calamity that befel the Village of *Brookefield*, which notwithstanding all the care that was taken, fell into the hands of the perfidious *Nipnet* Indians, as shall here in the next place be declared; only as we pass along to remind the Reader in a few words, what was the issue of Captain *Henchmans* Pursuit of *Philip*: the *Plimouth* Forces being returned home, as was said before, Captain *Henchman* with his six Files

\* Hubbard said that they "rowed hard all or most part of the Day to get to Providence". Almy's sloop was probably not over 60 or 70 feet long and in those days, and in fact up to the time of the installation of engines in boats, all large craft carried sweeps or oars 18 or 20 feet long which were used in emergencies in the absence of wind. Today, yachtmen familiar with these waters say that with an easterly wind the sailing time from *Pocasset* (*Tiverton*) to *Providence* is about three hours; with a northwesterly wind, about five hours; that at the end of July there are usually no winds and that to make the trip against the tides in a sloop by the aid of oars would take from ten to twelve hours, which is probably about the time that it took Almy's sloop to make the twenty miles to *Providence*.

† An inspection of a modern map shows that the distance from *Rehoboth* to *Nipsachet* or *Nipsachuck*, where the battle was fought, in what is now *Smithfield*, R. I., was ten miles from *Providence* and not twenty-two miles as stated by Hubbard.

‡ The second lost opportunity of ending the war was when the English, after driving *Philip* into the swamp at *Pocasset*, 18 miles from *Taunton*, attacked him on the 19th of July but unfortunately withdrew their forces at nightfall when had they "followed the Indians but one-half hour or more *Philip* had come and yielded up himself. But God Saw we were not yet fit for Deliverance" [*Mather's Brief History* (Drake Ed., 1862), p. 62].



of men, and the *Mohegin Indians*, having continued in the pursuit of *Philip* till they had spent all their provision, and tired themselves, yet never coming within sight of *Philip*; the *Mohegin Indians* in their company, directed them to *Mendam*, and then leaving them, returned also to their own country. Captain *Henchman* in his march towards *Menham*, or at *Mendham*, met with Captain *Mosely* coming up to bring him provision, and advising him of what success he had met withall in the pursuit; they altered their course, for Captain *Henchman* was sent down to the Governour and Council, to know what they should do: they presently remanded him to *Pocasset*, and ordered him to stay there if there were need, or else to draw off, surrendering the fort he had been building, to *Plymouth Forces*, which last was chosen by those of *Plymouth*; whereupon Capt. *Henchman* returning to *Boston*, was ordered to disband his men" [Hubbard's *Narrative* (Drake Ed., 1865), vol. I, pp. 86-95].

Captain Church in his brief account of the pursuit of Philip across the Seekonk Plains, added some historical facts not recorded by either Mather or Hubbard. We learn from Church that the Plymouth forces in Pocasset had been ordered to Dartmouth [29 July 1675] where the greater part of the town had been burned and many of the inhabitants killed. The departure of the Plymouth men for Dartmouth left Capt. Daniel Henchman and his company of some 100 men the only force remaining to watch Philip in the Pocasset Swamp.

The attack on Dartmouth was undoubtedly directed by Philip for the sole purpose of creating a diversion to divide the English forces. When the Plymouth command moved out of Pocasset, Philip was free to escape from the north end of the swamp, which he easily did without opposition, as the remaining half of the English forces, Captain Henchman's company, was busily engaged in building Fort Leverett at the southwest of Pocasset Swamp.

While Captain Church did not mention Captain Henchman by name, he made it plain that he was the superior officer who took over the command from Capt. Andrew Edmunds and prevented him from further pursuing Philip. Church's account follows:

"Soon after this, was *Philips* head Quarters visited by some other English Forces; but *Philip* and his gang had the very fortune to escape that *Weetamore* and hers (but now mentioned) had: they took into a Swamp and their pursuers were commanded back. After this *Dartmouths* distress required Succour, great Part of the Town being laid desolate and many of the Inhabitants kill'd; the most of *Plymouth Forces* were ordered thither [116 men on 29 July]: and coming to *Russels Garrison* at *Poneganset*, they met with a number of the Enemy that had surrendered themselves Prisoners on terms promised by Capt. Eels of the Garrison and *Ralph Earl* that perswaded them (by a friend Indian) to come in. And had their promises to the *Indians* been kept, and the *Indians* fairly treated, 'tis probable that most if not all of the *Indians* in those parts had soon followed the Example of those who had now surrendered themselves, which would have been a good step toward finishing the war.

"But in spite of all that Capt. Eels, Church or Earl could say, argue, plead, or beg . . . and without any regard to the promises made them on their surrendering themselves, they were carried away to Plymouth, there sold and transported out of the Country; being about Eight-score Persons.\* But

\* At a meeting of the Council of War held at Plymouth 4 Aug. 1675, it was voted that the company of 112 *Indians*, men, women, and children recently brought into Plymouth be sold into servitude, and the Treasurer was appointed to make sale of them in the "Countryes behalfe". On 2 Sept. 1675 the Council of War voted to sell into "perptual servitude" a parcel of 57 *Indians* "lately come into Sandwich in a submissiue way to this Collonie" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. V, pp. 173-4].



while these things were acting at *Dartmouth*, *Philip* made his escape, leaving his Country, fled over *Taunton-River*, and *Rehoboth-Plain*, and *Petuxet-River* where Capt. Edmunds \* of *Providence* made some spoil upon; and had probably done more, but was prevented by the coming up of a Superior Officer [Capt. Daniel Henchman] that put him by. And now another fort was built at Pocasset that prov'd as troublesome and chargeable as that at Mount-hope; and the remainder of the Summer was improv'd in providing for the Forts and Fources there maintained while our Enemies were fled some hundreds of miles into the Country, near as far as Albany" [Church's *Entertaining History* (Dexter Ed., 1865), vol. I, pp. 44-48].

The fourth and last contemporary historian is the Boston Merchant. In his letter of 10 Nov. 1675, written to his friend in London, he gave a rather confused account of the Pocasset Swamp fight and the fight with Philip in Rhode Island ten days later, mistakenly reporting them as one single action. In his letter he made the important statement that in the [Rhode Island] fight King Philip's "Brother", his "Privy Councillor (being one formerly Educated at *Cambridg*)", and one of his "Chief Captains" [probably *Nimrod*] were killed and that their heads were carried to Boston. The Boston Merchant said:

[6] "Some part of our Forces afterwards set on about Five hundred *Indians*, not far from *Pocassit*, pursuing them into a large *Swamp*, not far from thence; how many they killed is not known, in regard the *Indians* adventured back and took their dead Men away with them: (as they commonly do if they can possibly.) But in this Fight were killed King *Philip's* Brother,† his Privy

\* At the time of the pursuit of Philip, and fight on 1 August, Captain Edmunds was a single man. About two and one-half months later, 14 Oct. 1675, he married Mary Hearnden of Providence. This marriage and the births of six children are recorded in the original *Providence Town Records*, vol. V, p. 259. On 3 Mar. 1679, "on account of his service done in the war" he was granted four acres of land "at the place called the narrow passage [where Red Bridge now stands] he there intending the keeping of a ferry".

The Providence Town Council, on 6 June 1687, granted Andrew Edmunds nine acres of land in lieu of the four acres on "Pawtucket River at the narrow passage" granted him 3 Mar. 1679, the first grant being "very poore & uneven & barren land". This nine acre grant was all that parcel of land "adjoining to y<sup>e</sup> now dwelling house of y<sup>e</sup> said Andrew Edmunds which hee hath already inclosed". It was laid out by the "18 foote pole" by Arthur Fenner and Thomas Olney, surveyors, 2 June 1687, and was bounded on the north with land of Henry Browne; on the east and southeast by the river; on the west partly with said Edmunds fence and partly with the Round Cove. A map of the grant of land is shown in the record [*Providence Town Records*, vol. XIV, p. 237].

Captains Church and Edmunds were close friends; each about thirty-six years of age at the time of King Philip's War, after which both served in King William's War. Captain Church's services are well known, and Captain Edmunds' service is proved by the two following records:

At a General Assembly held at Providence 3 Mar. 1689/90 a letter was presented by Capt. Arthur Fenner subscribed to by Capt. Benjamin Church stating that Capt. Andrew Edmunds had done good service in the late Eastern Wars and received £12 being but two-thirds of a captain's pay. The Assembly ordered "that insomuch he belonged to this colony, for his encouragement for future service, the General Treasurer pay him £6" [Bartlett's *Rhode Island Colony Records*, vol. III, p. 263].

At a General Assembly held at Providence 3 Oct. 1690, Mary Edmunds, wife of Andrew, was allowed £6, her husband "being now gone out in the wars in their Majesties interest" [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 280].

On 11 Oct. 1707 Andrew Edmunds of Providence, for £29 silver money, £20 in hand and good security for the other £9, leased to John Mason of Rehoboth, his dwelling house and lands adjoining with all fruit trees thereon, "together with the Whole Use of the fferry there being the Which is Situate and lieing and being within y<sup>e</sup> Town Ship of Providence on y<sup>e</sup> Northerne Side of y<sup>e</sup> Salt Water River Called Seconck River, Alias Pawtucket River at y<sup>e</sup> place Commonly Called & knowne by y<sup>e</sup> NaMe of y<sup>e</sup> NArroW PaSsage". Edmunds reserved the use of his dwelling house for himself and family until the last day of March 1707/8 [*Providence Town Records*, vol. XX, pp. 248-9]. John Mason already held the ferry right on the Rehoboth side; so that by this lease he controlled the ferry on both sides of the river.

† We know that Philip had a brother *Sunconewhew* who signed Philip's Quitclaim Deed to Rehoboth on 13 Mar. 1667/8. There is no further record of him. Lieutenant Thomas mentioned that the Black Sachem was at Nipsachuck. Philip had a sister, perhaps named Amie, who may have married the Black Sachem.



Councillor, (being one formerly Educated at *Cambridg*) \* and one of his chief Captains; † the Heads of which three were afterwards brought to *Boston*. ‡ There were killed in this pursuit six *Englishmen*, and nine or ten wounded.

"This *Pocassit Swamp*, is judged about seven or eight Miles long, and so full of Bushes and Trees, that a parcel of *Indians* may be within the length of a Pike of a Man, and he cannot discover them; and besides, this as well as all other *Swamps*, is so soft Ground, that an *Englishman* can neither go nor stand thereon, and yet these bloody Savages will run along over it, holding their Guns cross their arms (and if occasion be) discharge in that posture.

"*August* coming on, we have now from all Parts raised more Men, so that there are now in the Field in several places, six hundred Horse and Foot: Most of the Army were not far from the *Swamp* where King *Philip* with all his People were; they resolved to compass it, which they did once: & in their second Encounter, forced King *Philip* with all his Retinue out of [12] the *Swamp*, and pursued them; in their pursuit they killed his Lievetenant General, with about twenty (that they saw) on his Men, and the *English* had not the loss of one man, but two wounded. § We having all this while a Party of *Unkus's Indians* in the Field on our side.

[11] "On *Thursday* the 5th of *August*, being Lecture-day at *Boston*, was ordered by the Old Church (of which the Governour is a Member) to be observed as a Fast by that Church, which accordingly was done: And at the Contribution was then Collected Sixty Nine Pound, which was for the distressed Families Relief. And on that very day was Captain *Hutchison's* Company so defeated [2 *August*]: Which thing was taken especial Notice of, by all those who desire to see the Hand of God in such sad Providences, which did occasion another Fast to be kept, by Mr. *Mathers* Church, at the North Meeting-house the *Wednesday* following.

"Mr. *Mather* in his Sermon, took occasion too in speaking of the Benefit of the Communion with God, to tell us that there are in this Colony seventy nine gathered Churches, and that to this day the *Indians* had not done any Damage to anything that belonged to any of the Places where these Churches were" [Drake's *Old Indian Chronicle* (1836), pp. 13, 14, 23, 24].

In the preceding pages we have the records of Philip's escape from Pocasset Swamp, his flight across the Seekonk Plains, pursuit

\* The name of Philip's "Privy Councillor educated at *Cambridg*" is not known to the writer.

† Lieutenant Thomas, in his letter to Governor Winslow dated 10 Aug. 1675, said that this was *Nimrod* [*Woonashum*]. He was one of Philip's four Councillors who signed the treaty at Taunton on 10 Apr. 1671.

‡ This is the first knowledge we have that the heads of Philip's three chieftains killed at Providence, in what is now Smithfield, R. I., were taken to Boston. The names of the dead savages must have been pretty well known.

§ Lieutenant Thomas in his letter printed on a following page, said that three men were wounded. These were Eleazer Whipple of Providence, Sergt. John Barker, and William Pery, two of Lieutenant Thomas' Mount Hope soldiers.

Field, in his History of Rhode Island, without stating his authority, said that before daylight, on 31 July, the pursuing English soldiers reached the home of Eleazer Whipple who joined the forces in pursuit of Philip accompanied by his neighbors Valentine Whitman, John Wilkinson, John Ballou, John Mann, and several Providence men. Field also said that the Eleazer Whipple house was located near Limerock, Lincoln, on the highway from Providence to Woonsocket, near the Loasquiset Brook, and that from the doorstep you could look (1902) right off upon Nipsachuck; that this house was built by Eleazer Whipple between 1677 and 1684; and that after the death of James Whipple, son of Eleazer, the heirs sold the house to Jeremiah Mowry. In 1825 an addition was built on to the east part of the house which became known as the Mowry Tavern. Field shows a picture of the house. [Field's *History of State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* (1902), vol. I, p. 402; vol. II, pp. 606-609.]

On 6 Dec. 1710, Thomas Man of the Town of Providence, for £3 silver money, sold to John Mawrey of the said town of Providence " (who for distinction is sometimes termed Nipsachuck John Mawrey) " ten acres of land lying within the east side of the line within the township of Providence called the Seven Mile Line [*Early Prov. Town Records*, vol. XX, p. 406].

Thomas Olney, Jr., Surveyor, on 21 Mar. 1711/12 laid out land for Joseph Mawrey at the south end of "Nipsachuck Cedar Swampe" near the land of John Mawrey [*Ibid.*, vol. XXI, p. 24].

On 31 Dec. 1712 Stephen Hardin of the town of Providence, for £20 silver money, sold to his brother John Hardin a tract of land "within the township of Providence on the west side of that line in said Providence township called the Seven Mile Line lying neere unto the place called Nipshachuck" [*Ibid.*, vol. XXI, p. 61].



by the English, and subsequent fight as recorded by our contemporary historians. Even to the casual reader who has only a general knowledge of King Philip's War, these records of Philip's successful escape appear to be quite inadequate. Nevertheless, these are the records that have been copied over and over again by succeeding historians and are found to be standard in all history books.

Much has been said in this present book about the importance of unknown original source records and how their discovery and assemblage can amplify and change some of our early history as now written. This escape of Philip is an excellent example of what is meant, for in the following pages, by means of original records, will be presented a day by day, and in some cases, almost an hour by hour record of the pursuit of Philip and the fight, probably the most completely documented record of any similar engagement in Philip's War.

The participants themselves tell the story in the original letters of Lieut. Peter Hunt and Rev. Noah Newman to Capt. Daniel Henchman; Rev. Noah Newman to Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas; Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas to Capt. Daniel Henchman; Capt. Daniel Henchman to John Leverett, Governor of Massachusetts (with which he enclosed the four letters mentioned above); an official report of the pursuit and battle with Philip made by Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas to Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth Colony; another letter by Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas to Gov. Josiah Winslow; Maj. John Pynchon's letter to Gov. John Winthrop of Connecticut; and other documents and records.

The following letter was written to Governor Leverett of the Massachusetts Bay Colony by Capt. Daniel Henchman while in transit by water from Pocasset to Rehoboth to join in the pursuit of Philip, Squaw Sachem Weetamoe, and their Indians.

Hon<sup>rd</sup> Sr

Since my last (of th' 28<sup>th</sup> instant) the Gen.<sup>all</sup> [Cudworth] the 29<sup>th</sup> day landed here one hundred men, his designe to releeve Dartmoth being as reported in som distress. Past nine of the Clock last night Lt. [Nathaniel] Thomas brought me the two \* first inclosed letters from Rehobath and M<sup>r</sup> James Brown came with him to press my going theather; which with what strength I could was yeilded to; (I having just finished the South East flanker of the fort so farr as to be a good defence † for my men) drew my Company together by a false allarme in the night some being at a distance to gett Stockadoes; and provided for our March before day taking six files with me and the 17 Indians (all now left) and leaving five files behind to be going on with the work and the Brigandine. About 11 of the clock a second post came in to acquaint me with the third inclosed letter. M<sup>r</sup> Brown and the Lt. [Thomas] being gon to endeavor the giving of notice to the Gen<sup>ra</sup>ll To Warwick,‡ and

\* These were the letters of Lieut. Peter Hunt and Rev. Noah Newman written from Rehoboth 30 July 1675.

† Captain Henchman was still obsessed with the idea of the necessity of the fort to protect his soldiers from the Indians, in spite of the word of two messengers and three letters stating that Philip and Weetamoe had escaped from the swamp. Apparently it had not yet dawned on him that there were no Indians left for his men to be protected against.

‡ The meaning of the "General to Warwick" is not clear. Captain Cudworth had left the day before for Dartmouth. Probably two messages were sent; one to Captain Cudworth at Dartmouth and the other to the Narragansett's via Warwick.



the Narraganset Indians to head \* Philip; At break of day † I shippd my men in a sloop for Sea conk; and while under sail Mr Almie brought word that one Dan. Stanton of the Island at his return yesterday from Dartmouth affirms that severall pties of the Indians with their arme[s] to the number of about 80 have surrendred them selves to that garison for mercie; who have secured them in an Island by them, After my Company was landed within two miles of Sea-conk before all were on shore an other letter came [to] me from Lt. Thomas Advising to land at Providence ‡ bei[ng] narer to the Enemie, I strait remanded my men on bord gave each one 3 biscakes a fish & a few raisons with am-munision which may last us two or three dayes; I make bould to inclose coppies of the letters sent; least any thing in my whurry might be omitted; The Lord preserve & spirite you still for this his worke; My humble service to all those Worthies with you; I would gladly heare of your Ho<sup>rs</sup> wellfare; and begg the Prayers of all to God to qallifie me for my present imploy; being the unfittest of many yet Pardon my confused lines being begun at my Quarterers and patched up in severall places

Hon<sup>rd</sup> Sr:  
Yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>rs</sup>  
Humble servant  
D. Henschman,

[Original Letter, *Mass. Archives*, vol. XLVII, paper No. 232.]

The following four§ letters, written from Rehoboth, here first published, were received by Captain Henschman and by him forwarded to Governor Leverett at Boston. Three of these are especially mentioned in the foregoing letter:

By Mr. Newmans lett<sup>r</sup>: to you

Captn: Daniel<sup>l</sup> Henschman you will understand the motion of the Indians which moveth us to desire you Come with your Soldiers to our Towne with all spead and we will Assist you with what<sup>t</sup> men wee Can to persue them in their March: for if you Could Come by night Water to our Towne to Night wee hope wee shall overtake them, to Morrow with their Bagage Nott further to trouble you I rest

Yo<sup>rs</sup> to Serve  
Peter Hunt.

[Original Letter, *Mass. Archives*, vol. LXVII, paper No. 230.]

Rehoboth July y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> [16]75.

S<sup>r</sup> I Re<sup>d</sup> yo<sup>rs</sup> Corrageing y<sup>e</sup> Dr. and his petients wherein I shall doe after y<sup>r</sup> desire I hope by w<sup>htt</sup> [ ] I have Already had; there is nott nead of Complaints This morning I am Enformed by a post from Tauthon that there is a

\* An attempt was probably made to enlist the Narragansett Indians to head off Philip. Richard Smith, in his letter of 5 Aug. 1675, told of 300 Narragansett Indians being on an expedition at about this time and of their bringing him seven heads of enemy Indians on their return when they were also accompanied by Weetamoe and her party.

† Captain Henschman received word of Philip's escape after 9 o'clock the night of 30 July. Knowing that Philip was escaping and that every minute counted, it would seem that he should have been on his march before daylight the next morning, a delay of some eight or nine hours.

‡ By landing at Providence the march was direct to Nipsachuck, a distance of some ten miles, a much shorter route than through Rehoboth.

§ Of these four letters written from Rehoboth, three are dated 30 July 1675; one each by Lieut. Peter Hunt and Rev. Noah Newman to Capt. Daniel Henschman, and one by Mr. Newman to Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas. The fourth letter was written to Captain Henschman from Rehoboth on the following day, 31 July, by Lieutenant Thomas. These letters were written on both sides of two sheets of paper 6½ inches wide by 8½ inches long. The first three letters cover both sides of one sheet of paper and half of one side of the second sheet. A line is drawn across the page after the third letter, and Lieutenant Thomas' letter of 31 July follows and is completed on the final page. We know that two and one half of these letters were delivered to Captain Henschman on 30 July and the last on 31 July. What probably happened was that in the haste of getting these letters away the second sheet containing the last ten lines of Mr. Newman's letter to Lieutenant Thomas was either overlooked or not waited for, and the following morning Lieutenant Thomas wrote his letter on this second sheet below the end of the Newman letter. Both sheets of paper containing the four letters, together with Captain Henschman's, were delivered to Governor Leverett, and are now preserved in the Massachusetts Archives.

And so on that had some to call it justice  
to appear here y<sup>e</sup> before they swamp them selves  
and while their endurance is upon them, the  
Indian likewise informs their powder is almost  
spent & y<sup>e</sup> Indians were discharged though  
they left not a man in y<sup>e</sup> Swamp when soe pursued  
by the English butt greatly affrighted and  
driven from your handbouts; you are desired  
to be here w<sup>th</sup> out fail by to morrow morning  
not else at present butt will be as follows  
I rest

yo<sup>rs</sup> to servd in what I may  
Noah Newman

To Lieut<sup>r</sup> Thomas at the  
Garrison in Mount Hope  
these half past

Rehoboth July y<sup>e</sup> 31: 1675

Worthy Sir

Sound after I went from you last night w<sup>th</sup> the down  
of Mr. Brown I determined to take of twelve of our  
garrison Soldiers & Mr. Brown w<sup>th</sup> 8: or 10: more  
half of Swagdy, Joynd with us & we are marching in  
pursuit of your Enemy, And word from Rehoboth this  
morn is sent to you to salute you by the way. So  
the Enemy which we hope to make you see is  
already march'd to the Enemy aboutt 30 from Providence  
40 from Rehoboth, 10: from Taunton & 50: of Uncasys  
Indians sent with a Commission from the Govern<sup>r</sup>  
of Boston & Plymouth

I do to serve you  
Nathaniel Thomas

These for Capt<sup>n</sup>  
Daniel Henchman

A half-size photostatic reproduction of a part of Rev. Noah Newman's letter written from Rehoboth on 30 July 1675 to Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas, and a letter written on the same page by Lieutenant Thomas to Capt. Daniel Henchman, under date of 31 July 1675, and delivered to the latter that same day on his arrival at Seekonk from Pocasset.

Lieutenant Thomas' letter enumerated the number of men who started the pursuit of Philip as about 30 from Providence, 40 from Rehoboth, 10 from Taunton, and 50 Mohegan Indians. In his report of 10 Aug. 1675, he mentioned 30 Stonington men who were undoubtedly those under Quartermaster Swift who had charge of the Mohegans.



Considerable party of Indians greatt & small Thatt by a raft of Boards raffed themselves over Tanton River & there is found about 100: staves that they have made use of in Wadeing att a place 3 fottt Water, likewise have forty fire places hard by y<sup>e</sup> side of y<sup>e</sup> rivar And from hence have beaten 14: or 15 Trailes into y<sup>e</sup> Woods; betrixt Tanton & us and soe Crose our Road to Tonton beating there way Northward [2] Mendon & those parts; This discovering att y<sup>e</sup> Rivers was mad by Tanton Men 18 men thatt were sentt outt whoe also saw 2 Indians nott Come over as if there were more Intending that passage Itt is nott unlikely thatt they have Conveyed a way their woemen and Children that those y<sup>t</sup> remain may bee att more liberty to play their parts

honarde, you, I rest

[To] Hon<sup>l</sup> Cap<sup>tn</sup> Daniel  
Henchman

Yo<sup>r</sup> assured frend

Noah Newman

[Original Letter, *Mass. Archives*, vol. LXVII, papers Nos. 230, 230a.]

Rehoboth July the 30<sup>th</sup> 1675

Left<sup>n</sup> Tho:

S<sup>r</sup> since you were w<sup>th</sup> us, there is this Intelligence that phillip y<sup>e</sup> Squaw Sachem \* & their Routt are past by upon y<sup>e</sup> Borders of our greatt plaine & are gone over at pawtuckett River at the wading Place & their fore sean upon the other side of the river, there was an Indian sean and Taken by our plaine who teles us philip is in this Company and the squaw, Many Women and Children and but poore strenth of men soe kowed outt y<sup>t</sup> he Thinkes the men would Sonne kife him if S<sup>r</sup>prised our scouts sent out Kild an Indian & fonde a very ovvius path made by them to y<sup>e</sup> River as above sd. You are Requested to carry this intelligence to Capt<sup>n</sup> Henchman [3] and soe on that no time be lost If possible to Apprehend y<sup>m</sup> before they swamp themselves and while their Wearines is upon them. The Indian likewise Enforms their powder is almost spent & y<sup>e</sup> Indians much dishartned though they lost neter a Man in y<sup>e</sup> Swamp when soe persued by the English Butt greatly Affrighted and driven from their Randivous; you are desired to bee here w<sup>th</sup> out faile by to Morrow Morning Nott Else att present butt with due respecte,

I rest

Yo<sup>rs</sup> to Serve in what I may

Noah Newman

To Leif<sup>tn</sup> Thomas at the  
Garrison in Mount Hope  
these hath hast.

[Original Letter, *Mass. Archives*, vol. LXVII, papers Nos. 230a, 231.]

Rehoboth July y<sup>e</sup> 31: 1675

Worthy S<sup>r</sup>:

Soune after I went from you last night with the advice of Mr. Browne, I determined to take of twelve of our garrison Soldiers & Mr. Browne w<sup>th</sup>: 8: or 10; more hath of Swanzey Joyned with us & wee are Marching in psuit of our Enemy, and here from Rehoboth this bear<sup>r</sup> is sentt to you to pilate you the best way to the Enemy where wee hope to meate you there is already Marched to the Enemy about 30 from providence 40 from Rehoboth 10: from Tanton & 50 of Unskesys † Indians sent with a Commission from y<sup>e</sup> Govern<sup>ts</sup> [4] of Boston & Plimouth.

Y<sup>rs</sup> to serve you,

Nathaniel Thomas ‡

These for Cap<sup>tn</sup>  
Daniel Henchman

[Original Letter, *Mass. Archives*, vol. LXVII, papers Nos. 231, 231a.]

\* Weetamoe, the Squaw Sachem, "Queen of Pocasset". See *ante*, page 79.

† About 26 July 1675, 50 Mohegins belonging to Uncas, with three of his sons, arrived in Boston. They were under Oneko, the eldest son, and were all armed with guns. They came by way of Natick and were accompanied by Englishmen and several of the praying Indians of that place. They marched to Rehoboth under the conduct of Quartermaster Thomas Swift. See *post*, foot-note, page 95.

‡ Nathaniel Thomas, Marshfield, son of Captain Nathaniel, b. about 1642; d. 2 Oct. 1718, in 76th year; m. (1) 19 Jan. 1664, Deborah, d. 17 June 1696, youngest dau. of Nicholas Jacobs of Hingham. Children: Nathaniel, Joseph, Deborah (m. 1 Dec. 1692 John Croad), Dorothy, William, Elisha,

On 11 Aug. 1675, Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas, commandant of the Mount Hope garrison, wrote the following letter, here first published, to Gov. Josiah Winslow at Marshfield, in which he especially mentioned sending him an "account of the late skirmish" (at Nipsachuck):

Mounthope August 11<sup>th</sup> 1675

Much Honnared Sir

Last night at 12 or 1 of the Clock I Received Mr Smiths Letter directed to our Generall & according to his order opened the same & seing the Contents there of sent a Copy thereof to him by water & incase it missed him who we suppose is at Tanton then to be sent by post to your Honnor from Tanton & fearing that shold mis of Comeing to his or your hand I have sent the original by post; together w<sup>t</sup> an account of the late skirmish

& I beseach you take into your serious Consideration what unnesesary charg Capt Hinchman is draining on our Colony by his Rassing on still by his Lef-tenant A fort of 70 foot squar Larg flankers w<sup>t</sup> two Long houses in it beside a magasone house & a Smiths forge & going the most chargable way to work about the same beside what Pittiful men he hath under pay that I Judge one of our men to be betor then 5 of his who are actiue to swar & quarrell & dominier & at Litle else that good is

One thing further I would make bold to offer my advise in & that is; that although the seat of warr is at Present removed yet the warr is Likly to continue w<sup>th</sup> the Neepmuge & Narrogansets as the rest who are fled to them as I suppose you have the ground of [ ] why it is Likly to be so Now if it should Prove so I [ ] it nesenary that we maintain a fling army too & fro [ ] the Collony to prevent any enemy for coming againe into our bowells

We are in doubt of Left browne Lest he & his men bee cut off by the Indians as he went from us at the Nepmug country to norwich

Thus w<sup>t</sup> my Humble servis to your Hon<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> due respects to all my friends & Neighbors I remain your Hon<sup>rs</sup>

Most Humble Servant N. Thomas

I pray remember me to  
my wife I have not  
time to write to her  
now but I desire her  
to write to me by the  
first

[Original Letter, *Mass. Historical Society*, Davis Papers, MSS. 161, E. 99.]

From Mount Hope, on 10 Aug. 1675, Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas, commandant of the Mount Hope garrison, made an official report to Gov. Josiah Winslow on the pursuit of Philip and the fight at Nipsachuck. A copy of this letter\* was first printed by Samuel G. Drake in 1862, but it was not known to whom the letter was addressed, al-

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Joshua, Caleb, Isaac, and Mary. Dorothy, b. 6 Nov. 1670, m. 20 Nov. 1688, Joseph Otis. He m. (2) at Boston 3 Nov. 1697 Elizabeth, wid. of Capt. William Condy (but the m. certificate by Cotton Mather is of Eliz. Dolberry) who d. 11 Oct. 1713, if we believe the inscription on the gravestone; deputy 1672, and seven years more, also at Boston, under the new charter 1692. He served in Philip's war as a captain on the first outbreak, and was of the Massachusetts Council [*Savage's Gen. Dict.*, vol. IV, p. 281].

On 31 Oct. 1682, Capt. Nathaniel Thomas was licensed by the Plymouth Colony Court "to draw and sell stronge liquors vnto his neighbors by the gallon, or not less than a gallon att a time to one person" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. VI, p. 97].

\*This letter, signed "N. T.", first printed by Samuel G. Drake in his 1862 edition of Mather's *Brief History*, Appendix, pp. 227-234, is from a copy of the original which Mr. Drake received from Mr. George Livermore on 1 May 1855. The copy is in the handwriting of Judge John Davis, who published an annotated edition of *Morton's Memorial* in 1830. On his copy Judge Davis made this endorsement: "Original found among J. Winslow's papers at Marshfield, at y<sup>e</sup> family seat (1792). The signature N. T. indicated William [?] Thomas, a Capt. in y<sup>e</sup> expedition to M<sup>t</sup> Hope. It gives a full detail of y<sup>e</sup> purs<sup>t</sup> of Philip after his escape from Pocasset, July 29th, 1675".



Mount Hope August 11<sup>th</sup> 1675

Most Honoured Sir

Last night at 12 or 1 of the Clock I Received Mr Smiths  
Letter Directed to our Governall & according to his order opened  
the same & viewing the Contents thereof sent a Copy thereof  
to him by water, in case it missed him who we suppose is  
at Darton then to be sent by post to your Honors from  
Dartton & fearing that I should mis- of Coming to his  
or your hand I have sent the original by post;  
together with an account of the late Skirmish

As for you take into your Honors Consideration  
what unnecessary Charge Capt Hinckman is drawing on  
our Colony by his Keeping on still by his Leftenant  
a fort of 70 foot square Last flankers in two  
Long houses in it besides a <sup>midgale</sup> house & a Smiths  
forge & going the most chargeable way to work about  
the same besides what Litterall men & hath order pay  
that I judge one of our men to be better then 5 of his  
who are attive to swan & quarrell & down at...  
Little else that good is

nothing further I would make bold to offer my advise  
in that is; that although the heat of war is at  
Present removed yet the war is likely to continue if the  
New England & Harogansets as the rest who no led  
to them as I suppose you have the ground of opinion  
why it is likely to be so Now if it should prove so I  
it is not good that we maintain a flimsy army for  
the Colony to prevent any enemy for coming against  
into our bowels

You are in doubt of Capt Broune's fort & his men be  
cut off by the Indians as he went from us at the Nipmuck  
Country to Norwick

Thus it my Humble serves to your Honors & due respects  
to all my friends & Neighbours I remaine yours Honors  
Most Humble Servant N Thomas

I Pray remember me to  
my wife I have not  
time to write to her  
now but I desire her  
to write to me by the  
first

A two-thirds size photostatic reproduction of a letter written from Mount Hope on 11 Aug. 1675, by Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas to Governor Josiah Winslow, in which he mentioned a report [dated 10 Aug. 1675] of the "late skirmish" at Nipsachuck.



though stated by later historians to have been to Thomas Winthrop. With the finding of the original report, together with the Thomas letter of 11 August, we now know for the first time that the letter of 10 Aug. 1675 was Lieutenant Thomas' official military report to the Governor of Plymouth Colony.

Lieutenant Thomas made it very plain that Philip would have been captured but for the arrival of Captain Henschman, who took over command of the English troops, delayed the pursuit for twenty-four hours and thereby allowed Philip to escape. Drake said that "this letter may have been the cause of the Captain's resigning his place not long after, though his resignation was not accepted by the Government". The report follows:

Mounthop Agust the 10 1675

An acount of the fight w<sup>t</sup> the Indians Agust the first 1675  
on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of July Generall Cudworth <sup>1</sup> marched toward Darthmoth w<sup>t</sup> 112 men left 20 w<sup>t</sup> mee in the Garison at Mount hope, & on y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> day I went to Rehoboth & at Mr. Newmans <sup>2</sup> I herd the news that Tanton Post brought thither of Philips flight & with aduice from Left [Peter] Hunt <sup>3</sup> & his Towne Coñsell <sup>4</sup> hasted back againe to our garison to goe to Capt [Daniell] Henschman & in the way met w<sup>t</sup> Mr Jams Browne <sup>5</sup> who at my Rejet went back w<sup>t</sup> me to Capt Hinksman to desire him w<sup>t</sup> what force he could to come to Rehobath to Join w<sup>t</sup> there forcses in prsutt of the enemy who Came to him at Pocaset about 2 houres after sunset who redyly imbraced the motion Caused an alarm to be made to bring his Soldiars together, & next moring early being the Last of July in Mr Almys boat <sup>6</sup> w<sup>t</sup> 6 files <sup>7</sup> of Enlish & i6 Indians wafted toward Rehoboth. Mr [James] brown & my self imediatly Returned to Monthope where I on the said Last of July early in the moring marched w<sup>t</sup> 11 from our garison & one from Mr [John] Miles Garison being 12 in all in Persute of the enenemy Left [James] brown w<sup>t</sup> 12 more of Swanz marched with me: at Rehoboth I sent to Capt Hinshman by some prouidence men w<sup>oh</sup> were there to waft to Prouidence & march from thence who did so; there were

<sup>1</sup> James Cudworth—see note *ante*, page 52.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Newman's house was the new parsonage built for him just before the outbreak of the war, throughout which it was used as the principal garrison house in Rehoboth. It stood on the north side of what is now Newman Avenue between the present Congregational Church and the Meeting House pond.

<sup>3</sup> Lieut. Peter Hunt was in command of the Rehoboth military company.

<sup>4</sup> By the "town council" is probably meant the "selectmen". At a Rehoboth town meeting held 17 May 1675 Mr. Stephen Paine, Lieut. Peter Hunt, and Ensign Henry Smith were elected select men; Mr. Paine, Sr., Deacon Cooper, Lieut. Hunt, Ensign Smith, John Read, Sr., Nicholas Peck, and Daniel Smith, townsmen; Ensign Henry Smith and Daniel Smith, deputies [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book II, p. 10].

<sup>5</sup> James Brown was lieutenant in command of the Swansea military company and also an Assistant at the Plymouth Colony Court.

<sup>6</sup> This was undoubtedly Capt. Christopher Almy of Portsmouth, R. I. He was born in England in 1632 and in 1635 came to New England in the ship *Abigail* with his father and mother, William and Audrey, and sister Ann (who later m. John Green). On 9 July 1661 he m. Elizabeth, d. after 1708, dau. of Thomas and Rebecca Cornell. On 17 Mar. 1656 he was ordered to be recompensed in part for a vessel he had bought of William Dyer which had been seized in Massachusetts, his father engaging with him to make no further claim. He was a freeman in 1658; in 1667, with others, he bought lands of the Indians at Monmouth, N. J., where he lived for a time. On 5 Mar. 1680 he and seven others bought Pocasset (Tiverton) lands for £1,100 from Gov. Josiah Winslow. There were 30 shares, of which he owned 3¾.

He was a deputy and assistant in 1690, and on 27 February of the same year was elected governor of Rhode Island but refused to serve for reasons satisfactory to the Assembly. This was the first election for governor since the deposition of Governor Andros. On 24 Aug. 1693 he was in England as messenger from Rhode Island and delivered the address from the state and his own petition to Queen Mary stating that "he was sent over to represent their grievances and that he had come above 4,000 miles to lay these matters before her and prays that she may grant such encouragement therein as she see fit, etc." The address showed that some men thought that those commissioned by Governor Andros should continue in office until some immediate order from the crown of England. On 28 Oct. 1696 the assembly voted him £135 10s. 8d. for his charge and expense in England as the



\* Nipsachick is about 20 miles to the northward of the west from Rehoboth.

marched from Rehoboth Just before us 30 of Stonetunnes <sup>8</sup> men; 40 or more of Vncas his Indians & about 30 of Prouidence men [under Capt. Andrew Edmonds] whom we ouertook about sun sett Joined with them Called A Counsell of Warr sent out some Indians first & after some English & Indians as scouts who made some discouery of the enemy by hering them Cut wood & we left our horses there upon A Plaine w<sup>t</sup> some to keep them in the night marched on foott about 3 mils to an Indian feild <sup>9</sup> beloñing to Philips men Called Nipsachick \*<sup>10</sup> & at dawning of the day marched forward about 40 rod made a stand to Consult in what form to surprise the enemy with out danger to on another & in the intrim while it was so dark as we could not see A man 50 yards <sup>11</sup> w<sup>t</sup> in 30 yards<sup>11</sup> of us there Came up towards us 5 IndiaIns from Witamosos <sup>12</sup> Camp (we supos to feth beans & from the said feild) <sup>13</sup> prceiving nothing of us at whom we were Constraned to fire slew two of them the other fled whrby Wittamas & philips Camps wer alarmed

witamas Camp then being within about on 100 rod of us whom we had vndoubtedly surprised while they were most of them one slepe & secure had it not ben for the said Alarm who imediatly fled & disperced whom we Persued slew some of them but while we were in persutt of them Philips fighting men showed themselues vpon a hill vnto us who were retreated from their Camp near half a mile to fight us (Philips Camp was Picked about 3 quarters of A mile beyond witamas) Philips men vpon our runing toward them disperced them selues ffor shelter in fighting & so in like maner did we the ground being

Colony's representative. He d. at Portsmouth 30 Jan. 1713 [Austin's *Gen. Dict. of R. I.*, p. 236].

<sup>7</sup> According to Samuel G. Drake, six files equals 68 men.

<sup>8</sup> These Stonington men were undoubtedly "Quartermaster Swift and a ply of horse" who conducted the fifty Mohegan Indians under command of Oneko. Lieutenant Thomas spoke of thirty men, but Bodge in his search of John Hull's Account Books could find only eighteen credited to "Corporal Swift and his ply of horse" as follows: Thomas Swift, corporall, 13s. 6d., and the following seventeen men at 7s. 6d. each,—Martin Sanders, Samuel Hayden, Ebenezer Hayden, Benjamin Badcocke, Samuel Whiting, Nathaniel Bullard, William Hawkins, Thomas Toleman, Joseph Peneman, Joseph Crosbey, Thomas Smith, Thomas Blighe, Samuel Blighe, William Harris, Asaph Elliott, James Barrett, and Moses Pain. The Mohegan Indians apparently received their pay in the plunder they obtained from Weetamoe's camp [Bodge, p. 94].

Major Gookin told of Uncas' sending a company of fifty of his Mohegan Indians to Boston under command of his eldest son and successor Oneko, to help the English fight against Philip; also of his sending two of his sons to be kept by the English as hostages for the faithfulness of his Indians. These Mohegan Indians were sent to Plymouth Colony under the conduct of "Quartermaster Swift and a ply of horse". They arrived at Rehoboth at an opportune time to join the Rehoboth men in the pursuit of Philip and demonstrated their fighting ability and loyalty to the English in the subsequent fight.

<sup>9</sup> Philip claimed Sachemship over the Indians in this Louisquisset country in the northern part of Rhode Island, and it is important to note that Lieutenant Thomas reported finding at Nipsachuck an Indian planting field owned by Philip's men. Ousamequin (Massasoit), Philip's father, appears to have claimed Sachemship over the *Nipmuck* Indians and during the later years of his life to have lived with this tribe. Roger Williams, writing to Gov. John Winthrop under date of 14 Aug. 1638, said that "*Ousamequin*, coming from Plymouth", told him that the "four men who had murdered [*Penowanyanquis*] shortly before that time [cf. *Early Rehoboth*, vol. II, p. 35] were all guilty. I answered, but one [Arthur Peach]; he replied, true, one wounded him, but all lay in wait two days and assisted. In conclusion: he told me that the principal must not die, for he was Mr. Winslow's man: and also that the man was by birth a *Neepmuck* man so not worthy another man should die for him" [Narr. Club Publication, vol. VI, p. 116].

<sup>10</sup> When Samuel G. Drake printed John Davis' copy of Lieutenant Thomas' letter in the Appendix to Mather's *Brief History* in 1862, he added as his own foot-note to Nipsachick "about 20 miles to the northward of the west from Rehoboth". Lieutenant Thomas made this note on the margin of his letter, which, of course, is much more important, for it makes the statement an original source record.

<sup>11</sup> In the original letter this reads "yards" and not "rods".

<sup>12</sup> *Weetamoe*,—see *ante*, page 79.

<sup>13</sup> This is apparently the same planting field owned by Philip's men. Philip in steering his course cross country clearly depended on these planting fields for feeding his company.

<sup>14</sup> *Tokomona* was *Awasuk's* brother.

<sup>15</sup> *Tuspaquin*, alias *Watuspaquin*, called the Black Sachem, was chief of the *Assawamsets*, a tribe of Indians occupying an extensive territory in which were located what are now the towns of Lakeville, Middleborough, and the old town of Rochester. The sachem's residence was in Assawamsett Neck lying between Assawamsett and Long Ponds. *Tuspaquin* is said to have married Amie, sister of King Philip [Mitchell's *History and Biography of Sachem Massasoit* (1878), p. 189].



A Hilly plaine with some small swamps betwen as aduantagus for us as for them where we fought vntell about nine of the Clock slew divers of them who the Monhegins stript & scined their heads; also one of them being shot was taken aliue & was examined who made the following relation Vid, (that Wიტ-tama that night before had Piched her Camp as I said before & about 3 quarters of a mile farther Philip w<sup>t</sup> Tokomona<sup>14</sup> & as I think the black sachem<sup>15</sup> also; had Piched their Camp

I asked him Concirning Awasunks<sup>16</sup> he said she went to Narrowganset when the wars begun I asked what store of Powder the Indians had he said they had uery little Powder but shot enough) & it semeth true for the first Indian w<sup>ch</sup> was shot downe being a stout fellow & one of them w<sup>ch</sup> shot old Tisdell<sup>17</sup> of Tanton & them w<sup>t</sup> him & had his gun; although he had his Horn

On 16 Mar. 1664/5, *Quateashit*, living at Monamat and at *Kawamasuhkakamid*, made a deed of gift of land, near Breakheart hill, to *Pompmunet*. An Amy, so-called, together with the wife of *Queteatahshit* testified as to the deed. Testimony concerning the lands of *Watuchpoo* of Sepecan showed six generations of Indian ownership. This genealogy was testified to by the Black Sachem and his wife, King Philip, and six other Indians [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. XII, p. 236].

On 29 Oct. 1668, *Pamantaquash*, alias the Pond Sachem, made his last will and testament bequeathing all his lands at Assawamsett and elsewhere to his son *Tuspaquin*, alias the Black Sachem, for life and after his decease to *Soquontamonk*, alias William his son [*Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 229].

The Black Sachem deeded much land. On 17 July 1669, for £10 he sold to Experience Mitchell, Henry Sampson, and others, a tract of land near Assawamsett pond. On 30 June 1672, described as "sachem of Namasskett" he sold to Edward Grey and Josias Winslow land on the easterly side of Assawamsett. In 1673 by deed of gift he and another Indian conveyed to John Sassamon alias *Wassasoman* 27 acres of land at Assawamsett Neck. On 11 Mar. 1673, the same grantors deeded 58½ acres to an Indian named Felix, son-in-law to John Sassamon. On 3 July 1673, *Tuspaquin* and his son William for £15 sold to Benjamin Church of Duxbury, house carpenter, and John Tomson of Barnstable, lands in Middleborough.

At a court held at Plymouth 5 July 1671 three Indians, including the Indian William, son of the Black Sachem, were charged by John Rogers, Sr., of Duxburrow with taking up his mare, marking and detaining it. All were fined by the court [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. V, p. 69].

On 1 Nov. 1673, the son William *Watuspaquin* and Indians Tobias and Bewat sold lands bounded in part on Quetaquash pond. On 23 Dec. 1673, old *Tuspaquin* and his son William made a deed of gift to *Assawetough* (daughter of John Sassamon) of Nahteawamet Neck at Assawamsett [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 194].

<sup>16</sup> *Awasunks* the Squaw Sachem of the Sogkonates, at Seaconnet, went to the Narragansetts at the outbreak of the war. Later she returned to Plymouth colony and with about 90 other Indians submitted to Major Bradford about June 1676.

<sup>17</sup> John Tisdale was killed by the Indians at Taunton 27 June 1675. They also burned his house and carried away his gun and powder horn. He was of Marshfield and later of Taunton, where he married Sarah Walker of Taunton, probably sister to Philip Walker of Rehoboth and known niece to Mr. John Brown, the Plymouth Colony Assistant of Rehoboth and Swansea. John Tisdale was the owner of the original lot No. 23 in the "Freeman's Purchase at Taunton River". After his death his third son, Joshua, settled on this lot in what is now Assonet Village and it is from him that the profile rock on the property derives its name, "Old Man of Joshua's Mountain". For picture, see *Early Rehoboth*, vol. I, page 86.

The following letter written from Taunton by Capt. John Freeman is our source record for this Indian attack on Taunton:

Honored Gouverner

We are a destressed peopell we here nothing sence from the army we fere the Enimi is dispersed through the willdernes thay are as we Judge round about us this mor ning three of ourr men are sllaine Close by one of our Cortes of gard houses burnt in oure sight oure men being so pect off out of eueri boosh and so fue of them: dare not Ishu out I hafe sent to Gouverner Leuerit for 40 or 50 men and armes we are forsed to keepe oure Cortes of gard and are not Capabell to with- stand the Enimi though we see houses burning before oure Eyes I pray send som armes to us if you Can and som to oure sothorne tounes Eastham hath as I think not 20 good armes in it I pray giur them Instruction hou to manage things for there security for thay mutch want help: we expect this night to be farther surprised by the Enimi we see ther desine is not to fase the army but to keepe afflieng armi about the woods to waite on us and our armi as thay hafe aduantage I Judge there should be what Indians may be ingaged in the quarill for us which must hunt them out for us or Ellse our Ing llish will be dishartened to traueill about in the woods and get nothing but a Clapp with abulit out of eueri bush, the Lord humbell us for our sins which are the procuring Cases of gods Judments and remember marsy and bestow it on us is the prayer of your unworthy seruant

John ffreeman

Tanton the 3: of the 5m 1675

I hafe resaiued youres this instant with mutch thankfullnes hoping wee shall improje your instructions



by his side had no more Powder but that in his gun & Nimrod<sup>18</sup> being ther slain had but 3 or 4 charges of powder & the rest found slain was as badly Prouided;—near the issue of that engagment Mr James Browne Mr Newman & others came to us w<sup>t</sup> Prouisions; one of Prouidence men: & two of our garrison Soldiars that marched out with me namly Sarj: John Barker<sup>19</sup> & W<sup>m</sup> Pery<sup>20</sup> were wounded & about ten of the clock Capt Hinshman with his 6 files & i6 Indians Came to us who went to the Monehegins & showed them an order in a leter from Capt Gugins [Gookin] that he was to take the care & commānd of them so that we expected his uigorus prossecution of the persute of the enemy whose fighting men were Just then fled.

Prouidence men returned to carry Home their wounded man<sup>21</sup> & my self & the rest w<sup>t</sup> me returned to Prouidence to Carry our wounded men not questioning but Capt Hinksman & Ensign [Henry] smith & the rest would have persued the enemy we Promising them to be w<sup>t</sup> them w<sup>t</sup> all speed with a new suply of more Prouisions & amonition; we got to Prouidence that night about 12 or 1 of the Clock I sent the wounded men that were w<sup>t</sup> mee to Road Island

The men that are sllain was John Tisdill senior of tanton John Knolles and Samuell Adkinse of Eastham John tesdills house burned and James Walkers as we Judge To Governor Josiah Winslow.

[indorsed]: ffrom Cap<sup>t</sup> freeman

to Gov Winslow

July 3<sup>d</sup>. 75

[Original Letter, *Massachusetts Historical Society*, Winslow Papers.]

This letter, in a modernized form, is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 1st Series, vol. VI (1800), p. 91. The date is incorrectly given as 3 June instead of 3 July 1675. A foot-note says that John Freeman "is supposed to be a member of the Council of War". This was Capt. John Freeman, one of the Plymouth Colony Assistants, in command of the Eastham company of soldiers stationed at Taunton, of whom two were killed on 27 June 1675. On 6 Mar. 1676/7 he had charge of the "Irish Donation" for Eastham; on 5 June 1678 the Court sent a warrant to Taunton for "a bill not paid for billeting Capt. Freeman, his men, and horses during the late war" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. V, pp. 222, 263].

<sup>18</sup> *Woonashum*, alias Nimrod, was one of Philip's council of four captains who signed the covenant at Taunton on 10 Apr. 1671, agreeing to give up to the government all his English arms if Philip should again fail in faithfulness [Hubbard's *Narrative* (Drake Ed. 1865), vol. I, p. 55]. As one of Philip's council he was again a signer to the second agreement made 29 Sept. 1671 [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 67].

<sup>19</sup> This name is John Barker and not John "Parker" as printed in 1862 by Drake in the appendix to his Mather's *Brief History*. The General Court held at Plymouth 4 Oct. 1675 ordered that "Sergeant Robert Barker to be leiftenant of his pticulare companie" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. V, p. 175]. He appears to have been a better soldier as a sergeant than he was as a lieutenant, for at a Council of War held at Plymouth the following spring, 10 Mar. 1675/6, we find the following record:

"In reference vnto the offenciue fact of Robert Barker in breaking away from the army when they were on theire march in a mutinous way, and by his example alureing others to come away with him, to the great scandoll, prejudice, and disparragement of the collenie, and inpticularly vnto the comānder in cheiffe, viz, the generall—Forasmuch, as vpon his late examination, hee doth in some measure take to his great offence, the councell doe centance him heerby to be degraded from the honor and office of leiftenant, and to pay a fine of fifteen pounds to the vse of the collonie in currant silver mony of New England, and to defray the charge of his late imprisonment.

"The councell doe also order that all such as came away from the army with the said Robert Barker, or followed him in a disorderly way, shall likewise forfeite their wages as to that expedition" [*Ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 189, 190].

<sup>20</sup> This name is William Pery, and not "Porey" as printed in 1862 by Drake in the appendix of his Mather's *Brief History*. At a court held at Plymouth 5 June 1678, "William Perrey of Scituate declaring to the Council of War that he is much disabled in the body by reason of a wound received in the cuntryes service in the late warr and thereby vnfit to bear armes in training, desiring to be freed from publicke exercyse in that kind the Councill sees cause therefore, heereby to free him from publicke training in the milletary companie of Scituate" [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 261].

<sup>21</sup> The original Thomas letter reads Providence "man" and not "men" as printed in 1862 by Samuel G. Drake in the appendix to his Mather's *Brief History*, and we now know definitely that only one Providence man was wounded in this fight. This man could have been none other than Eleazer Whipple, housewright, son of John, who on 11 Mar. 1676 gave a receipt to the town of Providence for £6 "for what the town paid for his curing, he having been wounded". At a General Assembly held at Newport, R. I., 2 May 1682, upon the petition of Eleazer Whipple, he was granted £10 in or as money [Bartlett's *Rhode Island Colony Records*, vol. III, p. 115]. There is no record showing that he ever received this money.



to Capt fuller<sup>22</sup> that night next morning returned w<sup>t</sup> 5 men & in Company w<sup>t</sup> 12 prouidence men Carriing amonition & Prouisions after Capt Hinksman marched that day being the 2d of Agust Lay in the woods that night marched erly next morning after the track & met w<sup>t</sup> Ensigne Smith and Left Browne Coming Home Leauing Capt Hinchman w<sup>t</sup> the monhegens marching after the enemy; Rehoboth men blaming Capt Hinksman for his neglect to persue the enimy the first day we fought them giuing them a days march before them

Left Browne who was going Home w<sup>t</sup> Rehoboth men returned back w<sup>t</sup> us with four men of Swanzy after we had gone about 15 mils from the plane where we fought the Indians the monhegens & Capt Hinchman had Left the track of Phillip & his; on the right hand & went the west way to a fort in the Neepmug Cuntry & that night being teusday the 3<sup>d</sup> Instant we ouertook Capt Hinchman at the 2d fort in the Nepmug Cuntrey Called by the Indians Wapososhequash which is a uery good Inland Cuntrey well watered w<sup>t</sup> riuers & brooks speciall good land grat quantyties of speciall good corn & beans & statly wigwams as I never saw the Like but not one Indian to be seen

our Indians told us they Judged they were all gone to Squabauge to another Indian fort & Plantation of them where is grat swamps & Places of security for them; unto w<sup>th</sup> place the aforesaid Indian Prisoner told us that the sachems of Neepmuge<sup>23</sup> had sent men to Philip to Conduct him up to Squabauge & they would Protect him & that thither he was going; but I should haue told that in our march after Capt Hinshman we tooke notis that an Indian track newly made whelled about from west to south toward Narrowgansett wher-upon next day being the 4<sup>th</sup> Instant we sent out Indian scouts to discover the tracks who brought word that the enemys track was deuded one part going on to Squabauge & the other turned toward Narraganset next moring after we came to the said 2d fort being the 4<sup>th</sup> Instant Left Browne with his 4 men went to Nowige being as the Indians said abat 20 miles from us w<sup>t</sup> the Intent to bringe with all speed more suplies of men & prouisions to march w<sup>t</sup> us to Squabauge being as the Indians said about 20 mils from us to the northward of the west; to the intent to treat those Indians that if Phillip Came thither they would deliuer him up or else to loock on them as enemies we taried there from tousday night vntell Saturday morning being the 7<sup>th</sup> Instant & Left brown came not nor sent not to us: but I should haue tod before that the monehegens being ouer loaded with Phillips plunder went away hom toward Norwich with mr browne;

prouisions being now spent and noe news of Left browne one the 7<sup>th</sup> Instant we sent the 12 prouiden[ce] men to norwich to signify to him or them that

That Eleazer Whipple was wounded in the pursuit of Philip and not in some other engagement seems to be proved by the fact that his name is not in the 14 Aug. 1676 Providence Town Meeting list of the "27 names of such as stajd & went not away". His father, John, 58 years of age, remained in Providence throughout the war, but son Eleazer, 29 years old, with a wife and two small children, the younger less than two years old, did not.

At a Quarter Court held at Providence 27 Jan. 1660, it was ordered that John<sup>1</sup> Whipple, Sr. (father of Eleazer<sup>2</sup>) "have his Lands Recorded in the towne Book laid out to him for his towne Right, it lyeing at Loquassquassuck" [*Early Providence Town Records*, vol. II, p. 145].

"To y<sup>e</sup> Towne Mett, July y<sup>e</sup>: 27: 1680—I desire y<sup>e</sup> Towne to take some Care speedily that I may haue y<sup>e</sup> mony that I stand obliged to pay for my Diett when I lay under Cure, being wounded by y<sup>e</sup> Indians in y<sup>e</sup> Troublesome warr my nessesti Calleth for it, being often Called upon for y<sup>e</sup> same, Saing they have great need of y<sup>e</sup> same Yo<sup>r</sup> friend Eliazur Whipple" [*Early Providence Town Records*, vol. XV, p. 214.]

On 22 Jan. 1733, Alice (Angell) Whipple, widow of Eleazer, "being very ancient (now living in Smithfield)" and not willing further to administer on her husband's estate, administration was given to John Rhodes of Warwick who had married the widow of her son James<sup>3</sup> Whipple [*Austin's Gen. Dict. of R. I.*, p. 222 which cf. for further genealogy].

According to Field, Nipsachick or Nipsachuck lies in the boundary line between North Smithfield and Smithfield to the north of Nipsachuck Swamp in the Louisquisset country, and that "to-day (1902) from the door step of Eleazer Whipple's house you can look right off upon the spot" [*Field's History of State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* (1902), vol. I, pp. 402-3].

Smithfield was set off from Providence on 20 Feb. 1730/1. The town was divided 8 Mar. 1871, a portion annexed to Woonsocket and the remainder divided into two towns, Lincoln and Slater, which latter name was changed to North Smithfield 24 Mar. 1871.

<sup>22</sup> Mathew Fuller,—see *ante*, page 58.

<sup>23</sup> *Ousamequin* (Massasoit) Sachem of the Plymouth Colony Wampanogs held some degree of



Capt Hinchman returned to Mendum<sup>24</sup> whether we returned w<sup>t</sup> him & in our march about 12 miles from the said 2d fort we met w<sup>t</sup> Capt [Samuel] Mosley w<sup>t</sup> 60 dragoons march from Providence up after us who gave us the following relation that on the 6<sup>th</sup> instant at night he met w<sup>t</sup> an old Indian going back toward Pocasset took him & examined him who told them that at our fight one the first Instant [t] we kild 23<sup>25</sup> of Philips men 4 wherof were Captains<sup>26</sup> & that Philip was gone to Squabauge & Wittamaw to Narowganset he said he was a pocasset Indian & one of Philips vnkls & that Phillips men had discovered some of us as we marched toward the fort & that we had out gone them after their track was left & that he fearing we should have chored Philip on his front fled back to go to Pocasset

it vexeth me to write the remainder: w<sup>ch</sup> is that on the first instant when we had given the enemy such a blow & the fighting men just fled Capt Hinchman Came to us took the Command of the Monhegins & of the Persute before he came we all agreed together as one & when he Came we all agreed that he should Command all expecting his vigorous Persute of the enemy who as the said old man told Capt Mosley was all that day in a swamp w<sup>ch</sup> is not 3 quarters of a mile from the Place where we fought them & expecting every minute when they should be surprised they being ready to deliver themselves up:

had not Capt Hinchman Come in we had undoubtedly taken them [Philip] before now & when he Came we doubted not of his persute, but instead thereof as soon as we that were necessitated to care of our wounded men were gone the Persute ceased & the Monhegins & Mattachuset Indians went to Pondering of w<sup>ch</sup> there was store for as soon as the alarm was given the enemy fled in such haste as they left their keetles Coats meat dressed & vndressed some ammunition as lead & slugs & other goods so that as was Judged by some English then Present the Plunder there taken was worth near on 100 pound<sup>\*27</sup> & the Indians being then suffered so to do their days work was done: but what shall I say, how ever was the neglect of man the Lord is to be looked at in the matter

but to return to our retreat Capt Hinchman & Mosleys Lefenant both returned to Mendum leaving the army in woods at sun set about 12 miles about Mendum w<sup>t</sup> order the next day to Come to Mendum I & those with me went in the night w<sup>t</sup> them to Mendum next morning being the 8<sup>th</sup> Instant Capt Hinchman & Left Kent went to Boston & I to Rehoboth at Mendum we heard the vntwellcom newes of Capt Huchison<sup>28</sup> & Capt Wheeler

N: T:

Acc<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Fight  
with y<sup>e</sup> Indians  
Aug<sup>t</sup> 1<sup>t</sup> 1675  
by Nath<sup>l</sup> Thomas  
dated 10 Aug<sup>t</sup> 1675  
[Original Letter, *Massachusetts Historical Society*, Davis Papers, MSS. 161, G. 28.]

Sachemship over the Nipmuck Indians. See *ante*, page 95.

<sup>24</sup> Mendon, Mass., incorporated in 1667, originally partly bounded the northern line of the Rehoboth North Purchase, the particular section of which is now the city of Woonsocket, R. I. The southern part of Mendon was set off as Blackstone in 1845, from which Millville was set off in 1916. See Map in *Early Rehoboth*, vol. I, opp. p. 22. In the early days there was considerable intercourse between Rehoboth and Mendon; the Rehoboth Town Records mention laying out a road between the two towns.

<sup>25</sup> Hubbard said that the number of Indians killed was about thirty.

<sup>26</sup> Lieutenant Thomas gave the name of only one of the four captains killed, Nimrod, and mentioned the presence of the Black Sachem and *Tockamona* (brother of *Awassunks*, Squaw Sachem of Seaconnet). For Black Sachem, see *ante*, page 86.

On 4 July 1673 the Plymouth Colony Court granted liberty to Benjamin Church and John Tompson "to purchase land of *Tuspaquine* the black sachem and William his son" for the inhabitants and proprietors of the town of Middleberry [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. V, p. 126].

<sup>27</sup> Drake, in a foot-note to John Davis' copy of this Thomas letter printed in the appendix to Mather's *Brief History* (Drake Ed., 1862), said "Besides many guns taken from the slain". The original letter shows that this is not Drake's note but is Lieutenant Thomas' comment written on the margin of his letter.

<sup>28</sup> Capt. Edward Hutchinson was shot by the Indians at Quabaog (Brookfield) 2 August and died 19 Aug. 1675. See *ante*, p. 72.

\* beside many guns taken from the slain

Phillip alias *metacom* John Hull.  
 his **P**marke Tho Clark  
 Daniel Denison Majr Gen<sup>l</sup> John Leverett  
 Josiah Winslow Daniel Henchman  
 Thomas Savage Com<sup>d</sup> in chief  
 John Winthrop James Cudworth  
 John Richards: ~~John Richards~~ J. Dudley  
 Samuel Mosley Increase Mather  
 Daniel Gookin William Hubbard  
 Enoch Greenleaf Jo: Underhill  
 Wait Winthrop S: Bradstreet  
 John Eliot Thomas Danforth  
 Anne Bradstreet Cotton Mather:  
 Peter Hunt James Brown

Photostatic reproductions of seventeenth-century autographs of twenty-six individuals, most of whom had principal parts in King Philip's War. These are: the mark of King Philip, Gen. Daniel Denison, Gov. Josiah Winslow, Maj. Thomas Savage, Gov. John Winthrop, Capt. John Richards, Capt. Samuel Mosley, Capt. Daniel Gookin, Lieut. Enoch Greenleaf, Maj. Wait Winthrop, Rev. John Eliot, Poetess Anne Bradstreet, Lieut. Peter Hunt, Capt. John Hull, Capt. Thomas Clark, Gov. John Leverett, Capt. Daniel Henchman, Maj. James Cudworth, Gov. Joseph Dudley, Rev. Increase Mather, Rev. William Hubbard, Capt. John Underhill, Gov. Simon Bradstreet, Lieut. Gov. Thomas Danforth, Rev. Cotton Mather, and Lieut. James Brown.



The following letter written by Richard Smith from Wickford, Rhode Island, to Gov. John Winthrop, on 5 Aug. 1675, adds some heretofore unknown details to the history of Philip's flight from the Pocasset Swamp and subsequent pursuit and fight at Nipsachuck:

Much Hounoured

This post just nowe Coming: haue nott time because nott willing to deteyne him: to infor<sup>e</sup>m you att Large: butt briuffly; Philip is fled and his women and Children Came along A boue prouidenc The prouidenc men and secunk men: with the Mohigan Injni kiled 14<sup>th</sup> of them, they fled and are goone as its suposed up to quopage, the naragansets hath bin outt 300 of them: brought me in seuen heds of the Eniane, also is nowe com home and with them att Lest 100 men—woman and Children of wettamors the—Pa:cusett Sachim squo and her with them She is kind to Sucquauch: & he deseiers all fauor for her thatt Can be; no Eenglish ha[th] it intilligenc of it, butt my selufe two ouers sinc, she & her men hath bin in aicion Agaynst the Eenglish, I shall giue notis of it as sone as Can to boston Gou<sup>o</sup>: also:, only ame willing to: here first from you, many straigling Indyans are abrode: for mischif, sune nip nap Indyans joyne with Philip, sune Indyans in Plymouth Patan are Come in to the Eenglish aboutt 120 in all as I here, myne with my wiufs humbe bell seruis to you and all you<sup>r</sup>: presented with all the hounored gentellmen with yow in greatt hast subscrib my selufe you<sup>r</sup> most obleged & humbell seruent

Richd Smith

Wickford 5<sup>th</sup> Agost 1675

These for the Houna<sup>b1</sup> John Winthrop Esqu<sup>r</sup> Gou<sup>r</sup> of Coneticott.

[Indorsed] M<sup>r</sup> Richard Smith: rec: Aug: 8:

[Original letter, *Massachusetts Historical Society*, Winthrop Papers, vol. XVIII, p. 110.]

The following records add further confirmation to some of the statements made in the foregoing letters. In a letter written from Springfield on 7 Aug. 1675 to Gov. John Winthrop of Connecticut, Maj. John Pynchon\* said:

“. . . an Indian from *Wabaquattick* brings Intelligence that Philip with 40 of his men is now at a Place called *Ashquoack* a little on this side of Quabaug . . . and he resolves to settle If he be not disturbed: because it is a Place of food: y<sup>e</sup> English of Quabaug their Corne being hard by . . . he came 2 days agoe to this Place and these Pitches . . . They say y<sup>e</sup> tyme that Philip left his swamp was 7 days agoe and that being pursued he had 10 of his men killed . . . and that these 40 men who are fled with Philip have but 30 guns and the other 10 Bows and Arrows and are now weake and weary and may be easily delt with, whereas if we let alone (say y<sup>e</sup> Indians) they will burn our houses and kill us all by stealth . . .” [Original letter as printed in the Appendix of Mather's *Brief History* (Drake Ed., 1862), pp. 235–9].

George Memicho, the Indian captive taken at Brookfield, related that Philip brought about 40 men with him and many women and children. Philip told the Indians at Quabaug “that had Captain Henschman persued him closely he must have been taken with his whole company” [*Bodge*, p. 112].

The foregoing letters, covering the five days from 29 July to 2 Aug. 1675, present a comprehensive record of Philip's pursuit, the progress of which is briefly summarized to 9 August as follows:

29 July—Capt. James Cudworth with 116 men left Pocasset and marched to the relief of Dartmouth, leaving Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas and 20 men at Mount Hope garrison. With the withdrawal of the Plymouth forces, the sole responsibility for keeping Philip and the squaw sachem,

\* Maj. John Pynchon of Springfield married Margaret, daughter of William Hubbard.

Weetamoe, from escaping out of the Pocasset Swamp rested with Capt. Daniel Henchman and his company of 125 soldiers and 17 friendly *Natick* Indians. That night the Indians escaped out of the swamp and the next day were in the town of Providence some 28 miles away, all unknown to Captain Henchman until notified on 30 July by Mr. Newman of Rehoboth.

30 July—Lieutenant Thomas rode to Rehoboth, where he learned of the escape of Philip. Carrying letters from Lieut. Peter Hunt and Mr. Newman, he rode back to Mount Hope, where he stopped on his way to Pocasset to ask Capt. Daniel Henchman to come to Rehoboth to help in the pursuit of Philip. Lieut. James Brown, a Plymouth Colony Assistant, went with him to help present the case to Captain Henchman. They reached Pocasset after 9:00 P. M. (two hours after sunset).

Captain Henchman was told that the Indians were travel weary and discouraged and that Philip had few warriors and that they were out of powder. Lieut. Peter Hunt asked Captain Henchman to come to Rehoboth that night by "night Water", so as to join in the pursuit the next day. Captain Henchman agreed to go to Rehoboth. Lieutenants Thomas and Brown sent word to Captain Cudworth and to Warwick to the "Narraganset Indians to head Philip".

31 July—Captain Henchman, although asked shortly after 9 o'clock the night of the 30th to come by "night Water" delayed his departure for eight or nine hours "until break of day", when with six files of soldiers (68) and 17 Indians he embarked on Mr. Almy's sloop for Providence, first landing two miles below Seekonk, but on receipt of a letter from Lieutenant Thomas, he re-embarked and landed at Providence. Here each man was given three biscuits, a fish, some raisins, and ammunition enough for two or three days. Guided by Providence men they marched for Nipsachuck.

Early in the morning Lieutenant Thomas with 12 men marched from Mount Hope for Rehoboth accompanied by Lieutenant Brown and 12 men from Swansea. With 40 Rehoboth men, probably under Lieut. Peter Hunt, they marched in pursuit of Philip. Preceding them were 30 Providence men under Capt. Andrew Edmunds, 30 Stonington men under Quartermaster Swift, and 50 of Uncas' Mohegan Indians. At sunset the two contingents met at Nipsachuck.

1 August—At dawn the English attacked the Indians, killing some 23 including 4 of Philip's chief captains. At 9 o'clock the skirmish ended, Philip's men fleeing into a swamp. Near the end of the fight Lieutenant Brown, Mr. Newman, and others, arrived with provisions. The English forces at this point numbered about 130, together with some 50 Mohegan Indians. At 10 o'clock Captain Henchman arrived with his company of 68 men and 17 Indians, making a combined force of about 198 English and 67 Indians, a total of 265 fighting men. Captain Henchman took over the command. He showed the Mohegan Indians Captain Gookin's letter stating that he was to take the care and command of them.

The Providence men returned to carry their wounded man, and Lieutenant Thomas and his 10 men returned with them, carrying their 2 wounded. They arrived at Providence at 12 or 1 o'clock that night. There apparently remained at Nipsachuck some 87 English and 67 Indians, a total fighting force of some 154 men under the command of Captain Henchman.

With Philip and some 40 warriors without ammunition, just defeated an hour before and fled into a swamp less than three-quarters of a mile distant, Captain Henchman, with a force outnumbering that of Philip's three or four to one, rested all that day and night instead of immediately following up his advantage and going into the swamp where the Indians waited all day ready to give themselves up on the first approach of the English.



- 2 August—In the morning Captain Henschman started on his pursuit of Philip, but he had allowed him such a head start that he never did catch up with him, and Philip easily escaped to the Nipmucks at Quabaug and Weetamoe, to the Narragansetts. Later that morning Lieutenant Thomas with 5 of his men and 12 from Providence returned to Nipsachuck with ammunition and provisions and followed Captain Henschman. Lieutenant Thomas and his men marched all day, and that night lay in the woods.
- 3 August—Early in the morning Lieutenant Thomas resumed his march, later meeting Ensign Henry Smith and Lieut. James Brown returning home, they having left Captain Henschman, "whom Rehoboth men blamed for not immediately pursuing Philip the day of the fight instead of delaying a whole day". Lieut. James Brown and 4 Swansea men who were going home with the Rehoboth men changed their minds and returned with Lieutenant Thomas. After marching 15 miles from where the Indians were fought at Nipsachuck, Lieutenant Thomas found that Captain Henschman and his company had left the track of Philip on the right hand and gone the west way to the Nipmuck country. That night Lieutenant Thomas overtook Captain Henschman at the second fort in the Nipmuck country, called by the Indians *Wapososhe-quash*. The Nipmuck Sachems had sent men to conduct Philip to Quabaug.
- 4 August—Lieutenant Brown and his 4 men went to Norwich, about 20 miles to the northward of the west (as the Indians said) to bring, with all speed, supplies and provisions and more men to march to Quabaug, the intent being to treat with the Nipmuck Indians and have them either deliver up Philip if he came to them or be considered enemies. The Mohegan Indians, heavily overloaded with about £100 worth of Philip's plunder, went away home toward Norwich with Lieutenant Brown. Lieutenant Thomas remained at this second Nipmuck fort from Tuesday night 3 August to Saturday morning 7 August awaiting Lieutenant Brown's return.
- 6 August—Capt. Samuel Mosely with a company of 60 troopers, following Captain Henschman from Providence, picked up at night and examined an old Indian who said he was one of Philip's uncles and was on his way to Pocasset; that in the fight of 1 August the English killed 23 of Philip's men, 4 of whom were captains; that Philip had gone to Quabaug and Weetamoe, to Narragansett; that Philip had discovered some of the English as they marched towards the fort; that the English had outmarched the Indians after their track was left, and fearing that Philip was headed off on his front, he (the uncle) fled back to Pocasset. He said that after the fight all that day the Indians remained in the swamp not three-quarters of a mile from the place where they were fought "expecting every minute when they should be surprised they being ready to deliver themselves up".
- 7 August—Lieutenant Brown not having returned nor any word received from him, and provisions having been spent, the 12 Providence men were sent to Norwich to notify him that Captain Henschman was returned to Mendon. Lieutenant Thomas accompanied him. About 12 miles from the second fort they met Captain Mosely with a company of 60 troopers who had followed from Providence. Captain Henschman and Captain Mosely's lieutenant returned to Mendon, leaving the army in the woods at sunset about 12 miles from Mendon with orders to come in the next day. Lieutenant Thomas and his men went to them at Mendon.
- 8 August—In the morning Captain Henschman accompanied by Lieutenant Kent \* (probably Mosely's Lieutenant) went to Boston for further orders. Lieutenant Thomas returned to Rehoboth. Most of Captain Henschman's men were left at Mendon under the command of Captain

\* No Lieutenant Kent was found by *Bodge*.

Mosely, who was soon ordered to march to Quabaug (Brookfield). In a note indorsing a bill of William Locke, Chirurgeon of the Massachusetts Forces in the Mount Hope campaign, Mosely said that after Captain Henschman went to Boston "he took said Locke in his company and from Mendon marched to Malbury and thence to Quabaug". [Bodge, p. 66.]

9 August 1675—At Boston Captain Henschman received his instructions in a letter from Gen. Daniel Denison, commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts Forces, ordering him to return to Pocasset and bring back his men, provisions, and supplies from Fort Leverett. He was ordered to advise the Plymouth commander of this design and if said commander wished him to remain there, to await further orders from the Council; otherwise to turn over the fort to the care of the Plymouth forces and march his company back to Boston and there disband it until further called out by the Council. Plymouth preferred to take charge of the fort, so Captain Henschman brought his soldiers home to Boston and disbanded them as ordered [Bodge, p. 50].

According to Samuel G. Drake, Captain Henschman on his return to Boston resigned his commission, but the General Court refused to accept it. There seems to have been bitter feeling in Boston at that time as to how the Indian captives should be treated. One faction, led by Rev. John Eliot and Major Gookin,\* Captain Henschman's associate in the new plantation (afterwards named Worcester), advised moderate measures, while another and larger faction clamored for a general extermination of the Indians.

Mr. Bodge in his History, pages 52 and 53, said that "Capt. Henschman seems to have been of the moderate party, and was therefore somewhat unpopular with most of the soldiers, and doubtless his apparent lack of success in the pursuit of Philip at Rehoboth added to this feeling with the people. But the court sustained and trusted him, and immediately reappointed him to service over one hundred men who met at Roxbury meeting-house, but refused to march forth under his command, and demanded Capt. Oliver. The council compromised the matter and sent them Capt. Lake . . . . Capt. Henschman seems to have been employed in August and September in regulating affairs in some of the outlying towns".

Further research would undoubtedly uncover other documents adding more to our knowledge of the unsuccessful pursuit and the escape of Philip. The foregoing records and letters, however, seem to be ample to prove that on the shoulders of Capt. Daniel Henschman alone rested the responsibility for not capturing or killing King Philip at Nipsachuck Swamp in Providence and ending the war then and there five weeks after its start. Instead, his procrastination permitted Philip with a few travel-weary, battle-tired warriors, part of whom were armed with guns without powder and the rest with bows and arrows, to slip through his fingers.

Nothing found in the records proves Capt. Daniel Henschman to have been the outstanding† soldier claimed by later writers. In all

\* The first company of Massachusetts Indians that went out in King Philip's War was recruited by Major Gookin from the various friendly tribes of praying Indians around Boston. See *ante*, page 68.

† In 1862 James Savage said that in King Philip's War, 1675-1676, Daniel Henschman "was a captain of distinction" [*Gen. Dict.*, vol. II, p. 402].



fairness, however, it must be stated that in forming their opinions none of these writers had the advantage of the evidence assembled in this chapter.

So far as the records show, Daniel Henschman was without military experience when he was appointed captain by the Massachusetts General Court on 12 May 1675. That he was made a captain at this time was an accident, for he was chosen in the place of Mr. Humphrey Davy, who after receiving the appointment, refused to serve. Twelve days later Captain Henschman was appointed to the command of 100 men for special service in the Massachusetts Expeditionary Campaign in Plymouth Colony.

His service in Plymouth Colony was not conspicuous. On 3 July he and Captain Prentice were sent out to search the swamps between Swansea and Rehoboth for Indians. Hubbard said that "about 10 o'clock the next morning, 4 July, Capt. Henschman after a long and tedious March, came to Head-Quarters and informed that he came upon a Place where the Enemy had newly been that Night, but they were escaped out of his Reach".

From 5 July to the 15th he was with Major Savage in Rhode Island making a treaty with the Narragansett Indians. He was a witness to this treaty. The troops, under command of Major Savage, returned to Rehoboth on 15 July and marched towards Pocasset where the Indians were fought at Pocasset Swamp on 19 July. Captain Henschman was probably in this fight.

We have Lieutenant Church's account of going to the Mount Hope garrison, while Captain Henschman was away in Rhode Island, and borrowing his lieutenant with three files of soldiers and of the lieutenant's refusal to go into the Pocasset Swamp to fight. Captain Henschman's lieutenant told Lieutenant Church "that if he was sure of killing all of the enemy and knew that he must lose the life of one of his men in the action he would not attempt it", and marched his men back to the garrison.

After retreating from the Pocasset Swamp on 19 July, Major Savage ordered four of his companies back to Massachusetts, leaving Captain Henschman and his company to help Captain Cudworth's Plymouth company guard Philip and keep him in the Pocasset Swamp.

In the study of this pursuit of Philip, two things stand out above all else. One is that Captain Henschman seems to have felt no personal responsibility for Philip's escape from Pocasset Swamp, although he and his company of some 125 men were left the sole guardians of Philip when Captain Cudworth marched his Plymouth company of 116 men to the relief of Dartmouth. The other is that Captain Henschman appears to have failed to realize that while the

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Rev. Edward Everett Hale, minister of the South Congregational Church, writing in 1880, said "Capt. Daniel Henschman was a connection of Judge Sewall and there was in Sewall's house a room called by his name; that everything in Captain Henschman's letters shows that he was a good soldier and a prompt executive man, and he is, perhaps the most prominent representative of Boston as the war goes on. Doubtless he made mistakes like other men. But there is a manliness in his treatment of the Christian Indians which conciliates respect" [Windsor's *Memorial of Boston* (1880), vol. I, Chap. IX, p. 317].

military strategy of Massachusetts was to prevent the Nipmuck Indians from joining Philip in Plymouth Colony, Philip was upsetting this strategy by fleeing to the Nipmuck Indians in Massachusetts, and that at all costs this union had to be prevented by either capturing Philip or turning him back towards Mount Hope.

On reading the Rehoboth letters sent to Captain Henchman asking for aid in the pursuit of Philip, one seems to read between the lines that there was some question about his answer to this call for help. Otherwise, why was it necessary for Lieut. Peter Hunt, commander of the Rehoboth forces, to write Captain Henchman asking him to come to Rehoboth that night by "night Water"; for Minister Newman to write him about the escape, and also at the same time write Lieutenant Thomas telling him that Philip was in "poore strenth of men" so tired out and dispirited that they would soon "knife" Philip if surprised—all on one sheet of paper to be delivered to Captain Henchman by Lieutenant Thomas, who was to ask him personally to join in the pursuit?

It may also be asked why Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas, the ranking Plymouth officer (in the absence of Captain Cudworth, the commander-in-chief), who was to deliver these two letters personally, felt that it was in addition necessary to ask Lieut. James Brown, who was also a Plymouth Colony Assistant, to go along and help him present the case. An Indian war was on and with an excellent chance to end it, why was it thought necessary to have three letters, in addition to the personal solicitation of two Plymouth Colony officers, in order to get Captain Henchman to join in the pursuit? Unknown to him, Philip had escaped from the Pocasset Swamp where the job of guarding him had been left to Captain Henchman when Captain Cudworth marched his Plymouth forces to the relief of Dartmouth.

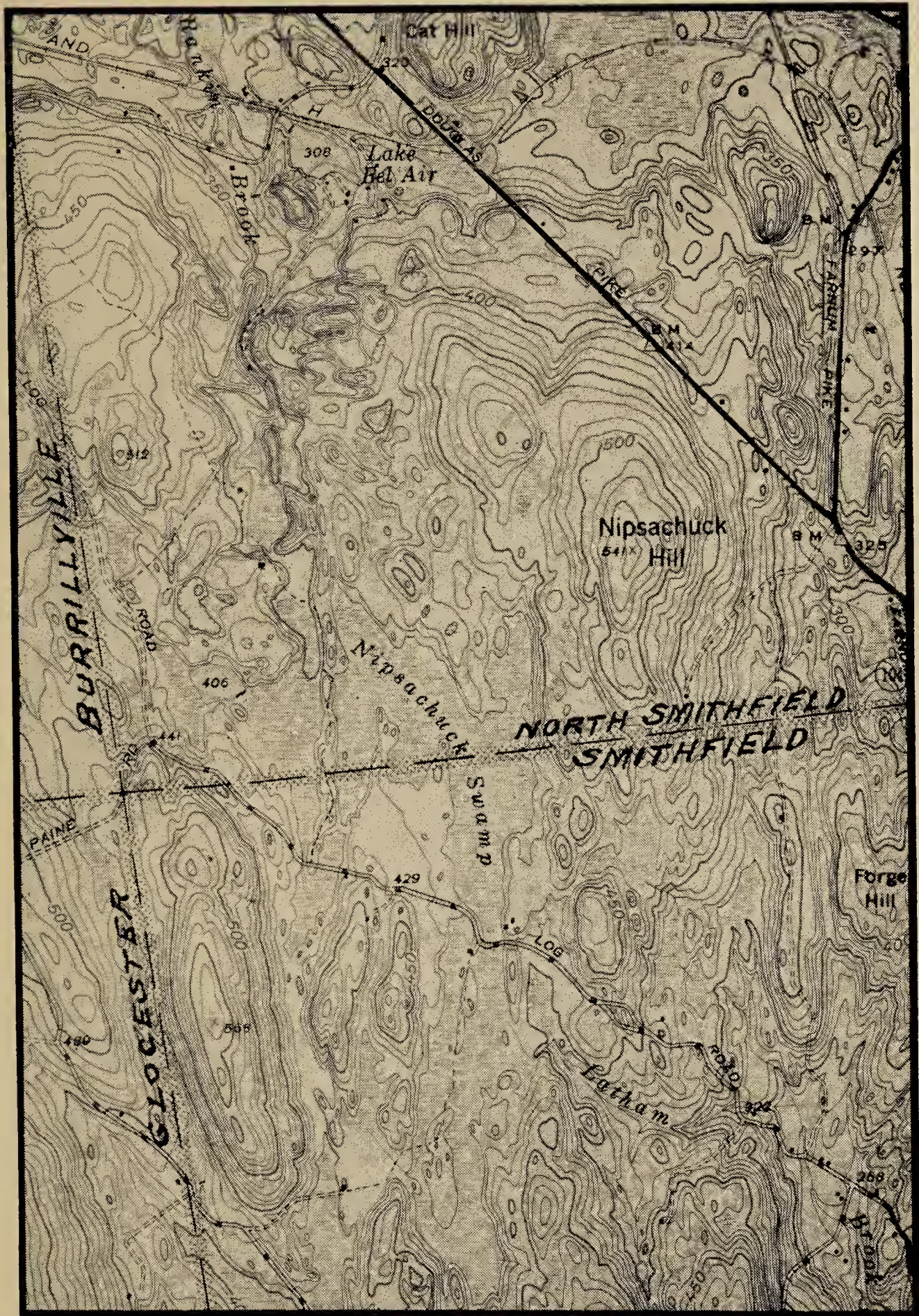
The answer seems to be found in the letter Captain Henchman wrote to Governor Leverett while in transit to Providence on Mr. Almy's boat. In this letter he said: "Lt. Thomas brought me the two first enclosed letters from Rehoboth and Mr. James Brown came with him to press my going thither which with what strength I could *was yeilded to*\* (I have just finished the South East flanker of the fort so farr as to be a good defence for my men) . . . taking six files [68] with me and 17 Indians . . . leaving five files [56] behind to be going on with the work and the Brigidine".

Even after he had started on the pursuit of Philip, Captain Henchman failed to grasp the significance and far-reaching effect of this escape and to realize that there was no longer any need of a fort to protect his men against the Indians, for all of them had fled.

In spite of the necessity for quick action, Captain Henchman delayed his departure from Pocasset for eight or nine hours after he received word of the escape, not starting until daybreak the next morning, 31 July. Traveling 20 miles by water and 10 miles by land, he arrived at Nipsachuck at 10 o'clock 1 August, an hour after the battle was over. It took him 28 hours to cover a distance of some 30 miles.

\* The italics are the writer's.





A full-size photographic reproduction of a section of the U. S. Geological Map, Rhode Island (Providence County), Georgiaville Quadrangle Survey, 1943 Edition, showing the Nipsachuck country (Smithfield) in the north end of the town of Providence, Rhode Island, where Rehoboth, Providence, and other men together with the Mohegan Indians, fought and defeated King Philip on 1 Aug. 1675. The fight took place near Nipsachuck Hill. The boundary between Smithfield and Gloucester was the "Providence Seven Mile Line".

Scale of map, two inches equals one mile. Contour interval 10 feet. Datum is mean sea level.







Philip and his Indians, escaping from the Pocasset Swamp on the night of 29 July, were overtaken by the English at Nipsachuck on the night of 31 July. At daylight on the morning of 1 August the fight took place. The elapsed time between 29 and 31 July was about 48 hours, and the distance traveled some 32 miles.\* If the men, women, and children heavily loaded with all their possessions, marched 16 hours out of each 24, the distance covered was at an average rate of about a mile an hour.

It seems that the importance of this escape of Philip did finally dawn on Captain Henchman, for on 3 August he suddenly stopped following Philip's track and attempted to head him off by circling around to the fort in the Nipmuck country. The attempt nearly succeeded, but Captain Henchman had given Philip too much of a start, and he escaped and joined the Nipmucks, accomplishing the very thing that five companies of Massachusetts soldiers and one company of Plymouth soldiers had been trying for nearly a month to prevent.

Capt. Daniel Henchman,† who died at Worcester 15 Oct. 1685, appears in Boston as early as 1666 where he was employed at a salary of £40 per annum "to assist Mr. Woodmancy in the Grammar Schoole and teach the childere to wright". Robert Woodmancy was schoolmaster of the Latin School from 1650 to his death in 1667. In 1669 Captain Henchman was one of a committee with Captains Daniel Gookin, Thomas Prentice, and Richard Beares to lay out, settle, and manage the new plantation at Quansigamond Ponds (now Worcester). He became the principal manager of that settlement and a large landowner.

Daniel Henchman lived in the north end of Boston between Commercial Street on the northeast and Charter Street on the southeast, near the ferry to Winnissimmet. He was a schoolmaster from 1666 to 1671, when he became a merchant. In 1671 he was granted leave to wharf before his land in Commercial Street near the ferry; freeman in 1672. In 1674-75 he laid out a cartway ten feet wide, which in 1699 was called Declination Alley, and Henchman Street in 1708 [Thwing's *The Crooked and Narrow Streets of Boston* (1920), p. 75, map p. 26].

The following list contains every reference to Daniel Henchman

\* An inspection of a modern map shows that all of the distances given by the contemporary writers were greatly exaggerated. The distance from Rehoboth northwest to Nipsachuck is about 12 miles and not 20 as stated by Lieutenant Thomas, and the distance from Providence to Nipsachuck is about 10 miles and not 22 as stated by William Hubbard. The distance from Pocasset to Providence is about 20 miles. The distance from the Pocasset Swamp north, then west over the Taunton River, through Swansea, skirting the Seekonk Great Plain to the ford at Pawtucket River, is about 24 miles. From this point it is about 8 miles to Nipsachuck, which is about 32 miles from Pocasset Cedar Swamp. Nipsachuck is about 4½ miles south of the Massachusetts line. See map.

† Capt. Daniel Henchman m. (1), probably in England, Sarah, dau. of Hezekiah Woodward, gentleman, of Uxbridge, co. Middlesex, England, who in his will of 22 Feb. 1674, bequeathed "to the five children of my daughter, Sarah Henchman deceased, by Daniel Henchman of Boston in New England, the sum of £20 apiece to be paid at their respective ages of twenty-one years". Then he gave all his lands and tenements in Ireland to the said Daniel Henchman in trust for the said children. Children by first wife: (Richard, Hezekiah, Nathaniel); Susanna, b. 7 June 1667; William, b. 28 July 1669 and d. before 29 Mar. 1673. He m. (2) 26 Apr. 1672, Mary, b. at Taunton, dau. of William Poole of Dorchester. Children: William, b. 29 Mar. 1673; Jane, b. 25 May 1674; Daniel, b. 16 June 1677; and Mary, b. 1 June 1682. His widow, Mary, and sons Richard and Hezekiah were administrators of his estate, which on 29 Apr. 1686 inventoried £1381:13:09 [*Bodge*, pp. 47, 48.]

William Poole, gent., d. 24 Feb. 1674, age 81. He was of Taunton, 1638; removed to Dorchester; schoolmaster from 1659. Elizabeth Poole, "the chief cause of building at Taunton", was his sister.



found in the Massachusetts Bay Records from 1661 to 1686. To this list, have been added extracts from papers and letters in the Massachusetts Archives, together with material found by Rev. George Madison Bodge in his search of John Hull's Journal and Account Book:

- 20 May 1669—At a General Court held at Boston a committee previously appointed and impowered to lay out, settle and manage, a plantation at or about "Quansiqamund Pond, twelve miles beyond Marlborough, in the roade way to Springfield & Hadley", made a report. The committee consisted of Captains Daniel Gookin, Thomas Prentice, Daniel Henschman, and Richard Beares [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. IV, p. 435].
- 6 June 1674—In answer to a petition of "Capt. Daniel Gookin, Capt. Thomas Prentice, Lieut. Richard Beeres, and Mr. [Daniel] Henschman, the court as a full issue between the petitioners and Ephraim Curtis, ordered that he have fifty acres of land that is already laid out to him where he hath built, with all manner of accomodation as other inhabitant have, and liberty to take up two hundred and fifty acres of land without the bounds of the same town [now Worcester]" [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 10].
- 12 May 1675—At General Court of Elections held at Boston "it is ordered that Capt. Thomas Lake be captaine of the new company to be rayseed out of Capt. Savage company, Mr. Humphrey Davy to be capt. of the company rayseed out of Capt. Olliuers company . . . Capt. Thomas Lake & Mr. Humphrey Davy desired the Court's favor to accept their refusals of these offices and the Court granted their motions . . . leaving the said Capt. Lake in the station he is now in and appointed Mr. Daniel Henschman capt. of that company, and Left Thomas Clarke capt. instead of Mr. Davy" [*Ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 32, 33].
- 24<sup>th</sup> June 1675—At a meeting of the General Court "Capt. Daniel Henschman was chosen and voted to goe forth as Capt of 100 men for the service of this Colony on y<sup>e</sup> designe to go to Plymouth Col<sup>y</sup>. Capt Thomas Prentice is appointed to be Capt of the Horse.  
 "To the Militia of the town of Boston, Cha. Camb. Watertown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Dedham, Brantrey, Weymouth, Hingham, Maulden—You are hereby required in his Majesty's name to take notice that the Gov<sup>r</sup> & Council have ordered 100 able souldjers forthwith impressed out of severall Towns according to the proportions hereunder written for the aid and assistance of our confederate Plymouth in the designe afoote ag<sup>st</sup> the Indians, and accordingly you are to warne af<sup>sd</sup> proportions to be ready at an hours warning from Capt Daniel Henschman who is appointed Captain and Commander of the Foote Company that each souldjer shal have his armes compleat and Snapsack ready to march and not faile to be at the randevous.  
 "To D. H. Capt. with the Consent of the Councill for the Colony of Mass. in New England—Whereas you are apoynted Capt of a foote Company to Serve in this Expedition for the assistance of our neighbors of Plimouth against the insolences and outrages of the natives, these are to wil and require you to take charge of the said Company of foote, mounted as dragoons, & you to command and instruct your inferior officers and souldjers according to military rules for the service and saftey of the Country, and you to attend such orders from tyme to tyme as you shal receyve from your superior Commanders or the Council of this Colony. Signed by y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>nr</sup>; Past 25 June 1675; E. R. Secy" [*Mass. Archives*, vol. LXVII; *Bodge*, pp. 46, 47].
- Aug. 1675—"The court reappointed Captain Henschman to serve over 100 men who met at the Roxbury meeting house, but refused to march forth under his command, and demanded Captain Oliver. The Council compromised the matter and sent Captain Lake" [*Bodge*, pp. 52, 53].
- 16 Aug. 1675—A part of Captain Henschman's soldiers were still under the



command of Captain Mosely, 12 of whom he detailed to the Chelmsford garrison [*Ibid.*, p. 50].

27 Sept. 1675—Captain Henchman was in command of the Chelmsford garrison as seen by his letter to Governor Leverett on this date [*Mass. Archives*, vol. LXVII, p. 269; *Bodge*, p. 53].

1 Nov. 1675—Captain Henchman marched out of Boston towards Hassanameset (Grafton) with 20 men and arrived at Medfield at 3 P.M. the same day. The next morning he wrote a letter to the Governor in which he said: “. . . I am hasting to march [to Mendon] this morning but hoped if the men's refreshments had not given check to have been gon by moon rising, I cannot see by acct taken before I draw out that my number will amount to above 75, some sending short of what ordered and 37 discharged by order, I have not any officer but a Sergeant from Roxbury; some men and the armes of others not fit for service . . . Our greatest danger (as I judged) if the enemy designs upon us this day, will be at a pass six miles from hence; the which I hope we shall look unto the Lord in the use of means to avoid . . . Begging your prayers for us I desire that all our supplications may be accepted for the Country and the interest of our Lord Jesus Christ therein; and rest Hon<sup>d</sup> S<sup>r</sup>

Your humble Servant D. Henchman.

[P.S.] “When the Lord shall have brought us safe to Mendam I shall attend the Major's orders there and wait for the recruits intended me” [*Bodge*, p. 54].

3 Nov. 1675—At a General Court held a Boston—the “Court wrote & sent a letter to Capt<sup>t</sup> Hinchman, & is on file”. It ordered, that “Capt<sup>t</sup> Scyll, w<sup>th</sup> his company, take recruit at Marlborow, & forthuith march to Hassanesesit, & . . . joyne w<sup>th</sup> Capt<sup>t</sup> Hinchman to pursue the ennemy, w<sup>ch</sup> wee heare lirketh thereabouts, & hath lately repelled some of Capt<sup>t</sup> Hinchmans men at Hassanemesit, & slayne his leifteñnt & one English man more; and after Capt<sup>t</sup> Scylls conjunction w<sup>th</sup> Capt<sup>t</sup> Hinchman, he & his company shallbe at the comand of Capt<sup>t</sup> Hinchman, as comander in cheife of that party, & that a cobby of this order be imediately posted away to Capt<sup>t</sup> Scyll. It is ordered, that the comittee for the warr forthuith send to Capt<sup>t</sup> Hinchman at Mendon a supply of those necessarys for his souldjers that he writes for . . .” [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. V, p. 69].

9 Nov. 1675—Captain Henchman with his lieutenant and 22 mounted men rode to Hassanameset where he had a fight as reported in his letter of the 10th, in which he said that his Lieut. Philip Curtis and Thomas Andrews (one of the Mendon garrison) were killed. He said that his corporal, Abiell Lamb, outran himself in the attack, and that all his own and his lieutenant's men ran away from him in the fight except one of his “old soldiers (as he thinks) Johathan Dunning” [*Bodge*, p. 55].

12 Nov. 1675—The Council ordered Major Willard to send 12 troopers to Captain Henchman. Many of the soldiers were withdrawn and placed in garrison and all available were pressed and mustered for the Narragansett campaign [*Ibid.*, p. 55].

It was the custom to punish soldiers by fines, and sometimes their pay would be withheld for months until the accusing officer would recommend leniency and sign their “debenture” or bill for service rendered. On one of the few remaining fragments of the minutes of the Council, in the Massachusetts Archives, is a quaint letter from one Jonathan Adderton which declared that Captain Henchman wrongly accused him of “profanation of y<sup>e</sup> Sabbath”, when his only offence was the “cutting up of an old felt hat and putting the pieces in his shoes to relieve his galled foot.” etc. [*Ibid.*, p. 56].

— April 1676—Three companies of foot under Captains Sill, Cutler, and Holbrook, and three troops of horse under Captains Brattle, Prentice, and

Henchman, who was commander-in-chief, were sent out towards Has-sanamessit [Lincoln's *History of Worcester* (1837), p. 23].

5 May 1676—At a General Court of Election held at Boston, “the Council, upon intelligence of the approach of the ennemy with great numbers, ordered fower troops speedly to advance, which having been kept out about a weeke, and the troopers being most of them masters of familjes, and have not yet planted . . . it is ordered that the said troops (having first made vp their complement to Capt Hinchmans & Leiftennt Flood, which was ordered by the council) be licensed to depart to their seuerall habitations, to attend their oune occasions for a weeke, and until they receive further order.

“The Court, being sensible how much it concernes the welfare & safety of this country that order be attended by all officers and souldjers, and there being too much appearance that Capt George Corwin hath given very evill example in his demeano<sup>r</sup> & carriage to Capt Hinchman, which tended to disturbe & mutinize the souldiers vnder his comand, judge it necessary, that the sajd Capt Coruin be futher quaestioned, & proceeded w<sup>th</sup> as the case may require, for the prevention of the like disorders, and to stop any clamor<sup>s</sup> against the gouernment of partiall proceedings, that poorer men are punished for lesser offences, when richer men escape w<sup>th</sup> greater; and therefore doe appoint this case to be heard this afternoone at fower of the clocke, & that the witnesses be sumoned to appeare at the time.

“This Court, having heard & considered the case of Captaine George Corwin, as to his carriage towards Captaine Hinchman, the comāder in cheife ouer the forces now out against the ennemy, his orders for the service of the country, doe judge, that the sajd Captaine Coruin hath manifested great contempt of authority therein, and hath giuen very ill example in these times of danger, tending to dissolue that good discipline that is of necessity to be kept vp; and doe therefore take from him, for his sajd offence, his comand ouer the troope of horse of which he is captaine, and doe also sentence him to pay a fine of one hundred pounds in money to the country” [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. V, pp. 84, 90].

Captain Henchman seems to have been somewhat of a martinet with his men on small offences, and it may be that Captain Curwin was comparing these lesser offences with Captain Henchman's more important military failure to capture Philip for which it appears he received not even a reprimand.

5 May 1676—“The court appointed the following committee to attend to the removal of Indian women and children, the men to be improved in the service of the country: Left. Quinsey, Robert Badcock & Corporall Suift for Brush Hill [*Ponkapaug* Indians]; Capt. Prentice, Ensigne Fuller, Ensigne Bulling, & Deacon Heynes, Natice [remainder of *Natick* Indians]; Left. [Thomas] Hinchman, Left. Danforth, Ensigne Fletcher, Left. Osgood & Serjant Converse for Patucket [near Weymesit] [*Nashobah* and a part of *Natick* Indians]. The council ordered Maj<sup>r</sup> Goodkin and Mr. Elliot to make the seperation, to impress boats for their removal, to take care to arm and dispatch the Indian souldjers, and the commissioners are to attend Maj. Goodkin order for arms for their dispatch to Capt. Hinchman.

“That the Indians under the command of Sam Hunting with the English Indians under him, appointed for the above service be discharged from service under Capt. Hinchman, prouided ten Indians doe remain with him until a further supply is furnished him.

“The Court, being informed by Captain Henchman of his desire to be upon sudden motion, doe order that Supplizes of men & provisions, according to former order, be forthwith raysed and the sajd Capt. Hinchman ordered to march the sajd forces vnder his comand against the comon ennemy without delay” [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. V, pp. 86, 87, 92].



- 30 June 1675—Captain Henchman marched down towards Boston from Hadley the last of June. The war was drawing to a close and from his letter of this date to Governor Leverett can be seen how the praying Indians were bringing in the enemy Indians. Bodge printed the letter on page 57.
- 6 Sept. 1676—"In ans<sup>r</sup> to the petition of the troopers of Salem & Lynn humbly desireing this courts favour that their late captaine, Capt. George Coruin may be restored to his former comānd ouer that troope, the court judeth it meete to grant their request, & he is heereby restored to his former command" [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. V, p. 104].
- 1 June 1677—The court being informed that Capt. Thomas Wheeler's troop is much diminished, partly by his death . . . whereby there numbers doe not much exceed thirty troopers . . . the Court ordered that Left. Thomas Hinchman be Capt of y<sup>e</sup> troope & Mr. John Flint his leut<sup>t</sup>, and all the troopers in Sudbury, Marlborough & Concord, y<sup>t</sup> are at present under the Command of Capt. Thomas Prentice are hereby ordered . . . under the command of the sd Capt. Hinchman & his officers as an addition to that troope [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 142].

From this point on there are two captains Henchman, one named Daniel and the other Thomas. In some instances these records are hard to separate.

- 16 May 1683—At a Court of Elections held in Boston, "Major Daniel Goodkin, Esq<sup>r</sup>, Capt. Thomas Prentice, & Capt. Daniel Hinchman, a committee of the Gennerall Courts to order the affajres of a plantation at Quansiggamond to lay out the sajd plantation according to the Generall Courts grant dated 24<sup>th</sup> of October, 1668, to the contents of eight miles square, having accordingly surveyed the same, and draune this plot for the Courts confirmation, dated the 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1683". The bounds are described and "the Court approoves of this returne" [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. V, p. 413].
- 15 Oct. 1684—At a General Court held at Boston, "on the motion and desire of Majo<sup>r</sup> Genñll Goodkin, Capt Prentice & Capt Dañ Hinchman, the Court grants their request, i.e., that their plantation at Quansigamond be called Worcester & y<sup>t</sup> Capt Wing be added & appointed one of the comitee there, in y<sup>e</sup> roome of the deceased, & that their toune brand marke be thus" [a cross crosslet] [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 460].

In his search of John Hull's Account Book, Mr. Bodge found the following soldiers credited with military service in Capt. Daniel Henchman's company, and said that this list undoubtedly included the names of all the company that served in the Mount Hope campaign:

20 Aug. 1675.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Thomas Burges	02	06	02	Nathaniel Osborne	02	07	00
John Hills	00	06	00	Samuel Davis	02	07	00
John Lewis	01	14	03	Henry Kerby	02	07	00
John Angel	01	15	02	Ephraim Hall	01	07	00
Benjamin Negus	01	15	02	Richard Gibson	02	07	00
John Chapman	02	02	00	Thomas Williams	02	07	00
Robert Smith	02	02	00	Joseph Ford	00	06	10
William Manly	02	08	00	Samuel Walles	01	06	06
Thomas Irons	02	07	00	William Bently	02	07	00
Samuel Perkins	02	07	00	Peter Edgerton	01	15	00
Hugh Taylor	02	07	00	John Bull	00	16	02
David Jones	02	07	00	Richard Brooks	02	00	00
James Whippo	02	07	00	John Barrett	01	10	00
Theophilus Thornton	02	07	00	Joseph Fiske	01	10	00





## CHAPTER V

### RICHARD WRIGHT

This is a study of Richard Wright, of Massachusetts Bay Colony, one of the leaders and perhaps the main organizer in the settlement of Seekonk, later called Rehoboth. Nothing has been written about this man who from the very beginning played an important part in the founding of Massachusetts more than three centuries ago. Savage and Pope knew little about him, and what is here printed presents a new ancestor to many thousands of people. There are only two persons of the surname Wright found in Rehoboth in the seventeenth century—Richard and George—and everything known about them appears in this book.

Richard Wright came from England in the first fleet with Governor John Winthrop as servant \* to Col. John Humfrey (or Humphreys), bringing with him three daughters, and perhaps other children, and probably his mother, Margaret. His wife would appear to have been deceased, for his two daughters in depositions made seventy-one years later, said that they came with "their father", with no mention of a mother.

In 1629 Colonel Humfrey was chosen deputy governor of the Massachusetts Company, but, as he decided to remain in England, Thomas Dudley was elected to fill his place.

Richard Wright proceeded to take up the lands at Saugus (Lynn) granted Colonel Humfrey and develop into the "plaine farm", erecting the houses and buildings, and getting the place ready for the arrival of the owner.

In 1634 Colonel Humfrey came to New England and established himself at Saugus. His first wife, the Lady Susan, daughter of Thomas Clinton, third Earl of Lincoln, was a sister of the Lady Arbella, wife of Isaac Johnson. For a time Richard Wright and his family remained on the farm at Saugus. Later we find him at Boston; then at Braintree; and next at Seekonk as one of the organizers of the new township.

Early in the history of New England, there were two men by the name of Richard Wright. The first came in the fleet with John Winthrop in 1630, and the second first appears in Plymouth Colony on 8 Oct. 1636 when he was granted five acres of land "at the fishing point next Slowly Field".

The first positive separation of the two men is on 5 June 1638, when at an inquisition at the General Court, held at Plymouth, Richard Wright was one of fifteen "honest and lawful men of the colony". At this time there was a Richard Wright known to be in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. From this date on the records of

\* Three hundred years ago anyone was a "servant" who worked for another whether in the capacity of farmhand or lawyer.

the two men are distinct and separate. The Plymouth \* man, married in 1644, deceased in 1691, was of the right age to have been a son of the Massachusetts man.

Richard Wright was the most important man and leader in the new settlement at Seekonk. Much has been said about the leadership of Rev. Samuel Newman in this settlement, but he was simply the teacher of the church. He was a scholar, and his consuming interest at this time was in the revision of the first edition of his Concordance to the Bible, finished at Weymouth and published in England in 1644.

Almost every spare minute of his time must have been taken up with this new revision, and in spite of the fact that he moved into the wilderness of Seekonk in 1643, his new 2nd edition of the Concordance to the Bible was published in London in 1650. This contained more than a million and a half words. It is said that he worked on it by light of "pitch pine knots", but anyone who has ever written a manuscript involving such an amount of research knows that he never could have done this work by the light of a smoky pine stick without losing his eyesight. He had to make a full time job of this Concordance, which is probably why he received no compensation from the town for the first few years.

Richard Wright was a staunch member of Samuel Newman's church, and when he went to England he may have carried to the printer the manuscript of Mr. Newman's new 1650 Concordance to the Bible. There is no record of anyone else from Rehoboth visiting England at this time.

Richard Wright of Braintree, Alexander Winchester (who had been servant to Mr. Henry Vane), William Cheeseborough, and Walter Palmer, were the real founders of Seekonk, and of these Richard Wright was the dominant man. Those from Weymouth and Hingham, contrary to what has been published, were secondary.

On 10 Dec. 1644 the nine Seekonk townsmen, including Alexander Winchester, chairman, Richard Wright and Walter Palmer of Braintree, with the backing of Massachusetts Bay, ordered eighteen men, including the powerful John Brown, Assistant at the Plymouth Court (then living at Taunton), either to move to Seekonk or forfeit their lands. This action was taken when it was thought that Seekonk was within the Massachusetts Bay jurisdiction.

The decision of the United Colonies that Seekonk was within the jurisdiction of Plymouth Colony, and not in that of Massachusetts Bay, resulted in all of the Braintree men being dropped from the new board of Seekonk townsmen, of which John Brown was made the chairman. From this time on, John Brown, the Plymouth Colony Assistant, was the dominant power in Seekonk, which name had been changed to Rehoboth. Richard Wright, William Cheese-

\* There are fourteen Plymouth Colony records, from 6 Oct. 1636 to 1 Mar. 1663/4, that seem to pertain exclusively to Richard Wright of that colony. To facilitate additional study, these records are as follows: 6 Oct. and 7 Nov. 1636; 2 Oct. and 4 Dec. 1637; 5 Feb. and 8 Mar. 1637/8; 5 June 1638; 21 Nov. 1644; 2 Mar. 1646/7; 3 June 1652; 7 June 1659; 23 July 1661; and two on 1 Mar. 1663/4. These are found in Plymouth Colony Records, vol. I, pp. 45, 46, 67, 70, 77, 78, and 88; vol. II, pp. 79 and 112; vol. III, pp. 8, 164 and 223; vol. IV, pp. 54 and 55.



borough, and Walter Palmer left the town, and Alexander Winchester died in 1647.

On 7 Oct. 1645, the Massachusetts Court granted twenty Brintree families "1,000 acres of land to plant a town in the place where Mr. Gorton did live". This attempt to settle in Rhode Island did not succeed, for the reason that John Brown of Rehoboth stopped the settlement by forbidding them to go to Gorton's settlement, claiming the territory to be within the limits of Plymouth.

The following records have been collected by the writer over a period of twenty-five years. In these will be found every mention of Richard Wright appearing in the original Rehoboth records. They are complete enough to present a picture of the times three centuries ago, and add much to our knowledge of the early settlement of Seekonk, later called Rehoboth.

— —1630—Richard Wright came to New England in the fleet with Governor Winthrop this year. He came over in the employ of Colonel Humfrey,\* to take up his lands at Saugus, erect buildings, and develop a farm to have ready for Colonel Humfrey on his arrival to New England. With him came his daughter Elenor, about 9 or 10 years old, and daughter Abigail, about 8 years old. There were probably other children, besides, perhaps, Margaret who may have been wife or mother [Depositions of Richard Wright's daughters (1701), *Suffolk County Court Records*, original papers No. 5,400].

27 Aug. 1630—Among the recorded members of the Boston church are the names Richard Wright, number 89, and Margaret Wright, number 99 [*Boston Church Records*].

28 Sept. 1630—Shortly after this date, a company of militia was organized at Saugus. The officers, not chosen by the people but appointed by the governor, were: Richard Wright, captain; Daniel Howe, lieutenant; and Richard Walker, ensign [*History of Lynn (1629-1864)*, vol. I, p. 135].

3 May 1631—At the Court of Assistants held at Boston, "it is ordered that John Legge, serv<sup>t</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Humfry, shalbe seuerely whipped this day, att Boston, and afterwards soe soone as conveniently may be, att Salem, for strikeing Richard Wright, when hee came to gieue him correcçon for idleness in his maist<sup>rs</sup> worke" [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. I, p. 86].

9 May 1631—At the General Court held at Boston, John Winthrop was chosen governor; Thomas Dudley, deputy governor; and Roger Ludlowe, Increase Nowell, William Pinchon, Simon Bradstreet, Capt. John Endicott, John Humfrey,† William Coddington,† and John Winthop, Jr., assistants.

"It was ordered that there should be two out of every plantation [eight towns] appointed to confer with the court about raising of a publicque stocke". Among those named were Richard Wright, for Saugus; William Cheesebrough, for Boston; and Walter Palmer, for Charlton [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. I, p. 95].

Governor Winthrop said that these men "were to advise with the governor and assistants . . . so that what they should agree upon

\* John Humfrey, who lived mostly in London, but had a house in Sandwich, co. Kent, had been chosen, in England, deputy-governor of the Massachusetts Company, but did not come to New England until July 1634, probably in the *Planter*.

One of his daughters, Ann, married, first, William Palme of Ireland, and, secondly, Rev. John Myles of Swansea, for which see the deposition of Richard Wright's two daughters, Elen<sup>r</sup> Clarke and Abigail Hollbrook, made in 1701.

† Neither one of these two men was in New England, but were daily expected to arrive.

should bind all" [Winthrop's *Hist. of New England* (Savage Ed., 1853), vol. I, p. 76]. In this embryo of a parliament are the names of Richard Wright, William Cheeseborough, and Walter Palmer, all later leaders in the settlement at Seekonk, with the strong backing of Governor Winthrop and the Massachusetts Bay Court.

14 June 1632—"One Abraham Shurd of Pemaquid, and one Capt. Wright, and others, comming to Piscataquack, being bound for this bay in a shallop with £200 worth of commodities, one of the seaman, going to light a pipe of tobacco, set fire on a barrel of powder, which tare the boat in pieces. That man was never seen; the rest were all saved, but the goods lost.

"The man that was blown away with the powder in the boat at Piscataquack, was afterwards found with his hands and feet torn off. This fellow, being wished by another to forbear to take any tobacco, till they came to the shore, which was hard by, answered, that if the devil would carry him away quick, he would take one pipe. Some in the boat were so drunk and fast asleep as they did not wake with the noise" [Winthrop's *Hist. of New England* (Savage Ed., 1853), vol. I, p. 79].

James Savage, in a footnote to this entry in Winthrop's Journal, said that he presumed that this Captain Wright was the Richard Wright of Saugus.

3 Sept. 1633—At the court held at Boston, John Dillingham, Richard Wright, and Thomas Dexter agreed to have the difference among them referred to Mr. Endicott and Mr. Nowell for settlement [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. I, p. 108].

4 Mar. 1633/4—At the court held at Boston there was "Gyven & pmised towards the Sea Fort", among others, "Rich: Wright, 4 inch plancke, 400" [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. I, p. 113].

14 May 1634—At the General Court held at Boston, Richard Wright is made a freeman [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. I, p. 368].

17 Dec. 1634—In letter written by John Humfrey to Isaac Allerton—"My servant Richard Wright living at Saugus, writes me for £5 in monie, if you think it better or fitter the provisions for commutation to get what they meet by, I pray you send it to him and charge mee with it here upon sight" [*Winthrop Papers*, vol. II, p. 335—*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1931].

4 Jan. 1635—Richard Wright and four others are named to lay out land at Mount Wooliston [*Boston Town Records* (1634-1648), p. 7].

14 Dec. 1635—At a general meeting upon public notice, Mr. William Colborne, Mr. William Aspinwall, Mr. John Sampford, William Balston, and Richard Wright, "shall in behalf of the town go and take a view at Mount Woolliston and land out there which may be sufficient for Mr. William Coddington and Edmund Quincy", etc. [*Boston Town Records* (1634-1648), p. 6].

— — 1636—Richard Wright was of Boston; had land at Mount Wollaston and was called captain [Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, vol. IV, p. 658].

20 Feb. 1636—"Our brother Wright" is to assist Mr. Coddington in laying out the land of Mr. John Wheelwright [*Boston Town Records* (1634-1648), p. 15].

14 Mar. 1636—Richard Wright and the others give the bounds of the land they were previously ordered to lay out at Mount Wolliston [*Boston Town Records* (1634-1648), p. 9].

6 Aug. 1636—Richard Wright contributed 6s. 8d. "towards the maintenance of a free-schoolmaster for Mr. Daniel Maude, being now also chosen thereunto. Gov. Henry Vane headed the list of forty-five subscribers with a contribution of £10" [*Boston Town Records*].

3 Apr. 1637—"Our brother Richard Wright" should lay out an allotment



- of 250 acres of land to Mr. John Wheelwright with the help of Mr. William Coddington [*Boston Town Records* (1634–1648), p. 17].
- 20 Nov. 1637—At the court held at Boston, “Cap<sup>t</sup> Turner, Goo: Rich<sup>d</sup> Right, Mr. Conant, & Goo: Woodberry are appointed to certify w<sup>ch</sup> bee the bounds between Salem & Saugust, w<sup>ch</sup> they formerly did agree vpon. Saugust is called Li<sup>n</sup> [Lynn]” [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. I, p. 211].
- 20 Nov. 1637—At the court held at Boston, “Mr. Abraham Palmer, Rich<sup>d</sup> Wright, Cap<sup>t</sup> Turner, & Cap<sup>t</sup> Traske, or three of them, are appointed to lay out the bounds of Mr. Humfreys farmes” [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. I, p. 217].
- 12 Mar. 1637/8—Richard Wright is one of the committee of four which reported the bounds of Mr. Humfrey’s lands which was a mile along the Salem and Lynn line, including part of the plain and the land on which the houses of “Thomas Smyth\* and Willi: Wytters houses stand” [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. I, pp. 226, 7].
- 18 Feb. 1638—“It hath appeared that . . . Richard Wright hath sold 130 acres of land at Mount Wollaston to one Mr. Pane of Concord without the consent of the town and he is fined £6” [*Boston Town Records* (1634–1648), p. 37].
- 4 Dec. 1638—At the Quarter Court held at Boston, “William Blanton appearing, was enjoyned to appear at the next court, with all the men that were in the canooe w<sup>th</sup> him, & [Thomas] Aplegate, w<sup>ch</sup> owned the canooe out of w<sup>ch</sup> the 3 psons were drowned; & it is ordered that no canooe should bee vsed at any fferry vpon paine of £5; nor no canooe to bee made in o<sup>r</sup> jurisdiction before the next Generall Court vpon paine of £10. Also, order was appointed to be given to Richard Wright to stave that canooe out of w<sup>ch</sup> these persons were drowned” [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. I, p. 246].
- 16 Feb. 1639—Richard Wright is dismissed from the Boston Church to the Braintree Church [*Boston Church Records*].
- 18 Feb. 1639—Richard Wright to have “a narrow piece of land lying at Mount Wollaston between the mill and the fresh brook . . . to the furtherance of his water mylne building there, in regard to his ready serviceableness to the Towns occasions” [Patee’s *Hist. of Old Braintree* (1878), p. 30].
- 27 Feb. 1639—Richard Wright is mentioned as one of “Our neighbors and Bretheren of the Mount” [*Boston Town Records* (1634–1648), p. 47].
- 5 Mar. 1638/9—At the Quarter Court held at Boston, “Willi: Blanton, Willi: Potter, Rob<sup>rt</sup> Thrope, Henry Neale, John Fitch, † & Thomas Aplegate, appearing, were discharged w<sup>th</sup> an admonition not to adventure too many into any boate” [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. I, p. 249].

From these records it will be seen that there were nine men in this canoe.

- 14 Apr. 1639—Nos Johem̄ Reade de Weymouth in Nova Angli Plantator et Richardum Wright de Mountwollaston in N.A. Plantatorem tener ’&c. Willo Tyng mercator in [blank] libris Dat.14.2.1639 coram [Lechford’s *Note-Book*, p. 66].
- 1 May 1639—Articles of agreement ‡ signed between Mr. John Wilson, Pastor of the church of Boston and Richard Wright [Lechford’s *Note-Book* p. 144].

\* A Thomas Smyth was later at Rehoboth.

† John Fitch was later at Rehoboth.

‡ These articles of agreement were probably in connection with Mr. Wilson’s land at Braintree, which was granted him in 1634 in exchange for land which he held at Mystic. As he is always mentioned in connection with affairs at Mount Wollaston, he probably did not live in the town, but rather on his farm. He had no land in the *Book of Possessions* five or six years later than this date though his land is mentioned as bounding an estate at Mount Wollaston.

- 1 June 1639—"William Gaylord of Windsore, upon the river of Kennecticot, planter", on behalf of John Warham, Pastor of the church there, and Jane his wife executrix of the last will and testament of Thomas Newbery, gent. deceased, leased to Richard Wright, of Mount Wollaston, husbandman, for four years, the farm, together with nine cows, on the southerly side of the Aponsett River which Thomas Newbery purchased of William Pyncheon. Yearly rent, £60 to be paid the first day of the third month every year during the term [*Lechford's Note Book*, p. 83].
- 15 Aug. 1639—Will Cheesebrough of Mount Wollaston, for £400, deeded to Rich. Wright 600 acres in Mount Wollaston [*Printed Suffolk County Deeds*, vol. I, p. 26].
- 16 Aug. 1639—Richard Wright of Mount Wollaston, for £133 6s. 6d. deeded to William Tyng of Boston, 200 acres (in three parcels) in Mount Woolaston, "all [of] w<sup>ch</sup> he purchased of William Cheesebrough" [*Printed Suffolk County Deeds*, vol. I, p. 26].
- — 1640—William Chesebrough (later of Rehoboth), and five others, deputed for town affairs, covenanted with Richard Right that he put the town of Brantrey in full possession of various lands recovered of Mr. [William] Coddington. Consideration £98 [ ] 8d. [*Town of Braintree Records*, p. 1].
- — 1640—Richard Wright of Mount Wollaston, yeoman, bond to Walter Blackborne in 120<sup>l</sup> condition to pay 60<sup>l</sup> by 5<sup>l</sup> every halfe year at Mr. Blackbornes house in Boston [*Lechford's Note-Book*, p. 148].
- — 1640—Mr. John Humfrey,\* Assistant, leased his farm of about 500 acres, "Lying and being within the libertyes of Salem in New England, to Zachues Goold of Lynne, yeoman, for 10 yeares from the 29 Sept. next. Rent 900 bushels of corne yearly in this manner 400 rye 300 wheat 200 barley w<sup>th</sup> 8 oxen 5 cowes 2 heyfers & 4 calves 2 mares.  
"The cattle and utensils demised & letten by John Humfrey to said Zacheus shall be inventoried and valued by William Hawthorne gent and Richard Wright and the inventory to be hereunto annexed" [*Lechford's Note-Book*, p. 148].
- 13 May 1640—At the court held at Boston "It was agreed with our neighbors of Mount Wollaston, viz: William Cheesbrooke, Alexander Winchester, Richd: Wright, James Penniman, etc. in name of the rest (for whom they undertook) that they give to Boston 4 Shs the acre for 2 acres of the 7 acres formerly granted to divers men of Boston upon Expt that they should have continued with us & 3s to acre for every acre granted to others who are not inhabitants of Boston. Town to be called Braintry" [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. I, p. 291].
- 13 May 1640—At the General Court of Election held at Boston, a committee of sixteen is appointed "to lay upon every town, proportionably, a levy of £1200". Each town committee (three men from each one of the seventeen towns) is to value all horses, cattle, goats and hogs, "under their worth rather above their worth" [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. I, p. 295].

In this list are the names of Richard Wright and Alexander Winchester, of Braintree; William Smith, of Weymouth; Walter Palmer, of Charlestown; and Joseph Peck, of Hingham, all of whom we later find as leaders of the new township of Seekonk. This contingent represented ten per centum of the representatives from seventeen Massachusetts towns.

- 13 Sept. 1640—Richard Wright of Braintree, for five cows, deeded to Thomas Dudley, Governor, a water mill and 40 acres in Braintree [*Printed Suffolk County Deeds*, vol. I, p. 14].

\* John Humfrey was about to return to England. He sailed on 26 Oct. 1641. On 26 June 1662, Hugh Alley, 53 years old, deposed that John Humfrey owned the "plaine farmes as we goe to Marblehead, adjoining Mr. Peter's farme" and that when he went to England he left his son-in-law Oately at the house.



This would seem a ridiculous price for this property, and as James Savage said, "Governor Dudley had a good bargain, but it seems a hard one". Richard Wright was a careful business man, and at this time cows were not that valuable. As the property was sold to the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, there may be some explanation about the transaction not apparent on the surface. This view would seem to be substantiated by the agreement filed in the Boston Court, 30 Apr. 1662, in which it was stated, as seen below, that "Richard Wright sold the pond, mill, and other property to Major Gibbins".

29 Sept. 1640—"Richard Wright of Braintree, yeoman to be bound to Mr. Henry Symonds for the sum of 6<sup>l</sup> 10<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> to be paid 25 March next 6s. 6d. in 9-17-2 also 6<sup>l</sup> 9s. 4d. to Mr. George Alcocke of Roxbury to be 10.2.40" [Lechford's *Note-Book*, p. 194].

7 Oct. 1640—Richard Wright, Alexander Winchester & William Cheesborough are appointed to end small business at Braintree, under £20 [*Mass. Bay Records*, vol. I, p. 306].

22 Dec. 1640—"Brother Wright of Brayntree is to pay for the alianation of 60 acres of land", etc. [*Boston Town Records* (1634-1648), p. 59].

— May 1641—"Concerning the mill. It is ordered that their shall noe other mill be built in the plantation without the consent of Richard Right or his heirs so long as the mill remains in their hands which was built by the s<sup>d</sup> Richard Right, unless it evidently appear that the s<sup>d</sup> mill will not serve the plantation, and that he or they will not build another in convenient time.

"Delivery and seisin of Richard Right. Delivery and sezesing acknowledged of the land bought of Richard Right the 10<sup>th</sup> of the 5<sup>th</sup> mo 1640 delivery and sezeing we acknowledged by the s<sup>d</sup> Richard Right unto the towne of Brantree" [*Town of Braintree Records*, p. 1].

In the records of the Country Court held at Boston 30 Apr. 1662 is an agreement between the town of Brantrey and the then miller, Thomas Gatliffe, which recites that "about twenty yeares Sinc was granted vnto Richard Wright by the Towne of boston for the encorigment and furtherance of a water mill at Brantrey wch said mill and pond together with other estate hath been sold by the said Wright vnto major Gibbins and by him vnto Symon Lynde and by the said Lynd assigned to Thomas Gatleiffe [miller] who now dwelleth [on] and possesseth the same" [*Town of Braintree Records*, p. 22].

31 May 1641—"Brother Write" is mentioned, with others, as having a difference with Mr. Atherton Hough [*Boston Town Records* (1634-1648), p. 61].

— — 1643—In the earliest list of estates in Seekonk, Richard Wright is No. 8 with £834, the richest man in the town. The next is Mr. John Browne with £600, followed by Mr. Stephen Paine and Mr. Joseph Peck, each with £535 [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 15].

— — 1643—In the First Division of home lots, at Seekonk, Richard Wright has a 12-acre lot at the northwest end of the ring of the town. His three sons-in-law each had 8-acre lots. Robert Sharpe's adjoining Richard Wright's on the east; William Sabin's on the west; and James Clarke's adjoining William Sabin's [*Rehoboth Town Meeting Records*].

— — 1643—In the Second Division, of woodland plaine, at Seekonk, Richard Wright draws 94½ acres. This division was made on the basis of about 11½ acres to each £100 estate [*Rehoboth Town Meeting Records*].

— — 1643—In the Third Division, of fresh meadow, at Seekonk, Richard Wright draws 8 acres and 20 rods in the "horse meade" [*Rehoboth Town Meeting Records*].

- — 1643—In the Fourth Division, of Salt Marsh, at Seekonk, Richard Wright draws  $20\frac{3}{4}$  acres in the "100 acres" (now in Barrington) [*Rehoboth Town Meeting Records*].
- 28 Apr. 1643—Richard Wright, for £2, gives a release to John Humphrey Esquire, "from the beginning of the world to the 28<sup>th</sup> of the 2<sup>d</sup> mo. 1643" [Printed *Suffolk County Deeds*, vol. I, p. 41].
- 24 July 1643—Jonathan Weymouth is to receive from Richard Wright of Boston £10 5s. after he has received it from Edward Heath [N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, vol. II, p. 261].
- 10 Dec. 1643—It was agreed by the town that Richard Wright should have a hundred pound estate besides his portion; to have [ ] acres on Wachamocet side conveniently to the mill; that Richard Wright build a cornmill, and that no other be built in the country; that he promptly begin the mill and to grind by the last of the 8<sup>th</sup> month following [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 29].

This was perhaps an extra grant made Richard Wright in recognition of his services in organizing and settling the town of Seekonk. Seven months later, 12 July 1644, William Cheeseborough, another Braintree man, "is to have division in all lands of Seekunk for a hundred and fifty-three pounds besides what he is to have for his own proportion, and that in way of consideration for the pains and charges he hath been att for settling off this plantation" [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I].

- 12 Jan. 1644—In a list headed, "Due to these persons underwritten from the town", is "bro Wright 1 [probably shilling]" [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 17].
- 26 Feb. 1644—At a town meeting Richard Wright is one of a committee of four to take possession of and bound the new medow [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 40].
- 10 Mar. 1644—In the first Division of the Neck, Richard Wright draws lot No. 1,  $73\frac{1}{2}$  acres [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 6].
- 21 Apr. 1644—Admitted to the Roxbury Church, about this time,—"Elizabeth Clark, wife of James Clarke she is bro. Wrights daughter" [*Roxbury Church Records*, p. 86].
- 5 June 1644—At the General Court held at Plymouth, before Governor Edward Winslow, Richard Wright was propounded to take up his freedom at the next court [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 71].
- 3 July 1644—The name of "Richard Wright" is eleventh in a list of thirty who signed the Seekonk compact [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 3].
- 9 Dec. 1644—At a general meeting of the "towne of Seacunk", Richard Wright is chosen the second of nine townsmen [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 35].

— — 1645—About this time lands in Rehoboth were ordered recorded:

"The land of Richard Wright.

- "Imp<sup>s</sup> his home lot twelve acres lying on the north east side the towne.  
 " nintie fouer acres and halfe in the woodland plaine  
 " eight acres, 20 Rod of fresh meade lying in horse meade  
 " twenty acres, three quarters of Salt marsh lying in the 100 acres  
 " his home lot bounded on the East with Robert Sharpes lot, on the west with Will Sabines; the ox pasture on the north; the towne greene south.  
 " his horse meadow the rose meadow on the East Side comon on the west Mr. Newman's medow on the north end of Alexander Winchester on the South.  
 " seventy three acres upon the north being the first lot, the towne on the East pautucket river on the west, the mill river north, the land of Will Cheesbrough on the east.



- “ his 94 ½ in the woodland plaine, the land of James Clark on the east, high waie on the west; and north the land of Edward Smith and Will Smith on the South.
- “ Seventy on acres in the great plaine, 33 ½ acres of it on the west side, the high waie East, and north the land of Stephen Payne north and south and 37 ½ acres on the east side being the 6<sup>th</sup> lot [?] towards the mill river on the east the high waie; west the land of Abraham Martin of James Redwaie south.
- “ 20 acres and three quarters of salt marsh lying upon the tonge at the 100 acres; two acres on the east and west Mr. Newman's and on the north Alexander Winchester meade on the south”.  
[*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 68].
- 4 Jan. 1645—A list of men due to be paid by the town rate is headed by “bro Wright £2 1s” [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 19].
- [ ] 5 Jan. 1645—“Accounted with brother Wright and the towne is indebted to him [ ] all the hoes and knife the Indyns left are accounted t[ ] pd by Thomas Morris 13s-0” [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 17].
- 3 June 1645—At a town meeting “Richard Right is one of six men permitted to exchange their salt marsh lots for land in the new medow” [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 39].
- 4 June 1645—At the General Court held at Plymouth, before Gov. William Bradford, Richard Wright is in the list of those propounded to take up their freedom the next court, which probably means that he was admitted a freeman, as his name was propounded the year before [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 84].
- 9 June 1645—At a meeting of the townsmen, Richard Wright was chosen the second of seven men “to order the prudentiall affaires of the town for halfe a yeare”. The same day lots were drawn for the great plaine, Richard Wright drawing lot No. 6 [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 4].
- 28 Oct 1645—At the General Court held at Plymouth “Mr Richard Wright of Rehoboth, for refusing to come to the court as a comittee for their town, being by them chosen for that end, is fined XX<sup>s</sup>” [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 89].

Richard Wright was the first “committee”, later called deputy, to be elected to represent Seekonk, or Rehoboth as it was newly named, to the Court at Plymouth. There is no Rehoboth record of this election. He was a staunch Massachusetts Bay man and bitterly disappointed at the final decision that Seekonk was in Plymouth Colony, and refused to go to the Plymouth Court. Admitted a freeman on 28 Oct. 1645, Walter Palmer was immediately sworn in as a deputy in Wright's place. In 1646 there was no deputy, but in 1647 there were two, Walter Palmer and Stephen Paine.

- 26 Dec. 1645—Richard Wright was one of the seven townsmen who declared that the house lot and land layed out to John Sutton was forfeited to the town. The property was divided between Robert Fuller and William Devell [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 34].
- 16 Mar. 1645/6—At a meeting of the townsmen it was agreed that all the general fields should be fenced by the 23rd of the present month. The following men were “made choice of to men the fence and to Judge of the Suficiency of them: Richard Bowen, Robert Tytyts, William Smith, Captaine Wright, Alexander Winchester, Thomas Blise, Stephen Paine, and Thomas Coop [Cooper]” [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 79].

This is the only mention in the Rehoboth records of a Captain

Wright. Besides Richard Wright, there was also a George Wright in Rehoboth, who had been a lieutenant in Braintree in 1642. He was undoubtedly the man referred to by Roger Williams when on 29 Jan. 1648/9 \* he wrote his friend John Winthrop, Jr., at Nameug, saying "that George Wright alias Captain Wright stabt with a pike Walter Lettice at Newport, and is in prison the other if not dead not like to live" [*Narragansett Club Publications*, vol. VI, p. 169].

On 2 Mar. 1646/7, a year after he had been elected a member of the Rehoboth committee, George Wright was before the Plymouth Court for "attempting the chastity of divs women [at Rehoboth] by lacivious words & carriages". Forty-nine days later he sold his Rehoboth property and fled the jurisdiction of Plymouth Colony by simply crossing the Seekonk River and taking up his abode in the town of Providence.

It appears that between 26 Dec. 1645 and March 1645/6 Richard Wright had left Rehoboth. This committee appointed at the town meeting on 16 Mar. 1645/6 was an important one, and, with the exception of George Wright, was composed of the large property owners and leaders in the town. If Richard Wright had been in Rehoboth he would naturally have been a member of this committee, just as he had been a member of all previous important committees.

10 Mar. 1646/7—"M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Alcocke [Dedham] . . . Loueing and kind brother . . . the cause of my writing yo<sup>u</sup> is this, I heard not from yo<sup>u</sup> a greate while until Mr. Richard Wright brought me news that you were well, but he could tell me nothing concerning my children . . . But since M<sup>r</sup> Wright came over & can tell me no newes from them, etc.

"And so I rest yo<sup>r</sup> loueing sister Elizabeth Whitehead of Lemintun priors.† Anno Dmi 1647

"Dated the 10 day of March."

[Aspinwall's *Notarial Records*, pp. 101, 3.]

7 Oct. 1647—Thomas Blise of Rehoboth made his will; proved at Plymouth, 8 June 1649, by the witnesses Steven Paine and Edward Smith. Richard Wright and Stephen Payne named overseers. Inventory of £117 16s. 4d. taken by Steven Payne and Richard Bowen on 21 Oct. 1647 [*Plymouth Colony Wills*, vol. I, pp. 67, 8].

There is no record of Richard Wright having served as overseer of this estate. He was probably in England about, or shortly after, the time the will was made, and in Boston at the time Thomas Bliss' will was probated.

— — 1648—At Rehoboth, about this time, Rev. Samuel Newman, engaged in a church controversy with Obadiah Holmes, states that "one of the bretheren is in Old England" [*The Civil Magistrates Power*, by Thomas Cobbet (Teacher of the Church at Lynne), London, 1653, postscript, p. 49].

This church "bretheren" would appear to have been Richard Wright, who was a staunch church member and a devout follower of Mr. Newman.

\* This important Roger Williams letter is single dated 1648. From this case we are able to assign it the correct double dating of 1648/9.

† Lemington Priors is three miles east of the market town of Warwick, Warwickshire, England, and ninety miles northwest of London. William Aspinwall, in the regular course of business, handled this letter on 25 Oct. 1647, so that the double date is clearly 1646/7.



6 Mar. 1648/9—At a court held at Plymouth,—“We present William Sabin, the Miller of Rehoboth for not returning mens corn unto them by 2 quarts in a bushell, allowing their toule” [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 138].

This is the first mention in the records of William Sabin's operation of Richard Wright's cornmill, although he had probably operated it for some years, finally purchasing the property.

6 June 1649—At the General Court held at Plymouth, “William Sabin, the Miller of Rehoboth, was presented on the sixt of March for not returning mens corn vnto them by two quarts in a bushell, allowing thaire toule. At this Court, William Sabin did trause this psentment & by verdict of the jury was cleared” [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol II, p. 140].

6 Aug. 1649—“I attested [2 Jan. 1649/50] a Bill of Richard Wright to Edw. Bendall for paym<sup>t</sup> of £50 to Mr. Henry Hoop: or if himself or Shipp miscarry to pay it w<sup>th</sup> 8 p cent & if himself or greatest pt of Tobacco safely arrive & it be not p<sup>d</sup>, then to pay according to bills of Exchang. Dat. (6) 1649” [Aspinwall's *Notarial Records*, p. 247].

3 Nov. 1649—“Know all men by these presents that I Ri: Wright of Boston do acknowledge myself . . . indebted to Mr. Edw. Bendall, the sum of £50 sterling and is for 2,000 waight of tobacco . . . which I Rich: Wright do bind myself to pay to Mr. Henry Hooper upholsterer at the Sunne & Globe [an Inn] in Cornwell London, for use of Edw. Bendall 20 days after the first shipp's arrival from Boston in N. E. to London after the date herof . . .

“Richard Wright” & a seal

“Witness John firneside” \*

[Aspinwall's *Notarial Records*, p. 232.]

5 Feb. 1650/1—“Peter Talman of Newport on Roade Iland Apothecary” appointed his well beloved friend Mr. John Elton his attorney to collect from “Mr. Samuel Maverick of Noddles Island in the Massachusets gent all that my due from him which he by his bond is bound to pay unto me”, etc. Signed Peter Talman & a seal, 18 Nov. 1650. Sealed and delivered in the presence of Rich Wright, Thom Gould [Aspinwall's *Notarial Records*, pp. 370, 1].

It may be that the Richard Wright who witnessed the above document is the Plymouth Colony man of the same name.

29 June 1653—At the Quarterly Court held at Salem,—case of “Joseph Juett, attorney to Write *vs.* Richard Betts” [*Essex County Quarterly Court Files* (1636–1656), vol. I, p. 285].

21 Sept. 1653—At the Quarterly Court held at Salem,—writ: Joseph Jewett, attorney to Richard Wright *vs.* Richard Bets and Robert Beacham. For damages sustained by Thomas Scott, Sr., of Ipswich, taking away his corn, said Bets and Beacham being sureties. Bond dated 21:7:1652 Thomas Scott, Robert Beacham, (X) mark of Richard Beates, “to secure Richard Wright from all damages from his father Thomas Scott, Sr.”, † of Ipswich [*Essex County Quarterly Court Files* (1636–1656), vol. I. pp. 295, 296].

\* Firneside was of Duxbury 1643; had children recorded at Boston. Of his children only three were alive in 1659 when his wife Elizabeth Starr's father made his will [Savage, *Gen. Dict.*, vol. II, p. 154].

† Thomas Scott, age 40, with wife Elizabeth, age 40, and children, Elizabeth, age 9; Abigail, age 7; and Thomas, age 6, took passage on 30 Apr. 1634, in the *Elizabeth*, William Andrews, master, from the port of Ipswich, England, and settled in Ipswich, New England. He was freeman 4 Mar. 1635. Will dated 8 Mar. 1653/4; probated 28 Mar. 1654. Bequests to son Thomas, daus. Elizabeth, Abigail, Hannah, Sarah, and Mary [Savage, *Gen. Dict.*, vol. IV, p. 39].

Thomas Scott was the son of Henry and Martha (Whotlock) Skott, of Rattlesden, co. Suffolk, yeoman [N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, vol. LII, p. 248].

Elizabeth Scott m. John Spofford of Rowley and had children born from 1646 to 1665. John Spofford died in 1678 [Pope, *Pioneers of Mass.*, p. 428].

In 1653 there were only two known men in New England named Richard Wright. One was in Plymouth, and in November 1644 he married Hester Cooke, daughter of Francis Cooke who came in the *Mayflower* in 1620. They had children from 1649 to 1662. The other Richard Wright was the Massachusetts man, formerly of Rehoboth.

29 Nov. 1653—At the Quarterly Court held at Salem,—case of Thomas Scott *vs.* Richard Wright. Suit for money due him for seed, wheat, and for hay, for six oxen, for the use of a horse and for not plowing fourteen acres of land according to promise [*Essex County Quarterly Court Files* (1636–1656), vol. I, p. 319].

18 Sept. 1654—William Sabin of Rehoboth, husbandman, sold land to Anthony Perrey, of Rehoboth, which land he “had bought, with other lands, of my father-in-law Richard Wright”. This statement is contained in a deed from William Sabin to Anthony Perrey dated 2 Dec. 1672 [*Plymouth Colony Deeds*, vol. III, Pt. II, p. 262].

The family name of William Sabin’s first wife has heretofore been unknown, and the fact that she was a daughter of Richard Wright is here published for the first time. She died after the birth of her last child, 27 Sept. 1660, and before 22 Dec. 1663, when William Sabin married his second wife, Martha Allen.

William Sabin’s first child, Samuel, was born about 1640 and married 23 Nov. 1663. His second child, Elizabeth, was born in 1642 (gravestone) and married 24 Nov. 1663. It would seem from this that William Sabin was born about 1617, and was about 70 years old when he died. His will is dated 4 June 1685 and proved at Boston 17 July 1687. He was buried at Rehoboth 9 Feb. 1686/7. William Sabin was married twice and had twenty children by his two wives.

Of course, the term “father-in-law” might mean “step father”, for Richard Wright, who was about nineteen years older than William Sabin, might have married the mother of Sabin. This doesn’t seem very probable, but, of course, is possible. Thomas Blise died at Rehoboth in 1647 and in his will called his stepson, Nicholas Ide, his “son-in-law”, and also referred to his daughters’ husbands as “sons-in-law”.

— Feb. 1656/7—Marshal Waite, Sheriff of Massachusetts Bay, accompanied by Richard Wright, went to Pawtuxet with a warrant for the arrest of Richard Chasmore,\* who had been charged by Roger Williams with the crime of “buggerie”. The arrest was made and the marshal, deputy, and prisoner, on the return trip to Boston, stopped at the house of Richard Pray at Providence, the night of 23 Feb. 1656/7.

About eight or nine o’clock “Sam. Bennet and Benjamin Hernden” appeared with a warrant from Arthur Fenner directing the marshal to show his warrant. About two hours later, Thomas Angell, the Con-

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Abigail Scott, born in 1627, was the wife of Haniel Bosworth, of Ipswich, in 1683. She may have been a second wife. He came to New England in 1638 from Boston, Lincolnshire, in the service of John Whittingham. Juryman in 1648; deposed in 1681, age 66 years. His will, not dated, was probated 25 Sept. 1683; bequests to wife and daughters Abigail and Elizabeth [*Ibid.*, p. 59].

Hannah Scott was the wife of Edmund Lockwood, Stamford, in 1667 [*Ibid.*, p. 404].

\* For an assemblage of some of the known original documents in this famous case, see *The Case of Richard Chasmore, alias Long Dick*, by Bradford Fuller Swan, published by the Rhode Island Society of Colonial Wars, 1944.



stable of Providence, with a sergeant and four men, appeared and took the Massachusetts officers and their prisoner to the house of Roger Morie, to appear before the townsmen.

Arthur Fenner, as head of the townsmen, ordered the prisoner Richard Chasmore taken from the Massachusetts officers and sent to the Newport jail.

— Feb. 1656/7—Marshal Waite \* and Richard Wright returned to Boston without their prisoner. The marshal made his report to the Court of Assistants, indorsed:

“ Marshal Wait’s retou<sup>r</sup>, and Rich. Wrights  
Depos<sup>n</sup>, 1656–57  
Court of Assistants,—March, 1656”

[N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, vol. VIII, p. 293.]

This was probably the Rehoboth Richard Wright, † who was then about 58 years of age. He was a dependable Massachusetts man. Having lived in Rehoboth, he knew the Rhode Island country and people, and was the logical man for the court to select to go as the marshal’s deputy on this important mission. We know that he went to Pawtuxet and helped make the arrest, for Roger Williams, in a letter dated 24 Feb. 1656/7, written to Arthur Fenner, complains that “you rescued a prisoner from y<sup>e</sup> officers of ye hon<sup>d</sup> Gou<sup>r</sup>nm<sup>t</sup> of ye Massachusetts as they quietly passed through this towne” [*R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll. Proceedings* (1883–1884), p. 79].

13 Apr. 1660—A Dorchester land record mentions Henry Wright and Richard Wright as two of the original purchasers [about 1637] of certain lands on the south side of the Neponset River [*Suffolk Court*, 355].

The following set of papers, the earliest of them brought from Boston, were presented for record in February 1666 by the late husband of Mrs. Sarah (Tilly) Lynn-Gunnison-Mitchell-Morgan and are found in the *Province and Court Records of Maine*, published in 1928 by the Maine Historical Society, vol. I, p. 251, *et sequi*.

“. . . I, Francis Knight of Pemaquid in New England, Gentleman, do confess myselfe . . . Indebted unto Hugh Gunnison of Boston, vintiner, the full and just sum of Twenty three pounds . . . to be payd unto the said Hugh Gunnison . . . In good merchantable dry Codd fish at price current at Boston at or before the last day of May next . . .

“Witness my hand and seal this 3d. day of February, 1648/9

“Francis Knight

“Witnessed: Nathaniel Draper  
George Numan

“The above was indorsed: More after the sealing of this bill as appeares by the debt booke, one pound, three shillings & 11d—01:03:11.

“Per mee, Roger Williams

“This bill or writeing with the indorsement hereupon is recorded at Boston the 14th of February, 1654/5 page 275 Quod attestor rogatus et cognitus.

“Nathaniel Sowther, Notary Public  
1654”

\* Richard Waite, Boston, tailor, had been marshal, or sheriff, of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1653, and the following year carried the Court’s message to the Indians.

† There was a Thomas Wright at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1644, and a Henry Wright in Providence in 1646. In the 27 June 1636 “Neck Division” of land at Dorchester, Mass., Richard Wright had an allotment of 3¾ acres and 18 rods, and Henry Wright had 2¾ acres and 4 rods. In 1643 Richard Wright was in Seekonk, Plymouth Colony, and shortly after Henry Wright was in Providence, Rhode Island, where he purchased the home lot of John Throckmorton who removed in 1643 to his Dutch grant of land at “Throgg’s Neck”, New Netherland. Throckmorton’s home lot adjoined Roger Williams on the south, located at what is now the corner of North Main and Bowen streets.

“William Tilly aged about fivety [altered to fifty three] years deposed that this bill of £23 dated Feb. 3, 1648/9 with another bill of £18 of the same date was showed to Francis Knight by one Roger Spencer at Pemaquid about five years since in the presence of said deponent and that Knight acknowledged it to be his and the bill to be satisfied.

“Sworn before mee the 13th of April, 1660  
John Endecott, Governor”

“Richard Wright aged about [blank space] years testifyeth & sayth that about two yeares past & upwards hee the sayd Deponent did arrest the sayd Francis Knight at the suite of Capt. Richard Davenport, assigne to the above named Hugh Gunnison, which debt or debts the said Knight did then own” [no dates or acknowledgment].

“Hugh Gunnison assigned this bond above to Richard Davenport the 22 of 1st. mo. [March] 1650 Signed: Hugh Gunnison. Witnessed: Evan Tommass”.

“Richard Davenport reassigned the bill to Sarah Gunnison, administratrix to the estat of Hugh Gunnison on April 12, 1660. Signed: Ric: Davenport. Witnessed: William Tilly and Robert Howard”.

“Ric: Davenport testified that he had the said Francis Knight under arrest and that Knight acknowledged the debt to be due but had not stated that he would satisfy same. Sworn to on April 12, 1660 before John Endecott, Governor”.

21 Dec. 1660—Edward Rawson, of Gillingham, Dorset, Old England, now of Boston, deeded to Thomas Danforth of Cambridge, a two-acre garden plot of land in Boston, bounded . . . the lands of Ephraim Pope & Anthony Stoddard, south; the land of Xtopher Bott, John Blower, Richard Wright, Richard Cooke, Thomas Clarke, and William Pollard, north [Printed *Suffolk County Deeds*, vol. III, p. 414].

21 Dec. 1661—Richard Wright owned land in Boston [*Suffolk County Deeds*, vol. III, p. 414].

25 Oct. 1670—Edward Rawson of Boston and Rachel his wife deeded to John Pynchon of Springfield “a dwelling house in Boston with outhousing gardens fenced in before house being near one acre bounded by the street going to Roxbury on the east, the lane on the south the comon on the west, the lands of William Pollard, Thomas Clarke, Richard Cooke, Richard Wright, John Blower & Ann & Thomas Batt on the north”, etc. [Printed *Suffolk Deeds*, vol. VI, p. 258].

17 Dec. 1678—“Old Mother Wright dyed of old age, being neere an hundred years old” [*Roxbury Church Records*].

This “Old Mother Wright” would have been born probably about 1580. If this was the Margaret Wright who was recorded as number 99 in the list of Boston Church members, 27 Aug. 1630, she would have been the right age to have been the mother of Richard Wright who was recorded at the same time as member number 89, for he was probably born about 1598.

29 Dec. 1701—“ELEN<sup>r</sup>. CLARKE \* aged fourescore yeares or thereabouts testifyeth & saith that to her best remembrance she was about nine or ten yeares of age when she came first into this country, and that she came ouer with her father Richard Wright, who came over in the first fleet y<sup>t</sup> came hither and in Col: Humphryes \* Imploy — when he came hither he took up Lands y<sup>t</sup> were sd. to be granted to him sd. Colon<sup>ll</sup> Humphryes, and built upon that part of y<sup>e</sup> sd. Land call<sup>d</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> Indian name Saugus or Sangus according to y<sup>e</sup> best remembrance of this deponent near to a place call<sup>d</sup> the great plaine or plaine farme, w<sup>ch</sup> also this deponent remembers was reputed y<sup>e</sup> land of y<sup>e</sup> sd. Col: Humphryes,

\* These documents relating to Col. John Humphrey's farm at Lynn were copied in 1877 from the Essex County Court Files by Henry F. Waters, A.B., of Salem, and by him contributed to the N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, vol. XXXI, pp. 307, 8.



and his cattle used to feed & range thereon: & further this deponent testifyeth that some few yeares after, y<sup>e</sup> sd. Col: Humphryes came over into New England, & after his arrivall this deponent lived w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> sd. Col. Humphryes upon y<sup>e</sup> farme aforesd call<sup>d</sup> Saugus or Sangus. And she remembers very well that y<sup>e</sup> sd Col: Humphryes brought with him a young gentlewomen whose name was Ann Humphryes: who was afterwards married to one m<sup>r</sup> Palmes in Ireland or England as this deponent hath been informed, and after y<sup>e</sup> sd m<sup>r</sup> Palmes dyed, was ag<sup>n</sup> married to one m<sup>r</sup> Miles a minister who sometimes lived in Swanzy in New England & farther this deponent testifyeth that y<sup>e</sup> aforesd m<sup>rs</sup> Ann was y<sup>e</sup> reputed daughter of y<sup>e</sup> sd Col: John Humphryes, & that she brought over w<sup>th</sup> her when she came last into this country one son & three daughters & farther saith not.

"ABIGAIL HOLBROOK, aged seventy eight yeares or thereabouts, who dwelleth at Scituate but now being at roxbury made oath Novemb<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1701 that she was about eight yeares of age when she came first into this country with her father Richard Wright &c. &c. Her deposition is to the same purport as her sister's.

"NEHEMIAH WALTER aged 38 yeares or thereabouts testifyeth & saith that there came over with him from Ireland in y<sup>e</sup> same ship of w<sup>ch</sup> Capt. Grecian of Boston was Comāder in y<sup>e</sup> yeare 1680 the widow of m<sup>r</sup>. Palmes in Ireland, who had with her foure children (viz) Jonathan, Ann, Elizabeth and Susanna Palmes who were her reputed children and acknowledged by her to be her children, and farther saith not.

"Mr. Nicholas Lang & m<sup>rs</sup> Ann Palmes were married on the tenth day of January 1687/8 M<sup>r</sup>. Samuel Avery of New London was married to m<sup>rs</sup>. Susannah Palmes on the 25: of October 1686.

"Transcribed out of the Register of Swanzey, May 25: 1701

P WILLIAM INGRAHAM  
Town Clarke"

[Suffolk County Court Files, original papers No. 5,400.]

1. RICHARD<sup>1</sup> WRIGHT, of Lynn, Boston, and Braintree, Massachusetts, and of Seekonk, Plymouth Colony, was born in England probably about 1598. He married in England, but the name of his wife is not known. He came to New England in the first fleet with Winthrop in 1630, accompanied by at least three, and perhaps four daughters, and probably Margaret Wright who may have been his mother.

Banks in his *Planters of the Commonwealth* said that Richard Wright came from Stepney (Ratcliffe), co. Middlesex, England, but as that statement is unsupported by original source record, it has no importance, for the name was common in England and Stepney had many inhabitants named Richard Wright. Walter Goodwin Davis of Portland, Maine, suggests \* as worth investigating the possibility that Richard Wright of Rehoboth may have been a son of Rev. Richard Wright, a Fellow of Eton College and rector of Everdon, county Northampton, 1613–1638. In his will dated 1 Apr. 1633 he left a house and land in Wargrave,† county Berks, to his wife Frances for life and after her death to his son Richard "if he be in England". His other children were Francis, Theodore, John,

\* The *Ancestry of Joseph Neal* (1769–c1835), by Walter Goodwin Davis, Portland, 1945, footnote p. 97.

† Wargrave, a parish in the hundred of Wargrave, co. Berks, bounded on the north by the river Thames, is about 45 miles south of Everdon [Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, vol. IV, p. 388].

Samuel, Nathaniel, and Anthony. Rev. Richard Wright was buried at Everdon on 16 June 1638.

Everdon, in the county of Northampton, is twenty miles from the eastern boundary line of the county of Warwick and about forty miles east of Lemington Priors where Richard Wright of Rehoboth visited on his return to England in 1646/7. Everdon is also four and one-quarter miles southeast of Daventry,\* county Northampton, where several generations of the family of Thomas Bliss of Rehoboth lived and where he himself married, on 22 Nov. 1614, his first wife Dorothy, daughter of John Wheatly. After coming to New England, Thomas Bliss was associated with Richard Wright in several different settlements. In his will made at Rehoboth 7 Oct. 1647, Thomas Bliss entreated his well beloved friends Richard Wright and Stephen Payne to be overseers.

Richard Wright was in the employ of Col. John Humfrey, who lived mostly in London, and also had an estate in Sandwich, co. Kent, so that there is a wide range of places in which he might have contacted Colonel Humfrey. Here again is plenty of opportunity for research. Where, or when Richard Wright died is not known. There is no record of his estate settlement in either the Suffolk or Bristol County records.

In 1643 we find Richard Wright and his three sons-in-law and families all settled in the new plantation at Seekonk. He had a 12-acre home lot in the northwest end of the "ring of the town" on the north side of the present Hoyt Avenue near Wannamoiset Golf Clubhouse in the Rumford section of the town of East Providence, R. I. His three sons-in-law each had 8-acre home lots. Richard Wright's lot adjoined Robert Sharpe's on the east; William Sabin's on the west; and James Clarke's adjoined William Sabin's.

At the same time we also find in Seekonk a George Wright who apparently had a wife and one child. He had been a lieutenant at Braintree and came to Seekonk with Richard Wright. What the relationship was is unknown.

#### Children, order of birth uncertain:

- i. ———,<sup>2</sup> d. about 1661; m., perhaps about 1639, WILLIAM SABIN, who was buried at Rehoboth 8 Feb. 1686/7. He m. (2) at Medfield, 23 Dec. 1663, Rev. Ralph Wheelock officiating, Martha Allen, b. 11 Dec. 1641, dau. of James and Anna Allen, of Medfield, Mass. Widow Martha Sabin m. (2) at Rehoboth, 20 Jan. 1689/90, Richard<sup>2</sup> Bowen of Rehoboth. William Sabin had twelve children by his first wife, eight by his second, a total of twenty.

Children (surname *Sabin*) all except first two born at Rehoboth: †

1. *Samuel*, b. ———.
2. *Elizabeth*, b. ——— 1642 (gravestone).
3. *Joseph*, b. 24 June 1645.
4. *Benjamin*, b. 3 July 1646.

\* Daventry, a market town and parish having separate jurisdiction, locally in the hundred of Fawsley, co. Northampton, is 12¼ miles (W. by N.) from Northampton, and 72 (N.W.) from London, on the road to Holyhead [Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* (1831), vol. II, p. 11].

† Cf. *Sabin Family in America*, by Rev. Anson Titus, Jr. (1882), REGISTER, vol. XXXVI, p. 52. In the original Rehoboth Records the months for the births of these children are all given in figures. In converting these to months, Mr. Titus unfortunately counted from January, instead of March, with the result that the months given in his genealogy are three months too early.



5. *Nehemiah*, b. 28 May 1647.
  6. *Experience*, b. 8 Aug. 1648.
  7. *Mary (Mercy)*, b. 23 July 1652.
  8. *Abigail*, b. 8 Nov. 1653.
  9. *Hannah*, b. 22 Dec. 1654.
  10. *Patience*, b. 28 Feb. 1655[/6].
  11. *Jeremiah*, b. 24 Mar. 1657.
  12. *Sarah*, b. 27 Sept. 1660.
- ii. ELIZABETH. Between 1644 and 1647, "Elizabeth Clarke, wife of James Clarke, she is bro Wrights daughter", joined the Roxbury Church [Printed *Roxbury Church Records*, p. 86]. This is the only record of James Clark having a wife named Elizabeth. When he made his will in 1667 his wife was Elinor Wright, dau. of Richard Wright. His first child baptized in the Roxbury Church is named Elizabeth, and no recorded child is named Elinor. It may be, as Savage and other writers have stated, that the church record is wrong and that the name "Elizabeth" was mistakenly entered for "Elinor". It is also possible, of course, that Elizabeth was his first wife and that her sister Elinor was his second. Additional research is necessary.
- iii. ELINOR, b. in England about 1621; d. after 1701; came to New England with her father in 1630; m. JAMES CLARK, d. at Muddy River (now Brookline) 19 Dec. 1674 [*Ch. Rec.*], son of John Clarke, alias Kingman, of Wells, England [REGISTER, vol. LI, p. 115].  
 On 24 Oct. 1640, James Clark was listed at Braintree for 2 heads and 8 acres of land. He was one of the first settlers at Seekonk in 1643. After 1645 he left Rehoboth and settled at Roxbury where on 28 June 1668 he became a member of Rev. John Eliot's church.  
 In his will dated 11 Sept. 1667, and probated 7 Jan. 1674/5, James Clark bequeathed to wife, without naming her, also, his sons James, eldest son, Samuel, John and Aaron. No daughters are mentioned in his will, but it would seem that there must have been several living at the time it was written. Friends Peter Aspinwall, James Pemerton, and son-in-law, Walter Morey, were named overseers [*Suffolk County Probate Records*, 715, vol. VI, p. 74].  
 On 29 Jan. 1674 Elinor Clarke made oath in court as to the inventory (£158 6s.) of her late husband James Clark [*Suffolk County Probate Records*, vol. V, p. 224].  
 Children (surname *Clark*), first child probably born at Rehoboth, rest at Roxbury.\*
1. *Elizabeth*, bapt. 24 Jan. 1645.†
  2. *Mary*, bapt. 24 May 1646.‡
  3. *Martha*, bapt. 25 Apr. 1648.
  4. *Hanna*, bapt. 23 Dec. 1649.
  5. *James*, bapt. 11 Apr. 1652.
  6. *Samuel*, bapt. 9 Apr. 1654.
  7. *John*, bapt. 23 Mar. 1655/6.
  8. *Abigail*, b. [?] 21 Mar. 1657/8.
  9. *Mercie*, bapt. 2 Sept. 1660.
  10. *Aaron*, bapt. 1 Mar. 1662/3.
  11. *Sarah*, bapt. 14 Oct. 1666.
- iv. ABIGAIL, b. in England about 1623, came to New England with her father in 1630. She m. probably at Braintree, before 1640, as his second wife, ROBERT SHARPE, b. in 1615, d. in July 1653 or 1654, son of Richard Sharpe of Islington, co. Norfolk, England.§ He came in the *Abigail* in July 1635 and settled at Braintree. It would appear that he had two children by his first wife, for at Braintree on

\* Church records in Roxbury printed *Vital Records*.

† The printed church record also gives another date of 24 Mar. 1646.

‡ The printed *Vital Records* also give another date of 8 Jan. 1645.

§ N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, vol. XCVIII, pp. 204, 5.

12 Feb. 1640 he was granted 16 acres of land for 4 heads. From Braintree he went to Seekonk as one of the first settlers.

The inventory of Robert Sharpe's estate was taken 19 Jan. 1654 by Peter Oliver and Edward Clap; amount £172 7s. 6d. Estate indebted to Elder Colbren; debt due from Mr. Pilbeame\* of Rehoboth; payed to Peter Aspinwall for so much as he lent ye Sharp; to Robert Hake, Abraham Hoe, William Fugrame, for labor; Mr. Gore, for goods; to Mary Read for sereuice; to Goodman Dunckin; Goodman Voysy; Capt. Johnson of Rox, for a horse collar; Edward Devotion, Thos. Clarke, Peter Oliver. Whole estate £172 7s. 6d. Debts, £83 6s. 8d. The house & land, prized at £110, at the request of the widow & her friends set apart for the childrens portions so farr as it goes, the rest the widdow is to make good. Said land & house is bound over to the court for the s<sup>d</sup> childrens portions, the Sonne paying his sisters theire portions; the house & land s<sup>d</sup> Robert Sharpe his father desyred is to be wholly his. 26 Jan. 1654 [REGISTER, vol. VIII, p. 276; cf. vol. X, p. 84, and vol. XXXI, p. 103].

Widow Sharpe m. (2) about 1657 THOMAS CLAPP, b. at Dorchester, England, in 1597, d. at Scituate 20 Apr. 1684. He moved from Weymouth to Scituate. Widow Clapp m. (3) about 1696 Capt. WILLIAM<sup>2</sup> HOLBROOK, † b. in England about 1627, d. at Scituate 3 July 1699.

Children (surname *Sharpe*):

1. *John*, b. at Braintree 12 Mar. 1642/3; m. in 1665.
2. *Abigail*, b. at Rehoboth in 1647.
3. *Mary*, bapt. at Roxbury 5 Dec. 1652.

Children (surname *Clapp*), † born at Scituate:

4. *John*, b. 18 Oct. 1658; d. in 1671.
5. *Abigail*, b. 29 Jan. 1659/60.

The only known autographs of Richard Wright and his two sons-in-law, William Sabin and

The image shows three handwritten signatures in cursive script. The top signature is 'Richard Wright', the middle one is 'William Sabin', and the bottom one is 'James Clark'. The signatures are written in dark ink on a light background.

James Clark, here first reproduced, are photographed from the Rehoboth Compact which they signed in 1644. Thirty men signed this compact which is an original source for their

autographs. In most cases these are their only extant signatures.

Mr. Bodge, in his *Soldiers in King Philip's War* (3rd Ed., 1906), page 59, said that "in 1668 Capt. Samuel Mosely was one of the commissioners sent by the Massachusetts General Court to treat with the Sachems of the Narragansets, in company with Richard Wayt and Captain Wright".

This was not the Rehoboth Richard Wright, but Capt. William Wright who accompanied Captain Mosely and Sergt. Richard Wayte as messengers from the Court bearing complaints of Massachusetts Bay against the inimical attitude of the Narragansett Indians [*Mass. State Archives*, vol. XXX, pp. 150, 151].

Some eleven years earlier, in February 1656/7, this same marshal, Sergt. Richard Waite (Wayte), and Richard Wright (the Rehoboth man) were sent by the Massachusetts Court to Pawtuxet to arrest Richard Chasmore. See *ante*, page 124.

\* This was Mr. James Pilbeame of Rehoboth, father-in-law of Rece Leonard.

† George Walter Chamberlain, *Hist. of Weymouth*, vol. III, pp. 159, 60.



## CHAPTER V

### CAPTAIN GEORGE WRIGHT

This study\* of the life of Capt. George Wright of Rehoboth proves for the first time that he is identical with George Wright of Salem and Braintree, Massachusetts Bay Colony; Providence and Newport, Rhode Island Colony; and of Gravesend, Westchester, and Flushing, Long Island, New Netherland. It also proves that George was the progenitor of the Wright family of Flushing, Long Island, and that Jonathan Wright of Salem, who was born in co. Essex, England, in 1620, was not the progenitor as first stated in print† some thirty years ago. The thousands of descendants of this Long Island Wright family will here find for the first time the name and record of their colorful first American ancestor.

In this chapter will be found an account of the close relations and movements between the Rhode Island towns and the western end of Long Island and New Amsterdam in the middle of the seventeenth century. This connection is much closer than has hitherto been suspected, and the study of the career of Captain Wright enables us to treat of this movement more extensively than has heretofore been done by Rhode Island and New York historians.

Capt. George Wright had numerous affairs with women, resulting in court cases, the records of which, read three centuries later, blaze for him a clear trail through four colonies, and show why it was necessary for him to move from one colony to another.

At a meeting of the Massachusetts Court of Assistants held at Boston on 5 Dec. 1643, he was bound over in the sum of £40 to appear at the next March term of the court for his attempted affair "with a married woman". He probably "jumped" his bail and came to Seekonk [Rehoboth] before 10 Mar. 1644, for at a town meeting held on that day he drew a lot of land in the first division of the Neck. He remained quietly in Rehoboth until 2 Mar. 1646/7, when he was before the Plymouth Colony Court "for attempting the chastity of divers women" at Rehoboth.

He "jumped" his Plymouth Court bail, and shortly after 20 Apr. 1647, fled to Rhode Island, where on 16 May 1648 he had Daniel Gould and Henry Stephens, both of Newport, before the General Court of Election, held at Providence, for circulating a "scandalous report" (probably about his actions in Rehoboth). This matter was cleared up and the Rhode Island court wrote the Plymouth court asking "that his [Wright's] bonds may be taken off".

\* This study is a typical example of what persistent research in the original records will do in reconstructing the events in the lives of the people who lived in New England three hundred years ago. In this case, starting with a few isolated records, which by themselves mean little, and building up a chronological list of every mention of the name found in the original records, we have a clear picture of the man; his travels through four colonies; and of the times in which he lived.

† *The Norton-Lathrop-Tolles-Doty American Ancestry*, etc. (1916), compiled by James E. Norton.

On 29 Jan. 1648/9 Capt. George Wright was in jail\* for "stabbing Walter Lettice at Newport with a pike, and if not dead not like to live".

It will probably never be known whether Walter Lettice lived or died, for the Newport records for this period are irretrievably lost. Roger Williams, a doctor, tells his friend John Winthrop, another doctor, that if Lettice is "not 'dead he is not like to live", so that it would seem very likely that he died.

As both men were soldiers, the stabbing may have been the result of a fair fight with pikes. Unfortunately, Roger Williams does not say. Walter Lettice was before the Portsmouth court in 1646 charged with circulating scandalous stories, and it may well be that he circulated one story too many, this time about Captain Wright.

We next find a George Wright of Gravesend, Long Island, mentioned in court cases at New Amsterdam in 1654/5. In 1657 a George Wright was banished from Westchester County "for attempted adultery". Four and a half months later we find our Capt. George Wright of Rehoboth located across the East River, seven miles south of Westchester, in the town of Flushing, Long Island. He permanently located there, where he deeded all his Rehoboth lands to his eldest son, Jonathan Wright.

There can be no doubt that the four George Wrights found from 1654 to 1657 in the four towns in New Netherland and Long Island are identical with the Capt. George Wright of Rehoboth. These four towns form the corners of a parallelogram roughly  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles wide by  $13\frac{1}{2}$  miles long, comprising about 114 square miles. Gravesend is on the southwest corner, New Amsterdam about 10 miles north, Westchester about 13 miles northeast, and Flushing about 7 miles south.

From the few records we have it would seem that of all the swash-buckling young military blades in New England three centuries ago, Capt. George Wright of Rehoboth, who left a clear trail across four colonies, must have stood well up on the list. In those early days the military officers appear to have been a closely knit fraternity, and it does seem that if not especially privileged, they were able to transgress some of the more important Puritanic laws with less risk of prosecution than was possible for the average plain citizen.

In a way this is understandable, for the soldier represented a particular type of man. The successful military officer had to be a dominating leader possessed of a reckless fighting spirit, mixed with a good deal of daring which was not entirely confined to fighting. He was chosen from the strongest and most intelligent of the male population, and the women knew that they and their children were dependent on his fighting leadership and organizing ability for protection against the ever present savage.

Among these early seventeenth century officers were many blustering, drinking, roistering characters whose spare time, between fighting, seems to have been mainly taken up with liaisons with

\* At this time the common jail for the whole colony was in Newport.



women, frequently resulting in the forced removal of the officers from the colony.

History is full of accounts of these affairs with women, perhaps best exemplified by the record of that doughty fighter Capt. John Underhill\* who was so closely connected with Rhode Island and its interests in the Dutch plantations. His mother and stepfather, Capt. Richard Morrice, and sister Lettice Morrice, wife of Richard Bulgar, all lived at Portsmouth, R. I. Captain Underhill was the first full-time professional commander of the military forces in Massachusetts Bay; sent to Salem in January 1635 to arrest Roger Williams and place him on board a ship then anchored at Natascut

\* In the otherwise detailed history of Capt. John Underhill, *Underhill Genealogy* (1932), vols. I and II, the compiler has omitted all of the original records showing his various affairs with some half dozen women (cf. Winthrop's *Journal*, Savage Ed. (1858), vol. I, pp. 210, 324, 325, 333, 393; vol. II, pp. 16, 17). In writing genealogies it seems to be a common practice to omit all unfavorable court records. This is an untruthful way of writing family history, and, of course, is indefensible for the original records stand and cannot be ignored. Every known record should be included, favorable or otherwise, for it is only by a study of *all* the records that we are able to arrive at a correct evaluation of the individual, and through him construct a history of the times in which he lived.

In the case of Captain Underhill, nothing printed about him in the *Underhill Genealogy* even suggests that he was the blustering, swaggering braggart so clearly shown in that three-hundred-year-old record of his confession of his affair with the cooper's wife, "who had withstood him for six months . . . which he thought no woman could have resisted".

John Greenleaf Whittier wrote a poem of twenty-five stanzas on "Capt. John Underhill". This poem is printed in the *Underhill Genealogy*, vol. II, pp. 28-32. Four of these stanzas indicate that there were some interesting events in his life, no mention of which is found in the *Underhill Genealogy*. If these original records are to be ignored in the genealogy, the compiler, to have been consistent, should have also deleted four stanzas from Whittier's poem. These stanzas are:

"Then a whisper of scandal linked his name  
With broken vows and a life of blame;  
And the people looked askance on him  
As he walked among them sullen and grim,  
Ill at ease, and bitter of word,  
And prompt of quarrel with hand or sword.

"Jeer and murmur and shaking of head  
Ceased as he rose in his place and said:  
'Men, brethren, and fathers, well ye know  
How I came among you a year ago,  
Strong in the faith that my soul was freed  
From sin of feeling, or thought, or deed.

"I have sinned, I own it with grief and shame,  
But not with a lie on my lips I came.  
In my blindness I verily thought my heart  
Swept and garnished in every part.  
He chargeth His angels with folly; He sees  
The heavens unclean. Was I more than these?

"I urge no plea. At your feet I lay  
The trust you gave me, and go my way.  
Hate me or pity me, as you will,  
The Lord will have mercy on sinners still;  
And I, who am chiefest, say to all,  
Watch and pray, lest ye also fall.'"

Capt. Daniel Patrick was a professional soldier under Captain Underhill in Massachusetts Bay. Winthrop says that he was of a vain and unsettled disposition and grew very proud and vicious. Also, that he had a wife, a good Dutch woman and comely, yet he despised her and followed after other women. Perceiving that he was discovered and that such evil practices would not be approved, he set down within twenty miles of the Dutch and put himself under their protection. In the Indian uprising he fled to Stamford. In Captain Underhill's house a Dutchman charged him with treachery. Captain Patrick gave him ill language and spit in his face. As he turned to leave the room, the Dutchman shot him in the back of the head and killed him [Winthrop's *Journal*, Savage Ed. (1858), vol. II, p. 182].

to be sent to England; one of the captains in the punitive expedition against the Narraganset Indians at Block Island in 1636; with Maj. John Mason co-conqueror of the Pequot Indians in 1636/7; chief commander of the Dutch army at New Amsterdam, destroying the Indian encampment at Greenwich in 1644; sheriff of Flushing, Long Island, 1648; and conqueror of the Dutch in 1653. Between fights, Captain Underhill rode high, wide, and handsome with various women as recorded so fully by Governor Winthrop in his *Journal*.

The General Court of Election held at Providence on 16 May 1648 was momentous to the Colony of Rhode Island. At this session of the General Assembly Mr. William Coddington was elected Governor of the colony and immediately thereafter Capt. Jeremy Clark of Newport was elected President Regent to act as governor in the place of Governor Coddington "pending his clearance of certain accusations".

At this busy session the court took time out to consider the simple petition of Capt. George Wright of Rehoboth who complained that two Newport men were telling stories about him. Pressure was apparently brought to bear on these two men and they retracted. Not satisfied to stop here, the court then proceeded to order Mr. Nicholas Easton (elected President of the Colony two years later) and Capt. Robert Jeffrey to write the Plymouth magistrates asking them to release Captain Wright from his bonds.

This request by the Rhode Island court was made in spite of the fact that Capt. George Wright had been found guilty at the Plymouth Court by a jury of twelve men, including one Rehoboth man, on the charge of "attempting the chastity of divers Rehoboth women" and had been released under £40 bonds. As a condition of his release he agreed not to leave Plymouth Colony and to appear at the next session of the Plymouth Court. He returned to Rehoboth, sold his property, "jumped" his bail, and fled to the Rhode Island Colony. In addition to this record, Captain Wright had been bound over by the Massachusetts Bay Court in 1643 for an affair "with a married woman" and had fled or left the colony and had gone to Seekonk.

Thus it will be seen that in Rhode Island Capt. George Wright suddenly emerges from semi-obscurity and becomes a man of importance and power altogether out of proportion to anything that could be surmised from any previously known records. As pointed out, the military officers seem to have been a closely knit fraternity. They were loyal and when occasion demanded were able to muster considerable political backing.

The knowledge of this fact led the writer to an examination of the composition of the Rhode Island court. This examination solved the mystery, for it disclosed that about twenty-five per centum of the court was composed of military officers, including in their number most of the important and influential men in the colony.

These military officers were: Capt. Jeremy Clarke, of Newport, President Regent of the Colony; Capt. Richard Morrice,\* of Ports-

\* Capt. Richard Morris, swordcutler, married at The Hague, Holland, 28 Nov. 1628, widow



mouth, stepfather of Capt. John Underhill; and Capt. Alexander Partridge,† General Sergeant of Newport, who was a professional soldier and had served in the Parliamentary forces. Forced in the wintertime to depart from the Massachusetts Bay, Captain Partridge came to Rhode Island. Governor Coddington left him in charge of his affairs when he later went to England to get himself a charter. In 1652/3 Captain Partridge killed a man at Newport and was executed for murder. Other members were Capt. Robert Jeffrey, of Portsmouth; Lieut. William Dyer, of Newport, later commander-in-chief on the sea for Rhode Island in the Dutch War; Lieut. William Baulston, of Portsmouth; Ensign James Weeden, of Newport; and Ensign James Barker, of Newport. Later commissioned officers were: Lieut. Thomas Harris, of Providence; Hugh Bewett, of Providence; Samuel Wilbur, Jr., of Portsmouth; and Ezekiel Holliman, of Warwick, Warden.

Other important members of the court were Roger Williams, of Providence; John Smith, of Warwick, President of the Colony in 1649; Nicholas Easton, of Newport, President of the Colony in 1650; Philip Sherman, of Newport, General Recorder; William Wickenden, of Providence, pastor of the First Baptist Church; Robert Williams and Gregory Dexter, of Providence; and John Warner and Christopher Helme,‡ of Warwick.

It is not surprising to find Capt. George Wright settled in the Dutch colony of New Netherland. The only other place left for him to go was Connecticut, where his reception would have been doubtful. More to the point, however, is the fact that his powerful military and other friends had important interests in several Rhode Island settlements in Dutch plantations on Long Island, and also on Manhattan, just across the narrow East River north of the Island.

In order to more readily understand the Dutch New Netherland background of Capt. George Wright, it is necessary to know the history of the various Dutch plantations established and owned by Rhode Island men. The principal early English settlements on Long Island, and adjacent parts of Manhattan, were made by Rhode Islanders. There was considerable travel back and forth by small boats which could navigate offshore comparatively free from the

Lenora (Rawley) Underhill, died at Portsmouth, R. I., before 18 Dec. 1658, mother of Capt. John Underhill. All three, with a daughter Lettice, who afterwards married Richard Bulgar, later of Rhode Island (General Solicitor in 1654), probably came in the Winthrop Fleet in 1630. In 1632 Richard Morris was an ensign in Capt. John Underhill's Company, and in 1635 was made Lieutenant-Commander of the fort on Castle Island, the sea defense of Boston.

Shortly after he took command of Castle Island the ship *St. Patrick*, owned by Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Stratford, Lord Deputy of Ireland, a strong supporter of Archbishop Laud, sailed into Boston Harbor flying the King's colors. Lieutenant Morris brought the *St. Patrick* to and made her strike her colors. He probably thought that if Endicott cut the red cross out of the flag for use on the land it was unlawful to use it on the sea. The ship's captain complained that it was an insult to the flag and to England and the magistrates made Lieutenant Morris apologize. He was a follower of Ann Hutchinson and was disarmed at Boston, together with Capt. John Underhill and Richard Bulgar, and all went to Exeter with Rev. John Wheelwright. In 1642 Richard Morris was in Portsmouth, R. I., where he was made a captain [Frost, *Underhill Genealogy* (1932), vol. I, pp. 14-20].

† Cf. *The Providence Oath of Allegiance and Its Signers 1651-2* (1943), by Richard LeBaron Bowen, p. 10.

‡ Cf. *The Mother of Christopher Helme*, by Richard LeBaron Bowen, N. E. Hist. & Gen. REGISTER, vol. XCVIII (1944), pp. 11-25.



danger of Indians encountered in an overland route. It was an easy way of traveling and under favorable wind conditions the trip could be made in two days. A brief description of these Rhode Island Dutch settlements follows.

John Throckmorton, of Providence, excommunicated with Roger Williams from the Salem church, had obtained from the Dutch a grant for Throckmorton's Neck (in Westchester), and, with Ensign Thomas Cornell from Portsmouth, John Updike, and others, sought to establish a plantation. O'Callaghan says (*History of New Netherland*, p. 258) that Westchester was probably first settled in 1642 by John Throckmorton [of Rhode Island]. In October of that year a license was granted him, with thirty-five families, to settle in New Netherland, within three miles of New Amsterdam. On 6 July 1643 a "land brief" or patent, later known as Throgg's Neck, embracing the eastern part of Westchester, bounded on the east by Eastchester Bay and Long Island Sound, south by the East River, was granted to Jon Throckmorton.\*

In 1638 Ann Hutchinson was banished from Massachusetts Bay. Her husband, William Hutchinson, removed to Rhode Island the same year. She soon followed, traveling overland through Seekonk, and on her trip probably visited her sister Katherine (Marbury) Scott, wife of Richard Scott of Providence. Shortly after the death of her husband in 1642, Ann Hutchinson left Rhode Island and founded a plantation in the Dutch territory of Eastchester, north of Long Island, east of and adjoining the Throgg's Neck plantation of John Throckmorton of Providence. Her house † appears to have been located on what is now Pelham Neck, formerly called *Ann's hoeck*, meaning neck or point of land. Eastchester is separated from Westchester by a stream which is now called Hutchinson's River [Bolton's *History of Westchester Co., N. Y.* (1848), vol. I, pp. 513-515].

Lady Deborah Moody, who had purchased the plantation of John Humfrey at Lynn in 1640, was a member of the Salem church. Admonished for her error as to the baptism of infants she removed, about 1643, to the Dutch Colony at New Netherland and settled at Gravesend, Long Island, where she long resided. In 1654 Governor Stuyvesant allowed her to nominate the magistrate for Gravesend. Sir Henry Moody, her son, is called one of the original patentees [Savage, *Gen. Dict.*, vol. III, p. 225].

\* On 29 Apr. 1652 he petitioned the Dutch Director General for permission to sell Throckmorton's Neck, and in October 1652 conveyed it to Augustine Hermans. On 5 Dec. 1656 Governor Stuyvesant ordered that Throckmorton's Neck and Cornell's Neck (Clason's Point) might come into their jurisdiction if they please [*Cornell Genealogy* (1902), pp. 152-156].

† *The History of Block Island* (1877), by Rev. S. T. Livermore, pages 269, 270, states that "Capt. James Sands of Block Island was employed by Ann Hutchinson to build her house at Eastchester, N. Y.; that while working on the frame he and his partner were driven off by the Indians and Mrs. Hutchinson hired others to finish the house". The next paragraph goes on to state that "Mr. Sands and his wife came from England and landed in Plymouth in 1658, and that soon after he undertook the building of the house for Mrs. Hutchinson". That could hardly be possible for at this date she had been dead fifteen years. This so-called "history" is simply a delightful story book. We are further enlightened, page 269, by the statement that "the American family of this name probably sprang from a Mr. James Sands of Staffordshire, England, who died in 1670 aged 140 years, and his wife, who died aged 120 years".



Richard Smith, of Taunton, Mass., Portsmouth and Narragansett, R. I., was one of the principals in a patent granted in 1642 by the Dutch Director Kieft at Mespeth or Newtown, Long Island to Francis Doughty, agent for his associates dwelling in Rhode Island, Taunton, Mass., and others, of more than thirteen thousand acres of land [about 4 by 5 miles square].

At first the Mespeth settlement thrived, but in 1643 the Indians attacked the settlement and drove away or killed the colonizers, including Richard Smith's brother John. Richard Smith owned property in New Amsterdam. Under the Dutch Director Kieft he held offices of trust [Updike, *Richard Smith* (1937), pp. 13–15].

On 24 May 1644 Gilbert Updike was granted a patent for Coney Island at Gravesend Bay. He was of Wesel, Germany; Floyd's Neck, N. Y.; and Narragansett, R. I. He married at New Amsterdam, 24 Sept. 1643, Katherine Smith, daughter of Richard Smith, of Taunton, Mass., and Narragansett, R. I. Her sister Elizabeth married, as her second husband, Deacon Samuel Newman of Rehoboth.

At this time the greater part of Manhattan and most of Long Island was in the hands of seven different tribes of Indians, estimated to have numbered fifteen hundred warriors. In September 1643, the smouldering Indian war broke out and Winthrop says that the "Indians set upon the English who dwelt under the Dutch and killed such of Mr. Throckmorton's and Mr. Cornhill's families as were at home". A party of Siwanoy Indians crossed over into *Ann's hoeck* and killed Ann Hutchinson, her son Francis, son-in-law Collins, and all members of her family present, except her daughter Susan, then eight years old, who was carried into captivity and remained a prisoner for four years when she was delivered to the Dutch governor at New York and returned to her friends. She had forgotten her native language and was unwilling to be taken from the Indians. Eighteen persons in all fell victim to the savages [Bolton's *History of Westchester Co., N. Y.* (1848), vol. I, pp. 513–515].

The survivors of the broken settlements retired to Long Island and some of them joined Lady Moody's plantation at Gravesend. The Dutch and Indian War continued for four years with great slaughter of Dutch, English, and Indians. The Dutch, to save their plantation from ruin, "made a most unworthy peace" with the Indians. John Throckmorton was again back in Providence, R. I., on 27 Feb. 1647 when he was granted the house and land of Edward Cope, also of Rehoboth, deceased. Ensign Thomas Cornell was again back in Portsmouth, R. I., on 4 Feb. 1646/7, when he had a grant of 100 acres of land. Some of Cornell's children remained in New Netherland. John Updike went to New Jersey.

The second grantee under the Dutch in Westchester was Ensign Thomas Cornhill [Cornell] \* who obtained a "ground brief" grant

\* There was a Thomas Cornell, or Cornwell, d. bef. 9 Sept. 1650, a soldier from Hertfordshire, England, who appears among the first settlers and patentees of Gravesend, Long Island. He married in the Reformed Dutch Church at New Amsterdam, 2 Nov. 1642, Elizabeth Fiscock

or patent, 26 July 1646, signed at Fort Amsterdam by William Kieft, Director General and the Council of New Netherland. This grant, known as Cornell's Neck, adjoined John Throckmorton's grant (Throgg's Neck) on the west. After the death of Ensign Cornell his widow, about 1656, conveyed the grant to her daughter Sarah (Cornell) (Willett) Bridges. In 1664 the court decided that Cornell's Neck was the property of Charles and Sarah Bridges. In 1665 the Bridges were placed in possession of lands and premises by the High Sheriff or Under Sheriff (Capt. John Underhill in 1667) of the North Riding of Yorkshire upon Long Island. In 1667 Richard Nicolls, Governor General, confirmed the deed of gift wherein Sarah (Cornell) (Willett) Bridges gave Cornell's Neck to her eldest son William Willett \* [Bolton's *History of Westchester Co., N. Y.* (1848), vol. I, pp. 152-156].

Capt. Thomas Willett of Plymouth, Rehoboth, and Swansea, had extensive interests in New Netherland, as did his father-in-law Mr. John Brown, Plymouth Colony Assistant, of Rehoboth and Swansea. Captain Willett was the first English Mayor of New York City in 1665.

In 1647 Peter Tallman came from Hamburg, Germany, to the Island of Barbados. About 1650 he moved to Rhode Island with his wife and mother-in-law who afterwards married Mr. John Elten. They remained in Rhode Island about one year and then moved to Flushing, Long Island, where Peter Tallman remained for some time. From 1655 to 1658 his name is frequently found in the court records of New Amsterdam where he sometimes acted as interpreter between the English and the Dutch [George Andrews Moriarty, *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register*, vol. LXXXV, pp. 69, 73].

From the time that Roger Williams reported Capt. George Wright in jail in Newport at the end of the year 1648, until his appearance at Gravesend in 1654, he completely drops from sight and the most diligent search fails to find any mention of him in that six-year period.

In 1648 Director Stuyvesant appointed Capt. John Underhill Sheriff of the Dutch town of Flushing, Long Island, where he was elected a magistrate in 1651 and 1652. In 1653, hearing that the Dutch were plotting with the Indians to attack the English, Captain

[*N. Y. Biog. & Gen. Record*, vol. VI, p. 35]. On 9 Sept. 1650 wid. Elizabeth (Fiscock) Cornell m. John Morrice—She had 4 children by Cornell who left an estate of about 600 guilders. Savage mistakenly confuses this Thomas Cornell with Thomas, Jr., of Rhode Island [*Cornell Genealogy* (1902), p. 6].

\* William Willett, b. 1644, d. unm. in 1701. His nephew, Col. Thomas Willett, was his successor as owner of Cornell's Neck, which remained in the Willett family for over one hundred years. It was later known as Willett's Point, and today is called Clason's Point.

"Sarah Cornell not before married, of Essex, England, m. at the Dutch Church of New Amsterdam on 1 Sept. 1643 Thomas Willett, previously unmarried, of Bristol, England" [*Dutch Ch. New Amsterdam Marriage Rec.*]. Children: 1. William, bapt. 27 June 1644. 2. Thomas, bapt. 26 Nov. 1645. 3. Elizabeth. [*Cornell Gen.* (1902), p. 29.]

Bolton, in his *History of Westchester Co., N. Y.* (1848), vol. II, pp. 547, 8, makes the mistake of confusing this Thomas Willett family with that of Capt. Thomas Willett of Plymouth, Rehoboth, and Swansea, by stating that the Col. Thomas Willett, who owned Cornell's Neck in 1709, was the eldest son of the Rehoboth man, the first English Mayor of the City of New York in 1665.

Capt. Thomas Willett, of Rehoboth, had a son Thomas, b. 1 Oct. 1646, whom *Austin* says d. young.



Underhill raised the parliamentary flag and issued a proclamation to the citizens of Long Island, for which he was imprisoned in New Amsterdam. He was soon released and went to Rhode Island, where he offered his military services to the colony in the common cause of England against the Dutch.

On 19 May 1653 the Rhode Island General Assembly commissioned him "commander-in-chief on land" with full power to act, and commissioned Lieut. William Dyer commander-in-chief on the sea. On 27 June 1653 Captain Underhill seized the Dutch fort "The House of Hope" at Hartford. Peace was declared in 1654, by which time Captain Underhill had taken up his residence in Southhold, Long Island.

It may be significant that after a disappearance of six years at the close of the English and Dutch War, Capt. George Wright is found living in Gravesend, Long Island. There was plenty of Indian fighting during these years and it may well be that he had been serving under Capt. John Underhill. They were kindred spirits.

At this point in our history, one could not be criticized for entertaining the idea that perhaps some of the prominent military and other Rhode Island men, with so many interests in the Dutch plantations in New Netherland, might have had a fully provisioned and equipped pinnace conveniently anchored off shore at Newport, and that Capt. George Wright escaping from the Newport jail, stepped into this boat and made the trip of some 120 miles down through Long Island Sound to Throckmorton's and Cornell's Necks or continued some 40 miles farther to Gravesend. After all, Captain Wright was a good fighting man and why hang him when men of his caliber were so sorely needed to fight the Indians swarming around the Rhode Island-owned Dutch plantations?

Whether Captain Wright was released from the Newport jail after a fair trial or "broke" jail will probably never be known. This would not have been the first escape from the Island. In August 1638, ten years earlier, Arthur Peach, Thomas Cross, and two others were held at Portsmouth, on the other end of the Island, for the murder, just north of the Seekonk line, of a Nipmuck Indian named *Penowanyanquis*. Thomas Cross escaped in a pinnace, sailing away to the Piscataqua country on the Maine coast where the authorities refused to give him up as told by Winthrop in his *Journal*. The other three men were returned to Plymouth where after a short trial they were the first white men to be hanged for the murder of an Indian.

The following records include every mention of George Wright that the writer has been able to find in an exhaustive search of the original records of the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island. Considerable additional research in the New York records is necessary to make this study complete. ¶

— — 1636—George Wright, Salem (*Es. Court and Town Rec.*), proprietor, kept the ferry between Butt point and Darby fort; Elizabeth, admitted to the church 21 Mar. 1640/1 [Pope, *Pioneers of Mass.*, p. 516].

25 Sept. 1637—The town of Salem grants George Wright half an acre of land

upon the Neck to build on and five acres on the forest side for planting. He is also authorized to keep the ferry to Marblehead. "Old George Wright" probably conducted the ferry until 16 Dec. 1644 when the town of Salem granted it to Thomas Dixey. Wright was alive in 1647 and for several years thereafter [Pearley, *History of Salem*, vol. I, p. 406].

"George Wright, Salem 1637, of whom we know no more. Elizabeth of the church, 1641, may have been his wife. George, Braintree, freeman 18 May 1642, if we add a W. to the Right of the records, was a lieutenant there, and may not, I hope, have been that captain who in January 1649, stabbed Walter Lettice at Newport, as Roger Williams writes to his friend John Winthrop, Jr. See 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. IX, p. 280" [Savage, *Gen. Dict.*, vol. IV, p. 656].

- 25 Dec. 1637—At a Salem town meeting lands were laid out to the different families. In this list is George Wright with three in his family [Pearley, *History of Salem*, vol. I, p. 464].
- 27 Jan. 1640—At Mount Wollaston George Wright is granted a lot of land for 3 heads [Pattee, *Hist. of Old Braintree & Quincy* (1878), p. 28].
- 18 May 1642—George Wright admitted freeman at Braintree, where he was a lieutenant of the Militia [Savage, *Gen. Dict.*, vol. IV, p. 656].
- 5 Dec. 1643—At a Court of Assistants held at Boston, "George Wright for his attempt to vncleanes with a married woman is bound to his good behavio<sup>r</sup> in forty pound, & to appeare at y<sup>e</sup> Quarter Co<sup>r</sup>t the first Moneth, and to pay the wittnesses" [*Mass. Court of Assistants Records* (1630–1644), vol. II, pp. 134, 136].
- 10 Mar. 1644—At a Rehoboth town meeting lots are drawn for land in the first Division of the Neck. George Right draws lot No. 5 for 7¾ acres [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 6].
- 4 Feb. 1645—Those indebted to the town of Rehoboth— "[ ] Allen to be paid to George Right £1 6s. 8d" [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 18].
- — 1645—About this time all the Rehoboth proprietors registered their various land holdings with Edward Smith, town clerk, who recorded these lists in *Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I. For some unexplained reason there is no record of the lands owned by George Wright.
- Dec. 1646—At a quarter Session Court held at Portsmouth, R. I., "An acon of Sclaunder Co by Jeremy Willie [Willis] of Nupt agst Walter Lettice upo xx li damage delayed Mr. Jeremy Clark Baile" [Chapin, *Documentary Hist. of R. I.*, vol. II, p. 157].

Walter Lettice was probably a soldier in Capt. Jeremy Clark's Newport company. On 16 May 1648 the officers were: Jeremy Clark, captain, William Dyer, lieutenant, and James Barker, ensign.

- 16 Mar. 1645/6—At a meeting of the Rehoboth townsmen it is agreed that all the general fields should be fenced by the 23rd of the present month. The following men were "made choice of to men the fence and to Judge of the Sufichency of them: Richard Bowen, Robert Tytyts, William Smith, Captaine Wright, Alexander Winchester, Thomas Blise, Stephen Paine, and Thomas Coop [Cooper]" [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 79].

There were two men in Rehoboth named Wright,—Richard and George,—each with the title of captain. It appears that between 26 Dec. 1645 and 16 Mar. 1645/6, Capt. Richard Wright had left Rehoboth so that the only Captain Wright remaining was George. This is the only record of George Wright holding office in Rehoboth.

This committee appointed at the town meeting held on 16 Mar. 1645/6 was an important one, and with only the uncertainty as



to George Wright, was composed of the town's leading men and large property owners. If Capt. Richard Wright had been in Rehoboth at this time, he would naturally have been a member of this committee, just as he had been a member of all previous important committees.

18 Feb. 1646[7]—At a Rehoboth town meeting lots are drawn for the new medow to be divided according to person and estate, only all those that were under £150 estate to be made up to £150. George Wright draws lot No. 36 for 1¼ acres [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 83].

2 Mar. 1646/7—At the General Court held at Plymouth “George Wright and Joseph Torey are released paying their fees of their bonds for the good behavior, but not of attending the Courte.

“Whereas George Wright was presented by y<sup>e</sup> grand inquest for attempting the chastity of div<sup>s</sup> women by lascivious words & carriages, he, trausing y<sup>e</sup> said present<sup>nt</sup>, made his plea at this Court, & by verdict of a jury of 12 men was found guilty acc<sup>t</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> present<sup>nt</sup>. The Court, having maturely considered y<sup>e</sup> matt<sup>r</sup>s & circumstances, censured him to be bound to y<sup>e</sup> good behavior to o<sup>r</sup> soūaigne lord y<sup>e</sup> King and all his leidge people vntill the next October Court, & then to appre and attend the further pleasure of y<sup>e</sup> Court, & so comitted him vntill he finde sureties.

“The Jury for his Traūs

“John Finney	Robte Wicson	Richard Wright*
Joseph Rogers	Gab Followay	Giles Rickett
Rich Sparrow	John Morton	George Watson
John Crocker	Joshua Prat	Joseph Torey

“George Wright of Rehoboth, plan<sup>t</sup>, acknowledgeth. . . . li s d  
to owe o<sup>r</sup> soūaigne lord ye King. . . . . 40 00 00  
Richard Church, † of y<sup>e</sup> Eale River, plan<sup>t</sup>, . . . . . 20 00 00  
Samuel Nash, ‡ of Duxburow, plan<sup>t</sup>, . . . . . 20 00 00

“The condicon, y<sup>t</sup> yf y<sup>e</sup> aboue bounden George Wright shall psonally appre at y<sup>e</sup> nexte Genñall Court of o<sup>r</sup> soūaigne lord y<sup>e</sup> King, to be holden att plim, in October nexte, &c; & in the meane time to be of y<sup>e</sup> good behavior towards o<sup>r</sup> said soūaigne lord y<sup>e</sup> King and all his leigh people, and abide the further order of y<sup>e</sup> Court, & not depte y<sup>e</sup> same w<sup>th</sup> license; y<sup>t</sup> then, &c” [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. II, pp. 111, 112, 113].

Just what is meant by the release of George Wright and Joseph Torey “paying the fees of their bonds for good behavior”, but “not of attending the Court” is not known. It may well be that there were two cases against George Wright and Joseph Torey, one for a Rehoboth disturbance of some kind, and the other for not serving as elected Rehoboth officials. They may have been elected Rehoboth deputies, or highway surveyors, and fined by the court for not serving.

In 1645 Capt. Richard Wright was elected a deputy to the Plymouth court and refused to serve, for which the court fined him 20s. At the same court Walter Palmer was admitted a freeman and sworn

\* This is clearly the Plymouth man and not the Richard Wright of Rehoboth.

† Richard Church, b. about 1608, the father of Capt. Benjamin Church, probably came to Massachusetts in the fleet with Governor Winthrop. He removed from Weymouth to Plymouth, where he was a freeman in 1632. He was engaged as a carpenter in building the earliest church at Plymouth. He served in the Pequot War. In 1649 he sold his Plymouth estate and was at Charlestown, Mass., in 1653. From there he moved to Hingham where he made his will in 1668, and d. at Dedham a few days later [*Savage, Gen. Dict.*, vol. I, p. 386].

‡ Samuel Nash was in Plymouth in 1632; in 1643 he was in Duxbury, where he was Sheriff of the Colony in 1652; representative in 1653; living in 1682 in his 89th year [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 262].

as deputy. In 1646 Peter Hunt was constable; Thomas Cooper, surveyor of highways; and William Carpenter, grandjuryman, with no record of the election of a deputy. There are no Rehoboth records of town elections for these two years and the only information we have is found in the Plymouth Court records. On 26 May 1647 Stephen Paine and Walter Palmer were elected deputies; William Smith, constable; and Thomas Cooper and Thomas Clifton, grandjurymen "(not sworn)"; Thomas Bliss and Robert Titus, surveyors of the highways; Mr. Browne, Mr. Peck, Stephen Paine, Mr. Winchester, Richard Bowen, William Carpenter, and Edward Smith, townsmen [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. I, pp. 103, 116; *Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 85].

It is interesting to note that in the jury trial of George Wright Joseph Torey was the twelfth juror. He later left Rehoboth and went to Rhode Island, where he became an important official.

On being released by the Plymouth Colony Court under bonds of £40 not to leave the colony, Capt. George Wright returned to Rehoboth where he sold his property and moved across the Seekonk River into the town of Providence, Rhode Island Colony.

20 Apr. 1647—"The day and yeere above written, George Wright sold unto John Doget all his right, privileges and immunities to him belonging, that is to say, his house and home lot, being seven acres; fouerteene acres in the woodland plaine, being halfe the 9<sup>th</sup> lot; seven acres and three q<sup>trs</sup> upon the neck, being the 5<sup>th</sup> [or 6<sup>th</sup> lot]; [ ] acres upon the great plaine; On acre and halfe and 15 Rod of fresh medow lying in the 40 acre mede; three acres of salt marsh, being the halfe of the 38<sup>th</sup> lot" [*Rehoboth Town Meetings*, Book I, p. 85].

26 Oct. 1647—At a General Court held at Plymouth, George Wright, not appearing before the court, "Richard Church and Samuel Nash had license and liberty granted them to bring him in to the next court to be held at Plymouth the first Tuesday in March next" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 113].

16 May 1648—At the General Court of Election held at Providence, "Whereas Georg Wright did petecon\* ye Court concerning a scandelous report raisd as was said by Daniel Gould [Newport] & Henry Stephens [Newport], who having upon their oaths cleerd ye matter, Mr. Easton† & Mr. Jeffray‡ are ord to write to Plymouth, to ye end his bonds may be thus taken off" [*R. I. Colony Records* (1646-1669), pt. II; *R. I. State Archives*, p. 244, original p. 194].

\* This item also appears in Bartlett's *R. I. Colony Records*, vol. I, p. 212. Bartlett did not transcribe the original record but used the copy made in 1822 by Charles Gyles, of Newport. He sent this copy to the printer with penciled instructions showing the selected items to be printed.

A record of the Acts & Orders of this session of the General Court of Election is also found in the *Early Records of the Town of Providence*, vol. XV, pp. 14-16, Town paper 013. This record makes no mention of the petition of George Wright.

In the *Rhode Island State Archives* the dates of the earliest loose papers begin after 1700; petitions, about 1725; and letters, about 1730.

† Nicholas Easton, tanner, was b. in Lyminton, co. Herts, England, in 1593. On 25 Mar. 1634 he embarked at Southampton for New England. He was disarmed at Boston in 1637; at Hampton, N. H., in 1638; admitted an inhabitant at Portsmouth, R. I., in 1638; at Newport in 1639; Assistant 1640, 1642, 1643, 1644, and 1653; President of the Colony 1650, 1651, and 1654; Governor, 1672, 1673, and 1674 [Austin, *Gen. Dict. of R. I.*, p. 292].

‡ Robert Jeffreys, b. in England in 1605. Came from London to New England in the ship *Elizabeth & Ann* in 1635 with wife Mary, three children and two maid servants. Inhabitant at Newport, R. I., in 1639 where on 25 November of that year he was appointed to "train the band". Treasurer for Portsmouth and Newport, 1640, 1642, 1643, and 1644; Captain, 1642 [Austin, *Gen. Dict. of R. I.*, p. 330].



The only result of the letter sent by the Rhode Island General Assembly to the Plymouth Colony Court asking that the bonds of Capt. George Wright be "taken off", was to cause the Plymouth Court, three weeks later, to attach the balance of the purchase money in the hands of John Dogged [Dagget] due Captain Wright for the sale of his Rehoboth property, as shown by the following record:

7 June 1648—At the General Court held at Plymouth: "Whereas it doth āpeer y<sup>t</sup> theŕ is a debt of fue pound and 8 shill āpertaining vnto Gorġ Wright, in the hands of John Dogged, of Rehoboth, the Court haue ordered, y<sup>t</sup> the said debt remayne ātached in the hands of John Dogged afoŕsaid, for the vse of Leiutenant Nash and Sergeant Church, in consideration of the damage befalling them by the abouesaid Gorġ Wright, the breaking of his bonds for the good behavior" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 127].

It will be seen from the above record that when Capt. George Wright sold his Rehoboth property and "jumped" his bail, by fleeing to the Colony of Rhode Island, he cost his two old soldier friends, Lieut. Samuel Nash and Sergt. Richard Church, £17 6s. each. The amount of money held by the court to be applied towards the liquidation of the £40 bond amounted to only £5 8s. There is no further record.

24 Aug. 1648—"You Walter Lettice, Daniel Cumstock, Janet Sweet are engaged in the sumpset of ten pounds a piece to appeare at the next Court of tryall held the next 2<sup>d</sup> day of the next moneth. Gregory Dexter Town Clerk" [*Early Providence Town Records*, vol. XV, p. 17, Town paper 014].

The foregoing record is found on the reverse of the partly illegible Providence Town paper 014. From what is readable it appears that there was a false military alarm \* given in Providence and that James Sweet beat the drum and John Sweet shot off a gun or two. Hugh Bewitt † testified that Mr. [Richard] Scott ‡ said that he had had intimation by his wife that there would be a false alarm. Thomas Baldwin told Gregory Dexter "that there was no cause to fear, that it was but a jest".

This is important, for it is the only Providence record of Walter Lettice who five months later was at Newport where Capt. George Wright stabbed him with a pike.

29 Jan. 1648/9§—Roger Williams in a letter written from Cawcawmsqssick to his friend John Winthrop, Jr., at Nameug says:

\* The Rhode Island law provided that all inhabitants "above sixteen and under sixty years of age shall alwayes be provided of a Musket, one pound of powder, twenty bullets, and two fadom of Match, with sword, rest, bandaleers all completely furnished".

Also, that an alarm "for the many incursions that we are subjected vnto" shall be "Three muskets distinctly discharged and a Herauld appointed to go speedilie threw the Towne and crie Alarum! Alarum!! and the Drum to beat incessantly; all to repair . . . unto the Town House, ther to receive information of the Town Councill what is further to be done" [Acts & Orders, General Court of Election, May 1647—Bartlett's *R. I. Colony Records*, vol. I, p. 154].

† Cf. *The Providence Oath of Allegiance and Its Signers 1651-2* (1943), by Richard LeBaron Bowen, pp. 77-81.

‡ Cf. *The Arms of Richard Scott*, by Richard LeBaron Bowen, *N. E. Hist. & Gen. REGISTER*, vol. XCVI (1942), pp. 1-27.

§ This important Roger Williams letter is single dated 1648. From this Wright case we can determine definitely that the correct double dating is 1648/9.

“George Wright alias Captaine Wright stabt with a pike\* Walter Lettice at Newport, and is in prison the other if not dead not like to live” [Narragansett Club Publications, vol. VI, p. 169].

An exhaustive search of the Newport records † and of the original Rhode Island Colony records in the State Archives at Providence, fails to bring to light any record of the trial of Captain Wright. The General Court of Election held at Providence in 1648 ordered that the General Court of Tryall “shall be kept by Courte in such places . . . where the persons are apprehended and taken, and at such times as the committee in whom the authority of this court is continued”. It was further “ordered that ye Generall Court of Tryall shall begin at Newport 13 June [1648] and from thence to Portsmouth and so forward if there be occasion”. A General Assembly was held at Warwick in March 1649, but the records are not extant. According to this schedule, the next court would have been held at Providence, followed by one at Newport at which court George Wright would have been up for trial.

There is no record of the death of Walter Lettice. Every record of him that can be found in an exhaustive search of the original colony records in the State Archives, Providence Town Papers, Newport, and Portsmouth records, is printed in this chapter. He was early at Newport, R. I., where he had a grant of 30 acres of land before 1646.‡ The scanty records we have indicate that he left Newport and went to Providence and later returned to Newport.

4 June 1652—Lambert Woodward of fflushing [Long Island] assigned and made over to Ralph Earll the Elder, of Portsmouth on Road Iland, five acres of upland adjoining the land of said Earll which was given the said Woodward and David Dollin (seaman) my partner by the town of Portsmouth. Signed by the mark of Lambert Woodward. Witness: Jon<sup>an</sup> Coventry, Sc<sup>r</sup>. [Town of Portsmouth Records, p. 281].

\* A few men in each military company were armed with pikes. In 1650 the Town of Providence was to have in its magazine one barrel of good powder, 500 lbs. of lead, six pikes, and six muskets. The Town of Portsmouth, two barrels of powder, 1,000 lbs. of lead, twelve pikes, and eighteen muskets. The Town of Newport, three barrels of powder, 1,000 lbs. of lead, twelve pikes, and twenty-four muskets. The Town of Warwick, one barrel of powder, 500 lbs. of lead, six pikes and six muskets [Bartlett's R. I. Colony Records, vol. I, pp. 223, 224].

† When the British evacuated Newport in 1779 they carried away with them all the early Newport records. The vessel containing these valuable manuscript books was sunk at Hell Gate. The vessel was raised and some years later the water-soaked books were returned to Newport and today are in the custody of the Newport Historical Society. Newport was founded in 1639, and the records for the first forty-two years are lost. The earliest records now extant are the *Town Meeting Records* (1679–1682 and 1741–1776); *Town Council Records* (1702–1707); and a book of deeds commencing 6 June 1711. The records of the *General Court of Trials* (1671–1724), the first session held at Newport 8 May 1671, are at the Superior Court Clerk's Office.

‡ “Memorand that the Towne of Newport granted to Walter Lettice the use of thirty Æcs more or less & is layd out to him & for his use bordering on the East end of Wm. & James Weedens land att Maidford brook by the Neck ptly by George Bliss his Land from the brook to his corner tree & then by the Comon to the corner of the sd land; on the west end by the Com & by the hie way between Land graunted to Mr. Lenthall downe to the forsd Brooke wch is to him & his heys for ever, wch sd pcell of Land the sd Walter hath surrendered up unto James Rogers & by the said James Rogers is sould for a valewable Consideration unto William Weeden for him & his heyres for ever to possess and enjoy without molestation of hinderance Wittness this present record witt bearing date the 13<sup>th</sup> day of March 1646

“Tese William Dyre Recorder

‘Memorand: yt William Weeden hath made ovr to Will: Lytherline & his heirs for ev<sup>r</sup> ye above mentioned 30 acr. more or lesse yt was granted to Walter Lettice Bounded as above sd

“Test. Will: Lytherline Record”

*Rhode Island Colony Records* (1646–1669), Part I; *Rhode Island State Archives*, p. 35.]



- 11 June 1654—Shortly after this date Robert Titus and his family of Rehoboth moved to Oyster Bay, Long Island. On 23 Mar. 1653/4 he sold his Rehoboth property to Robert Jones, of Nantasket, Mass. On 6 June 1654 he complained before the Plymouth court that Mr. [John] Browne had laid an attachment of £50 on his estate. It was brought out in court that contrary to the mind of the town he had received into and harbored in his house as inmates, “Abner Ordway and a woman, persons of evil fame, with children”. The court ordered that when “he removeth himself and family [from the town] he shall carry the said Abner and all that appertaineth unto him with him, or else give security . . . saving the inhabitants of the town harmless from any determent that may befall them by Abner Ordway”. [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. III, p. 52].
- 1 Mar. 1654/5—(Monday) At a court held at the City Hall, New Amsterdam, Jacob van Couwenhoven, vs. Rendel Hewit demands payment of fl. 47.7. “Deft. acknowledges to be indebted to Jacob van Couwenhoven, but shows by a judgment obtained by Georg Ryght at Gravesend against J. v. Couwenhoven, amounting to fl. 123. that the monies are arrested in the hands of Geo. Ryght of Gravesend. Jacob van Couwenhoven denies the debt to George Ryght; denies also that he was ever summoned or had been before the Court, but on the contrary claims still about fl. 98. from George Ryght. Parties having been heard, it was decided by the Court that Rendel Huwit be condemned to place, within 14 days from date, the fl. 47.7., which he acknowledges to owe to J. van Couwenhoven in the hands of the Secretary of this city to remain there until the question be determined between pltf. and George Ryght”. Among other cases tried by the Court was one in which “George Ryght, of Gravesend was defendant” [*The Records of New Amsterdam (1653-1674)*, vol. I, p. 289].
- 12 Apr. 1656—Capt. John Underhill wrote John Winthrop from Southold . . . “I was late at Flushing, Hannah Feke is to be married to a verri jentile young man of gnd abilitie, of a lovli future and gnd behafior”. Hannah Feke married John Bowne. Capt. John Underhill married as his second wife Elizabeth (Fownes-Winthrop) Feake, sister of John Bowne’s wife Hannah [*Underhill Genealogy (1932)*, vol. II, p. 18].

This John Bowne, a brother-in-law of Capt. John Underhill, is the man who was one of the witnesses to George Wright’s deed of Rehoboth lands to his son Jonathan, executed at Flushing, Long Island, 2 Feb. 1683/4.

- 22 Apr. 1657—Depositions against George Wright of Westchester, charging him with attempt to commit adultery [*Calendar of Hist. Manuscripts*, in the office of Secretary of State, Albany, N. Y. (1865), vol. XIII, p. 6].
- 6 May 1657—Further depositions in the case. Sentence of banishment against George Wright and wife [*Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8].
- 15 Sept. 1657—Henry Townsend was arrested and fined for having called together Quaker meetings. Among the signers of a petition, 27 Dec. 1657, complaining of this action, is the name of George Wright [*Hist. of Queen’s County, N. Y. (1882)*, pp. 78, 79].
- 19 Nov. 1657—At “a Towne Meetinge of the free Inhabitants of Portsmouth it is ordered that Mr Baulston and Mr Brigs are Desired and Requested to treat with Captt [Richard] Morris, that he would take Some Course to Discharge the towne, accordinge to his promis, from all charge that may Arise by A Dutch Woman whome the S<sup>d</sup> Captt Morris hath intertained in his house this last Sumer” [*Town of Portsmouth Records*, p. 84].
- 27 Dec. 1657—Among the thirty signers of the “Remonstrance of the Inhabitants of Flushing, Long Island, against the Law Against Quakers”, addressed to Governor Stuyvesant, the eighteenth signer is Benjamin Hubbard, and the twenty-fifth is George Wright [*Hist. of the Town*



of Flushing, L. I., N. Y. (1899), pp. 235, 236; *Hist. of Queen's County, N. Y.* (1882), p. 79; *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of N. Y.*, vol. I, pp. 412, 414].

— Jan. 1663—In the town of Newtown (now Elmhurst \*), Long Island, N. Y., a "Lot is given to George Wright where it may be most convenient for him" [original *Newtown Town Records*, p. 51, cited by *N. Y. Gen. & Biog. Records*, vol. LXIII, p. 364].

12 Aug. 1667—"Wm. Bishop, John Ela, Aaron Forman, Ed. Griffin, Joseph Hedges, Rich. Long, Wm. Noble, Nich. Pearsall, Thos. Sadler, George Tippets, Jos. Thorn, John Thorn, George Wright, and Jona. Wright, of Flushing, present themselves to the Governor and give in their names to be ready to serve His Majesty under his honorable command, and on all occasions" [*Queen's County in Olden Times* (1865), by Henry Onderdonk, Jr., p. 6].

10 Apr. 1673—At Flushing, Long Island, Sarah Bridge and Rebecca Woolsey appointed their "Lovenge Brother Richard Cornell" to be their lawful attorney to collect the legacies under the will of their deceased mother. At Newport 20 Apr. 1673, Richard Cornell appointed his brother-in-law William Earll and brother John Cornell attorneys to collect his legacies under his mother's will and also appointed them to act for his two sisters. Signed, Richard Cornell. Test., Georg Lawton, Thomas Hicke † [*Town of Portsmouth Records*, p. 349].

10 Oct. 1673—At a Portsmouth town meeting, "William Lawton who was a Soldier in the foart at New-Yorke and by the Dutch takeinge New-Yorke, was forced from his habitation there, and now thereupon being in distress doth desire liberty to Sojourne in this towne and follow his trade for a lively hood beinge a tayler" [*Town of Portsmouth Records*, p. 160].

2 Feb. 1683/4—"The Enrolement or Record, of a letter of Gift, or Deede of Gift Signed George Wright & sealed, as followeth: The which was desined to be put upon our [Providence] Records

"Know all Men . . . That I George Wright of fflushing in Queenes County upon Long Island ffor and in Consideration of Severall Good Reasons & Causes me hereunto Moveing, but more Especially out of a Pious & Godly intent and ffatherly love & Care towards my Children and posteritye. Have freely & Absolutely Given, Granted & Confirmed unto my son Jonathan Wright of fflushing a for said, All my Right Title, Claime, Jntrest & Demand unto a Certaine home lot of Ground lieing & being at Rehovah (alias) Seaconck in Plimouth Colloney in New England, together with all out lands, Meadows, Gardens, Orchards, Buildings;—ffenceings & appurtenances what so Ever. & in whose so ever handes Custodye & occupation the same may be found: To y<sup>e</sup> Sole use and behoofe of him the said Jonathan Wright his heirs Exsecutors Administrators, & Assignes for Ever. Hereby Giveing & Granting unto my said son Jonathan, my full

\* Elmhurst is about 2½ miles south of LaGuardia Airfield.

† The founder of the Long Island family of Hicks was John Hicks. He married, first, about 1636, in the under church of St. Paul's Cathedral, London (called Saint Faith's Church), Herodias Long, then aged about twelve or thirteen years, and shortly thereafter came to Weymouth, Mass. In 1639 he removed to Newport, R. I., where his name appears in the earliest records (Cf. Chapin's *Doct. History of R. I.*, vol. II). About 1642/3 his wife commenced an affair with George Gardiner, and in 1644 Hicks was before the Court for wife beating. Soon afterward he left her and went to live among the Dutch at Newtown, Long Island, where he divorced Herodias, remarried, and became the founder of the Hicks family of Long Island. Thomas Hicks was the son of John by his second marriage.

Herodias (Long) Hicks lived for 20 years with George Gardiner as his common law wife. They were the progenitors of the Gardiners of Narragansett. In 1664 Herodias had tired of George Gardiner and presented a long petition to his Majesties Commissioners, the Right Honorable Sir Robert Carr, Knight, Colonel George Cartwright, and Mr. Samuel Maverick, Esquire, at Petacomscott, in which she set forth the whole history of her life [Bartlett's *R. I. Colony Records* (1664-1677), vol. II, pp. 99-103]. Cf. the George Gardiner Family by G. Andrews Moriarty, LL.B., F.S.A., *American Genealogist*, vol. XXI (1945), pp. 191-200; also, the wife of George Gardiner of Narragansett, *ibid.*, vol. XX, pp. 202-207.



power, & lawfull Authority for me, in my name; But to his owne use, into all, or Pte of the premiese to Enter, and take possession, and from, & out of the same to Eject, Expell, amove all & Every person, or persons whatsoever, occupieing, possessing, or forceably detaineing any Pte, or Pcell of the same, Hereby giveing my full power and authoritye unto y<sup>e</sup> said Jonathan all & all Manner of act or acts, Deede or Deedes in law whatsoEver Requissitt & Needefull for the Recoverey of the premises; Jn my name & to his owne use as aforesaid to doe or Cause to be done. Hereby Revokeing, disannulling & makeing voyde all former and other letters of Attorney what soever; And to take into his Custody all writeings, Escripts, Transcripts what so ever touching & Concerning y<sup>e</sup> premises, in whose handes or Custodye soever they may be found. Jn testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and afixed my Seale this second day of ffebruary Anno: Dni: 1683

“George X Wright \*  
his marke

“Sealed and delivered in y<sup>e</sup>  
p<sup>r</sup>sence of after interlineing  
custody all in the 25th line

“John Bowne  
Samuell Palmer.  
Rich Pettinger.

George Wright hath owned  
the above said Gift to be his  
act & deede before me Elias  
Daughty Justice of the peace./

“Recorded June y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1684: by me Thomas Olney Towne Clarke.”  
[*Providence Deeds*, vol. I, p. 68; also printed in *Early Providence Town Records*, vol. XIV, pp. 88, 89.]

The fact that this deed to land in Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony, given by George Wright to his son Jonathan, is recorded in Providence, Rhode Island Colony, instead of at Plymouth, is significant. It can only mean that although thirty-seven years had elapsed since George Wright “jumped” his Plymouth Court bail, there was still danger that this Rehoboth property would be confiscated if the Plymouth magistrates knew of its existence.

14 Apr. 1684—Jonathan Wright, with eight other freeholders of Flushing, acting as agents for all the freeholders thereof, purchased of the Indians, by an indenture bearing the above date, and running to such nine freeholders, for themselves and all the other freeholders of Flushing, “all of the lands known by the name of ‘Flushing’ on the North side of Long Island . . . for the purpose of settling existing controversies, which have been pending since 1645 when the town was first settled” [*Flushing Past and Present*, pp. 17, 29; *History of Queen’s County, N. Y.* (1882), p. 74].

27 June 1684—“Jonathan Wright of Flushing in Queens County upon Long Island in America son and heire Apparent of Capt: George Wright of said Flushing in the County aforsaid . . . Whereas my aforsaid father George Wright hath by a Deed of Gift bearing Date the 2cond Day of February Anno Dom: 1683 . . . Graunted . . . Unto mee All his Right title therein and Interest and Demand Unto a Certaine home Lott of Ground lying & being att Rehoboth Allies Seacounke in Plymouth Collonie in New England; Together with all out Lands Meddowes Gardens orchards buildings fencings and appurtenances whatsoever; and in whosoever hands custodie and occupation the same may be found . . . And Whereas John Doged of the Towne of Rehoboth aforsaid hath entered possession and hath in his occupation certaine of the said Lands . . . I the said Jonathan Wright for an in Consideration

\* The Plymouth Colony records show no deeds to which George Wright was a party and only one deed to which Jonathan Wright was a party, which is the deed dated 27 June 1684 conveying George Wright’s Rehoboth lands to John Doged.





Rehoboth, and not the Jonathan,<sup>2</sup> born possibly at Flushing, son of Jonathan<sup>1</sup> Wright who was born in co. Essex, England, in 1620, and came to New England in the ship *Safety* in 1635, as stated by James E. Norton (1916) in *The Norton-Lathrop-Tolles-Doty American Ancestry*, etc.

- 23 Mar. 1685—The first patent granting the lands at Flushing, made by Gov. Wm. Kieft in 1645, was confirmed by Governor Nicol, by patent in February 1666, and was again confirmed by Governor Dongan, by patent dated 23 Mar. 1685. The freeholders named in the last of said patents were: "Elias Doughty, Thos. Willett, John Bowne, Matthias Harvey, Thos. Hicks, Richard Cornwell, John Hickman, Jonathan Wright, and Samuel Hoyt" [*Patents*, vol. I, p. 64; vol. V, pp. 222, 325, at the Secretary of State's Office, Albany, N. Y.; and *Historical and Statistical Gazetteer of New York*, p. 546].
- 20 Apr. 1687—In an old account book of John Bowne, one of the early founders of Flushing, started in 1656 and continued by his son, Samuel to 1702, is the following entry: "Jona Wright, for cart hire, 1 day reaping or mowing. For 6 pecks oats, in reaping satisfy me in reason; 3 days mowing for one pair worsted hose" [*Hist. of Queen's County, N. Y.* (1882), p. 80].
- 24 Feb. 1692—Confirmation of Governor Dongan addressed to Jonathan Wright and other Citizens of Flushing [*Ibid.*, p. 75].
- Aug. 1698—In a "List of Inhabitants of Flushing, Long Island, in 1698", made by Constable Jonathan Wright, appear the following Wright names: "Jonathan Wright, Sen.; and Sarah his wife,—Samuel, Richard, Charles, Job, Mary, Hannah, and Sarah; Henry Wright, and Mary his wife,—Hannah, Sarah; Jonathan Wright, Jr., and Wine, his wife,—Jonathan, Elizabeth" [*Hist. of Flushing, Long Island*, Waller, p. 245].
- 5 Nov. 1698—"Jonathan Wright, senior", of Flushing, Queen's County Long Island, N. Y., made his will \* which was admitted to probate at New York City the same year. He names his wife Sarah and children,—Jonathan, David, Samuel, Richard, Henry, George, John, Charles, Job, [Nianitye], Elizabeth, Sarah, Mary, and Hannah [New York County Surrogate's Court, *Wills*, liber V, pp. 274, 322, as cited by James E. Norton, *The Norton-Lathrop-Tolles-Doty American Ancestry*, etc. (1916), p. 123].
- — 1712—Two depositions are sent to Governor Hunter against Jona. Wright, for not paying the "listing money for the late expedition and using Contemptuous language" [*Queen's County in Olden Times* (1865), by Henry Onderdonk, Jr., p. 17].
- 26 Feb. 1744—"Capt. Jonathan Wright of Flushing died" [*Presbyterian Church Records, Newtown* (now Elmhurst), Long Island, N. Y., cited in *N. Y. Gen. & Biog. Records*, vol. LVI, p. 355].

From the foregoing records the following three-generation genealogy is compiled. It is the basis for amplification by someone with a greater knowledge of the Long Island families.

1. CAPT. GEORGE<sup>1</sup> WRIGHT, planter, of Salem and Braintree, Massachusetts; Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony; Providence and Newport, Rhode Island; and of Gravesend, Westchester, and Flushing, New York, living at Flushing in 1684.

Child, perhaps more:

\* The original probate records, and the original copies of the same, of Queen's County, Long Island, New York, are missing according to the *N. Y. Gen. & Biog. Record* which has published the extant records. The estate of neither George nor Jonathan Wright is mentioned.

2. i. JONATHAN<sup>2</sup>.

2. JONATHAN<sup>2</sup> WRIGHT, SR. (*Capt. George*<sup>1</sup>), of Flushing,\* Queens Co., N. Y., died in 1698. He married SARAH ———. On 27 June 1684, "Jonathan Wright, of Flushing, Queens Co., Long Island, son and heir apparent of Capt. George Wright of said Flushing", sold to John Doget of Rehoboth all lands in Rehoboth received by him by deed of gift from his father, George Wright (formerly of Rehoboth), dated 2 Feb. 1683/4 [*Plymouth Colony Deeds*, vol. V, p. 281].

He made his will 5 Nov. 1698, admitted to probate at New York City the same year [N. Y. County Surrogates Court, *Wills*, liber V, pp. 274, 322].

## Children named in will:

- i. JONATHAN<sup>2</sup>.
- ii. DAVID.
- iii. SAMUEL.
- iv. RICHARD.
- v. HENRY.
- vi. GEORGE.
- vii. JOHN.
- viii. CHARLES.
- ix. JOB.
- x. [?] NIANITYE.
- xi. ELIZABETH.
- xii. SARAH.
- xiii. MARY.
- xiv. HANNAH.

\* In 1789 fire destroyed the town clerk's home in Flushing where the town records were kept.

The Flushing Friends' Records have been printed twice; once in the *New York Genealogical & Biographical Record*, and once in Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Records*, vol. III. The name of George Wright does not appear in the latter volume. Neither Jonathan Wright nor any of his children appear in the Long Island Quaker Records. The writer is indebted to Arthur Adams, Ph.D., F.S.A., Hartford, Conn., for his careful research in the Long Island Quaker records and in the Connecticut state records.



## CHAPTER VII

### REHOBOTH DEEDS

To the genealogist, the most important original sources are the probate records found in the various offices of the Registry of Probate. With few exceptions, heads of families in the early generations made wills. Many a will is dated the day of death. The importance of wills lies in the fact that in the disposal of the testator's property, both real and personal, the surviving members of the family are named, thus recording wife, children, and other relatives.

Next in importance to the probates are the real estate deeds found in the various offices of the Registry of Deeds. It is not uncommon to find that some of these documents contain data which establish relationships for two and three generations, proof of which is found in no other record. Unlike wills, which are complete and final as to data when recorded, deeds are seldom complete, for subsequent deeds to the same land frequently carry the names of previous owners not mentioned in the original deed. This point is best illustrated by the experience of the writer who found a deed to a piece of land conveyed eighty years later by a grandson who had the land from his father, who in turn had it from his father in another colony. This information, which was not shown in the earlier deeds, was the only connecting link and proof that the family in one colony originated in another.

Deeds often disclose occupations, the removal of persons from town to town, fix dates of deaths, establish relationships, and generally contain much information not found in any other record.

The following pages contain excerpts, here printed for the first time, of Rehoboth deeds recorded in Plymouth Colony and in Bristol County, Massachusetts, from 1640 (three years before Rehoboth (Seekonk) was established in 1643) to 1705, a period of sixty-five years. While an assiduous effort has been made to extract all these deeds, it is possible, of course, that some have been overlooked. The principal difficulty encountered is in distinguishing between lands located in Swansea and Rehoboth. Many of the inhabitants owned land in both towns, the locations of which are not too definitely stated. For instance, a Rehoboth man might sell land in Swansea and a Swansea man land in Rehoboth, without making the location of the land clear. However, the per centum of recorded deeds unintentionally omitted is probably very small.

Insofar as Rehoboth history is concerned, the most important deed shown in the following pages is that of Edward Cope of Providence, Rhode Island, conveying to Mr. William Bradford of Plymouth a house and land in Seekonk purchased on 26 Nov. 1640 from Thomas Morris of New Haven. The importance of this deed is that it is proof positive of an earlier Seekonk settlement antedating by

three years the Newman settlement of 1643. Although William Bradford held the sole title to all this Plymouth Colony land, we find him in the peculiar position of buying back his own property, which he had never sold, in order to extinguish the remnant of a previous settlement unauthorized by Plymouth Colony. On 7 Mar. 1645 he sold this Seekonk property to Mr. Edward Freeman for £27, and he in turn sold it on 13 Dec. 1649 to Stephen Payne of Rehoboth for £12.

This first Seekonk settlement is unknown to historians, consequently nothing has been written on the subject. Its discovery and development by patient research from a shadowy myth into a community inhabited by actual, known people has been a fascinating study which will be printed in detail in the writer's forthcoming *Documentary History of Rehoboth* now in preparation.

In the Registry of Deeds for Plymouth County, at Plymouth, Massachusetts, are recorded the deeds of Plymouth Colony from the landing of the Mayflower in 1620 to the division of the Colony, on 2 June 1685, into the three counties of Barnstable, Plymouth, and Bristol. These records are found in six volumes as follows: vol. I (1627-1651), II (1651-1663), III (1664-1674), IV (1674-1681), V (1681-1697), and VI (1686-1699). Each volume is in two parts. Excerpts from these volumes follow:

26 May 1641—"Memorand: That whereas Thomas Morris\* of New Hauen in America by his deede bearing date of 26 November 1640 hath freely and absolutely sold vnto Edward Cope† of Providence all that his house and lands in Seacunck w<sup>th</sup> all other accomodations that either are or shalbe layed therevnto w<sup>th</sup> all his right and title of and into the same and hath also sold vnto the said Edward Cope one great Chest and a nest of boxes, and all his clapboard bolts and wood that is felled there as by the said deed or writing it doth more playnly appeare. Now

\* It is not generally known that Thomas Morris was at Seekonk before he settled at New Haven, Conn. He was probably a brother of Robert Morris who was a planter in this same early Seekonk settlement and remained to be absorbed into the next Newman settlement. Robert Morris had a brother Adonijah Morris of Providence, R. I., who was executor of Robert's Rehoboth estate in 1647.

Thomas Morris d. at New Haven 21 July 1673. He m. Elizabeth — and had eight children, the first Hannah, b. 14 Mar. 1641. His fifth child, Eleazer, bapt. 29 Oct. 1648, m. Ann, dau. of Jeremiah and Mary Osborn. They had seven children, the last, b. 14 Dec. 1696, was named *Adonijah* [Jacobus' *Families of Ancient New Haven*, vol. IV, pp. 1210-11].

The name Adonijah is so unusual that it strongly indicates that the child was named after Adonijah Morris of Providence, R. I., probably its great-uncle. It is here suggested for the first time that Thomas and Robert Morris of Seekonk and Adonijah and William Morris of Providence were brothers.

† Mr. Edward Cope of Seekonk, Plymouth Colony, Providence, R. I., and Long Island, was a grandson of Sir Edward Cope, Kt., of Bury St. Edmunds, co. Suffolk, England. He was cousin to Katherine Scott of Providence; Ann Marbury Hutchinson, Boston; Christopher Helme, Warwick, R. I.; Theophilus Bailey, Lynn, Mass.; and was also related to John Throckmorton of Providence.

Edward Cope was probably early at Seekonk with Roger Williams. We know he was in Providence in 1637 and that with Richard Scott, *Miantunnomu*, and a party of his Indians, he accompanied Roger Williams to Hartford in October 1638, for the purpose of effecting a peace between the Narragansett and Mohegan Indians, as told by Roger Williams in his letter to Gov. John Winthrop [*Narr. Club Publications*, vol. VI, pp. 120-125].

Apparently unmarried, Edward Cope sold his Providence property and moved to Long Island, where he purchased land from Mr. Pharratt, agent for Lord Starling, the patentee of the Island. On 28 Oct. 1645, Edward Cope was deceased and his cousin, Theophilus Bailey next of kin, whose father, John Bailey of the Isle of Eley, had married Edward Cope's father's sister, sold the Long Island property to John Winthrop, Jr. [*Winthrop Papers*, vol. V, pp. 46-7].

A study of Edward Cope's life in New England adds considerable to our meagre knowledge of Roger Williams' first settlement at Seekonk. This study will be the subject of a chapter in *Early Rehoboth*, vol. IV.



the said Edward Cope by Francis Weeks\* his Attorney & Ire vnder his hand doth acknowledg that for & in consideration of eight melch goates to him in hand payd hath freely and absolutely bargained and sold vnto Mr. Willm Bradford the said house & lands w<sup>th</sup> all t<sup>h</sup> app<sup>r</sup>teñces therevnto belonging and all his right title and interrest therein together w<sup>th</sup> the said Chest nest of boxes clapboard bolts and wood that is felled To haue and to hold the said house and lands and p<sup>r</sup>misses with all & eury their appurtances vnto the said William Bradford his heirs and assignes forçū", etc. [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. XII, p. 76].

7 Mar. 1645—Mr. William Bradford, in consideration of £27 to him allowed upon the said account in payment to Mr. John Beauchamp, sold to Mr. Edmond Freeman his house situated in Rehoboth (als) Seacunck with six acres and seven acres of meadow with about forty acres of uplands with all such proportions as shall be added thereunto, etc. [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. XII, p. 129].

7 Mar. 1645—George Kenricke of Scituate deeded to William Randall of Marshfield 35 acres in Scituate. Witnesses: James Torrey and William Davffall [*Plymouth Colony Deeds*, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 52].

20 Dec. 1645—A record of land bought from the Town of Rehoboth with an agreement of what other lands are to be added for John Brown. It was stated at this meeting that if any one man would pay the purchase price of the land to the Indians he should receive twelve acres of land at Wathemoquet and other lands at Wanomose (which was laid out by Richard Bowin, Robert Martin, and Stephen Paine). John Brown paid the price and received the land [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 293]. For complete transcript of this deed cf. *Early Rehoboth*, vol. I, p. 28.

13 Dec. 1649—Memorandum: Mr. Edmond Freeman, residence not given, acknowledged on the eight of June at half past four that for the sum of £12 he had sold to Steven Payne of Rehoboth his house situate in Rehoboth with seven acres of meadow and about forty acres of upland with all additions "added thereto since the time that the said Mr. Edward Freeman purchased the said house and lands from Mr. William Bradford" † [*Plymouth Colony Deeds*, vol. I, p. 297].

1 Jan. 1650—John Woodcock of Rehoboth deeded to Joseph Carpenter 5 acres at Nirhigansett neare to the bridge called Bowins Bridge. Signed: John Woodcock and Sara Woodcock. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Wm. Sabin [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 5].

\* Francis Weeks (Wicks)—Salem in 1635—was one of the several young unmarried men with Roger Williams in his Providence settlement. The name Francis Wicks appears frequently in the early records of the Town of Providence. Also, see Felt's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I, p. 248.

† "Dated 17 Mar. 1645—Whereas divers differrences haue arisen vpon a partnership betweene James Sherley John Beauchamp and Richard Andrewes merchants and cityzens of London on thone pte And Willm Bradford Edward Winslow Thomas Prence Miles Standish John Alden & John Howland &c on thother pte vpon a ptnership in the Beauer Trade in New England in America as also for and concerneing the accounts of two shippes viz the White Angell late of Bristoll and a voyage in the ffrendship of Barnestable as appeares vpon pticuler Accounts And whereas by the Agitation of John Atwood late of Plymouth in New England deceased Articles of agreement were made the [ ] day of [ ] Anno Dñi [ ] The said John Beauchamp being then to receiue vpon the said agreement of the said Willm Bradford Thomas Prence Miles Standish and the rest of the ptners the sum of foure hundred pounds sterl ffor w<sup>ch</sup> end the said John Beauchamp haueing made his brother in law Mr Edmond ffreeman of Sandwich in New England gent his Attorney to demaund receiue and acquitt the said ptners w<sup>th</sup> speciall order to take it in lands or any thing he cann gett of them to the end that the said Edmond ffreeman his attorney may by sale thereof returne the same to his use And for that end hath sent vnto his said Attorney a generall Release for them sealed and to be deliuered vpon such receipt and agreement Now know all men that whereas I the said Edmond ffreeman haue taken and receiued diuers pcells of lands for and consideraçon of seuerall summs by the mutuall consent of me the said Edmond and the said Willm Bradford Edward Winslow Thomas Prence & the rest of the ptners as appeares vpon publicke record beareing date w<sup>th</sup> these p<sup>r</sup>nts w<sup>ch</sup> estate and estates of lands are absolutely made oer to me the said Edmond ffreeman my heires and Assignes foreū do hereby acknowledg my self to be accountable to the said John Beauchamp his heires execut<sup>s</sup> & Administr<sup>s</sup> for so much as I shall receiue for the said lands goods houses &c or any part thereof vpon the sale thereof and am and shalbe ready to giue him his heires execut<sup>s</sup> Administrat<sup>s</sup> or Assignes a faire account thereof" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. XII, p. 132].



29 Sept. 1650—Memorandum: Edward Gilman of Ipswich deeded to Joseph Peck the younger of Rehoboth all his houselands and meadowlands in Rehoboth to be paid for in installments and entered in installments, first payment to be made on above date. Witness, John Peck [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 5]. [This memorandum is entered in the Rehoboth Town records.]

29 Mar. 1653—"To all People to whom these presents shall come, Osamequin and Wamsetto his eldest sone Sendeth greeting . . . that we the said Osamequin & Wamsetto for and in consideration of thirty five pounds Sterling to us the said Osamequin and Wamsetto in hand payd by Thomas Prince Gent: Thomas Willett Gent: Miles Standish Gent: Josiah Winslow Gent: for and in the behalfe of themselves and divers others of the Inhabitants of Plymouth Jurisdiction whose names are hereafter specified with which said summe we the said Osamequin and Wamsetto doo acknowledge ourselves fully satisfied contented and payed Have freely and absolutely bargained and sold enfeoffed and confirmed . . . unto Thomas Prince Thomas Willett Miles Standish, Josia Winslow Agents for themselves and William Bradford Senr Gent: Thomas Clark John Winslow Thomas Cushman, William White John Adams and Experience Mitchell to them and every of them . . . All those severall parcels and necks of upland Swamps and Meadows Lyeing and being on the South syde of Sinkhunch Els Rehoboth Bounds and is Bounded from a Little Brooke of water called by the Indians Mosskituash Westerly, and so ranging by a dead swamp Estward and so by markt trees as Osamequin and Wamsetto directed unto the great river with all the meadow in and about ye sydes of both the branches of the great river, with all the Creeks and Brookes that are in or upon any of the said meadows as also all the marsh meadows Lying and being wth out the Bounds before mentioned in or about the neck called by the Indians Chachacust

"Also all the meadows of any kind lyeing and being in or about Popasquash neck as also all the meadows lyeing from Kickomuet on both sides or any way joyning to it on the bay on each side To Have and to Hold all the aforesaid uplands swampe marshes, Creeks and Rivers with all their appurtenances unto the aforesaid Thomas Prince Thomas Willett Miles Standish Josia Winslow and the rest of the Partners aforesaid to them and every of them, their and every of their haiers executors and assignes forever And the said Osamequin and Wamsetto his sone covenant promise and grant, that whensoever the Indians shall remove from the neck that then and from thenceforth the aforesaid Thomas Prince Thomas Willett Miles Standish Josiah Winslow shall enter upon the same by the same agreement as their Proper Right And interest to them and their heirs forever

"To and for the true performance of all and every one of the aforesaid severall Peticulars wee the said Osamequin and Wamsetto Bind us and every of us our and every of our heirs, Executors Administrators and assignes firmly by these presents

"In Witness whereof wee have hereunto sett our hands and seales this twentieth day of March Anno Domini 1653

Signed sealed and delivered in

ye presence of us

John Browne

James Browne

Richard Garrett

The mark of

Osamequin & a seale

Wamsetto M & seale"

[Original *Sowams Records*, pp. 8, 9; *Plymouth Colony Deeds*, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 78; *Bristol County Deeds*, vol. II, p. 25.]

28 June 1653—"Wee whose names are heare underwritten do further empower and authorize Richard Bowin Stephen Payne Thomas Cooper and William Sabin to conclude agree and compose all differences that may arise concerning the said meddow and upland or any thing arising in or about the same as amply as if we were there present in our owne persons



with any person or persons with whom any question may arise in or about the premises to which formensioned business we bind ourselves truly and faithfully to observe; witness our hands this 28th of June 1653

Samuell Newman	John Allen	Daniell Smith
Joseph Peck, Senior	Joseph Peck, Junior	Robert Wheaton
Stephen Payne	Robert Fuller	Thomas Smith
Richard Bowine	John Sutton	Abnah Ordway
Walter Palmer	John Peren	John Mathews
Thomas Cooper	George Kinwicke	John Woodcocke
John Reade	William Sabin	John Titus
Robert Martin	William Carpenter	John Butterworth
William Smith	Jonathan Bliss	Phillip Walker
Abraham Martine	Robert Abel	John Dogget
Robert Titus	Stephen Payne, Junior	Richard Bullock
John Meller	Obadia Bowin	Nicholas Ide
Peter Hunt	Henry Smith	William Carpenter, Junior"
Richard Ingrame	James Redaway	

[*Plymouth Colony Deeds*, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 79.]

29 June 1653—"The Conclusion with the men of Rehoboth—Whereas the Towne of Rehoboth the 28th of June 1653 did dispute and authorize Stephen Payne Richard Bowin Thomas Cooper and William Sabin as their delegates to treat and conclude with Capt. Myles Standish Capt. Thomas Willett and Josiah Winslow concerning such lands and all other matters as are in difference between the Towne of Rehoboth and the aforesaid Capt. Myles Standish Capt. Thomas Willett Josiah Winslow and the rest that are interested in the said lands It is concluded as followeth:

"1 That all such marsh or meddow lying on either side of the river running under the bridge commonly called Bowins Bridge to the common fence and usally called the hundred acres which said meddows were allotted in several allotments at the first settling of the towne: All those meddows are to remayne unto the severall inhabitants of the town as their true proprieties.

"2 That all such lands as the Towne of Rehoboth formerly passed over unto Mr. John Browne by an agreement of such articles as now stand in the towne booke bearing date the 29th of the 10th month 1645 and also recorded in the court of Plymouth the summe of the said lands soe many acres at the said lands shall rise unto when it is measured shall be layd forth for the use of the said Capt. Myles Standish Capt. Thomas Willett Josiah Winslow and the rest on the north side of the line betwixt the towne and the marked tree near to Mr. Brownes fence from the salt water to the river called Bowins Bridge River.

"3 For all such mershes as lye on the west side of the river running downe towards the common fence and buttin on the East end of som house lots now layed forth if the said Capt. Standish Capt. Willett Josiah Winslow and the rest shall desire the same at any time hereafter they shall have them allowing the true valuation thereof out of such meddows as do lye on the west side of Sowamet River at the upper end of the same as [torn] vallued by two indifferent men.

"4 That if the towne of Rehoboth at any time within three years after the date hereof shall remove the common fence and in the meantime sufficiently require the same and when they doe remove the same they sett it upon their owne land in this line betwixt the towne and the p'ties aforesaid from the salt water att tid water marke of Pawtucket river into the river running under Bowins Bridge and uphold it.

"5 The Town of Rehoboth shall make a sufficient fence to keep horses and poultry from ranging into the necks of land called the New Meddow necke and mayntaine the same.

"6 That timber on either side shall be lawfull to be made use of from time to time for the meddows aforesaid for their fencing.

"7 That for such meddows as lye to the north side of the Great Playne

it shall be lawful for the towne to make use of untill the aforesaid persons enterested doe see cause to use the said meddows or if att any time they shall sell them the towne to have the first refusall of buying them.

Stephen Payne  
Richard Bowin

Thomas Cooper  
William Sabin"

[*Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 79.]

16 May 1654—Thomas Smith\* of Rehoboth for £35 sold to Thomas Coop,† senior, of Rehoboth one house and house lot containing by estimation about eight acres butting the common pasture upon the south, the highway on the north, the lands of Joseph Peck, Jr., on the east, and the highway leading into the common field on the west. Also, six acres of land in the second division butting the land of William Smith on the south, the highway upon the north, the lands of James Rudway on the east, and the lands of John Elle upon the west. Also, one hundred pounds commonage; a salt marsh meadow containing about three acres which I bought of William Sabin and a saltmarsh meadow which I bought of Peter Hunt, formerly Joseph Torry's, butting the meadow of John Allen on the north, the upland on the south, the river on the east, and the lands of diverse men to the west. Signed X mark of Thomas Smith. Witnesses: Joseph Peck, Nicholas Peck, and William Smith ‡ [*Bristol County Deeds*, vol. I, p. 28].

This deed was recorded at Taunton on 20 May 1689, thirty-five years after it was executed at Rehoboth.

21 May 1654—Robert Titus of Rehoboth with consent of wife Hannah deeded to Robert Jones of Nantaskett his dwelling house and home lott, etc. Witnesses: Robert Martin and William Smith [*Plymouth Colony Deeds*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 113].

24 May 1654—John Browne of Rehoboth for £43 deeded to Peter Hunt of Rehoboth 6 acres land on Manton's Neck, 44 acres on Wathamsett Neck, 12 acres on the head of Wachamacett Cove and 8 acres marsh or meadow at Bowins Bridge and 2 acres on New Meadow River or Palmer's River. Witnesses: John Allen and Stephen Payne [*Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 117].

8 June 1654—Memorandum: Mr. John Winslow of Plymouth for £100 deeded to Mr. Stephen Payne of "Rehoboth in the Jurisdiction of Plymouth" upland and meadow at Sowamsett, Mattapoiset and places adjacent [*Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 113].

10 June 1654—Memorandum: Thomas Clarke of Plymouth for £53 deeded to John Allen of Rehoboth all his share of upland and meadow at Sowamsett, Mattapoiset and places adjacent [*Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 115].

30 Oct. 1654—Memorandum: John Adams of Marshfield, with the consent of his father in law Mr. Lawrence Winslow and Ellenor Winslow his wife, deeded to Mr. Joseph Peck, Sr., and John Allen of Rehoboth, yeomen, all his upland and meadow at Sowamsett, Mattapoiset, and places adjacent [*Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 131].

11 Apr. 1655—John Brown deeded to Capt. Thomas Willett land at Wanamomet. Witness, William Crow [*Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 18].

25 May 1657—Grant of an 8 acre lot, etc. to Joseph Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 113]. Copied from town records.

20 May 1658—Memorandum: Mrs. Alice Bradford of Plymouth for a valuable sum deeded to Mr. Samuel Newman of Rehoboth all the share of land

\* The identity of Thomas Smith is not known to the writer. He may have been a son of William Smith who was one of the witnesses to this deed.

† This was Thomas Cooper, senior, who signed his name to the original compact "Thomas Coop". Although he called himself "Coop", his name appears in the Rehoboth records in later years as "Cooper".

‡ This original deed is extant. It was written by Joseph Peck, Senior, and is the only known specimen of his handwriting. His autograph and that of William Smith, appearing as witnesses in this deed, are the only known records of their signatures.





- 8 Jan. 1663—John and Moses Gilman of Exeter confirmed the deed “of our deceased father Edward Gilman” of “land in Seacaunke” to “our kinsman Joseph Peck” of Rehoboth. Peck is later called “cozen” in deed. Mary Gilman, late wife to Edward Gilman, also confirmed deed. Witnesses: Humphrey Wilson and Richard Croade [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 12].
- 27 Feb. 1663—John Allin of Rehoboth, planter, for valuable consideration deeded to James Browne of Rehoboth 40 acres upland “being that whole parcel of land that I had upon the neck of the town of Rehoboth”. Witnesses: Thomas Eastabrook and Thomas Willett, Jr. [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 8].
- 15 Apr. 1663—John Pecke of Rehoboth, planter, for valuable consideration deeded to Joseph Carpenter of Rehoboth  $7\frac{3}{4}$  acres of upland upon the hundred acre mile Run. Signed: John Peck and Elizabeth Peck. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Samuel Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 6].
- 4 Feb. 1664—Capt. Thomas Willett in regard to previous entry [*Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 113]. Copied from town records.
- 11 Apr. 1664—Samuel Newman of Rehoboth for a valuable consideration deeded to James Browne of Rehoboth 20 acres upland had from the town of Rehoboth. Witnesses: Peter Hunt and John Allin [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 15].
- 11 Apr. 1664—Thomas Chaffee of Wonamoisett deeded to Capt. Thomas Willett and James Browne of Rehoboth 25 acres upland “being the ninth lot” I had of the town of Rehoboth. Witnesses: John Allin and Peter Hunt [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 15].
- 11 Apr. 1664—Stephen Paine, Sr., of Rehoboth for valuable consideration deeded to Capt. Thomas Willett and James Browne of Rehoboth upland in Rehoboth that Paine received from the town of Rehoboth. Witnesses: Peter Hunt and Samuel Newman [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 14].
- 18 Apr. 1664—William Buckland of Rehoboth deeded to “my son Benjamin Buckland of Rehoboth” one-third part of land in Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Low and Lydia Browne [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 117].
- 11 June 1664—Gabriel Hallowell of Plymouth for valuable consideration deeded to Lt. Peter Hunt of Rehoboth upland and meadows in Punckateesett (probably in Tiverton). Witnesses: Stephen Paine and Nathaniel Morton [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 13].
- 2 Oct. 1665—New Plymouth—whereas the Court, having formerly empowered Capt. Thomas Willet to purchase of the Indians certain Tracts of lands on the North of Rehoboth towards the Bay Line, the which he hath done, and is out of purse some considerable sum of money for the same, this Court have appointed the Honored Governor, the Major Winslow, Capt. Southworth, and Mr. Constant Southworth, to treat with Capt. Willet concerning the said purchase, and have empowered the above named Committee to take notice of what hath been purchased by him, and what Deeds he hath, and what his disbursements have been for the same; and have also empowered them to settle upon him such a proportion of the said lands as may appear to be equal, upon any grant to him; and to accommodate the town of Rehoboth respecting an enlargement of their town, as the Court have promised; and to take such course concerning the remainder as he may be reimbursed of his just due and those lands may be settled by the Court [Daggett’s *Sketch of History of Attleborough* (1834), p. 9].
- 10 Apr. 1666—Thomas Prence, Josias Winslow, Thomas Southworth, and Constant Southworth, by order of the General Court of New Plymouth, and in the name and behalf of the said Colony, sell, and make over unto the proprietors of the town of Rehoboth (viz.) unto all that hold there, from a fifty pound estate and upwards, according to their first agreement, all and singular the lands lying and being on the north side of



that town of Rehoboth bounded as followeth, (viz) by a River commonly called Patucket river, on the west, and up the said River unto the Massachusetts Line, and on the northerly side by the said Line until it cross the old road towards the Bay, where the marked tree stands and heap of stones, and thence a mile and a half east, and from thence by a direct line to the north east corner of the present bounds of the town of Rehoboth, and so back again home unto the said Line between the governments; . . . to have and to hold to them and to their heirs for ever, excepting that we reserve within this tract a farm formerly granted unto Major Josias Winslow, and a farm granted unto Capt. Thomas Willett, and two hundred acres of land unto Mr. James Brown about Snake Hit, and ten acres of meadow thereabouts; and the meadow called Blackstone's Meadow, the west plain and the South neck the quantity of two hundred acres, and the fifty acres granted to Roger Amadown, with four acres of meadow adjoining; three acres of meadow to Nicholas Ide, and half an acre of meadow unto George Robinson. All the residue of the lands above mentioned we hereby firmly make over unto the above said purchasers and their heirs for ever, and do hereby acknowledge ourselves to be fully paid and satisfied for the same.

Witnesses:

Isaac Howland	(Signed)	Thomas Prence	(Seal)
The mark X of John Parris		Josias Winslow	(Seal)
The mark X of John Rocket		Thomas Southworth	(Seal)
		Constant Southworth	(Seal)

[*Plymouth Colony Deeds*, vol. III, p. 217].

- 10 Apr. 1666—Witnesseth These Presents, that Captain Thomas Willett hath and doth hereby resign, deliver and make over all and singular the lands above mentioned, purchased (8 Apr. 1661) of Wamsitta alias Alexander chief Sachem of Pocanokett, according unto the bounds above expressed, with all and singular the benefits, privileges and immunities thereunto appertaining, unto Mr. Thomas Prence, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, and Mr. Constant Southworth, in the behalf of the Colony of New Plymouth. In witness whereof he doth hereunto set his hand and seal.

Thomas Willett (Seal)

Witnesses: Daniel Smith and Nicholas Peck

[Daggett's *Sketch of History of Attleborough* (1834), p. 9].

- 20 Apr. 1666—Jonathan Bosworth, Sr., of Rehoboth "Taylor" deeded to Stephen Paine, Sr., of Rehoboth "that house and house lott . . . that was first layed out to Ralph Allin; and since in the occupation of William Smith; afterward bought of my brother Benjamin Bosworth, which I bought of my brother being scituate in Rehoboth". Witnesses: William Carpenter and Richard Whiticar [*Plymouth Colony Deeds*, vol. III, pt. 2, p. 224].
- 7 Feb. 1667—Abraham Martin of Rehoboth, weaver, deeded to John Ormsbey of Rehoboth 12 acres in Rehoboth with "my dwelling house", etc. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Richard Bowin [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 109].
- 20 Mar. 1667—Samuel Sabin of Rehoboth, planter, for valuable consideration deeded to James Gilson of Rehoboth all that share of land on the north side of Rehoboth which land was purchased from the agents of the Plymouth Government. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Nathaniel Paine [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 2, p. 333].
- 27 Mar. 1667—Joseph Peck of Rehoboth, planter, for valuable consideration deeded to Samuel Luther of Rehoboth 7 acres upland in Rehoboth. Signed: Joseph Peck and Hannah Peck. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Stephen Paine, Jr. [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 113].
- 4 Oct. 1667—Abraham Martin of Rehoboth, yeoman, deeded to Jonathan Bliss of Rehoboth, smith, upland and meadow on the east side of

- Palmer's River in Rehoboth. Witnesses: John Read, Jr., and John Ormsbey [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 16].
- 13 Mar. 1667/8—Philip who succeeded his brother Alexander as Sachem of the Wampanoags or Pokanokets confirmed to the Town of Rehoboth the purchase of "the eight miles square" lying and being on the east and west sides of Palmer's river, made of Massassoit or Ousamequin, his father, in 1641. Signed by Philip Sachem; the mark of *Umptakisok*, councillor; the mark of Philip, councillor; the mark of *Sunconewhew*, Philip's brother; the mark of *Peebee*, councillor; and the mark of Tom, interpreter. Witnesses: John Myles, Junio, John Landon's mark, the mark of Wm. Hammon, and Joseph Sabin [*Ibid.*, vol. III].
- 28 May 1668—Abraham Martin of Rehoboth appointed Lieut. Peter Hunt and Ensign Henry Smith of Rehoboth his attorneys. Witnesses: John Peck and Richard Bowin [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 109].
- 3 June 1668—A General Court of Elections held at Plymouth ordered "that a tract of land containing a mile and a halfe, lying on the north side of the towne of Rehoboth, is allowed to be on the proper right of the said township, and for such lands as are lying betwix the Bay line; and it is to be accompted within the constablerick of Rehoboth until the Court doe order it otherwise; and that such farmes as lyeth within said liberties shall be responsible in point of rateing att the Collonies despose" [*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. IV, p. 185].
- 5 June 1668—Acknowledged this date. Whereas Pameyken Sachem deceased for valuable consideration in 1641 conveyed to Mr. John Browne and Mr. Edward Winslow, deceased, on behalf of the Town of Rehoboth, a plot of land 8 miles wide on East and West of a River called Palmer's River in Rehoboth. Therefore King Philip, son and heir of above sachem, now confirms this deed of this same land to Stephen Paine, the eldest, Peter Hunt, John Allin, and Henry Smith, selectmen of Rehoboth [*Plymouth Colony Deeds*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 116].
- 27 June 1668—Capt. Thomas Willett & John Allen Sr., and James Brown, Inhabitants of Swansey and Steven Paine, Sr., of Rehoboth, release all rights in all their lands at New Meadow Neck in Swansey to Town of Swansey. Witnesses: John Brown and John Dickse [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 128].
- 8 Dec. 1668—Richard Martin of Rehoboth and John Ormsbey of Rehoboth "haveing an Estate fallen to them by the Death of their kinswoman lately deceased" who is not named divided said Rehoboth land between them. Witnesses: William Carpenter and John Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 135].
- 2 Apr. 1669—Thomas Chafy of Swansey deeded to Joseph Carpenter, yeoman, of Rehoboth land in New Meadow, Swansey. Witnesses: Nicholas Tanner, John Martin, and Joseph Chafy [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 174].
- 3 Apr. 1669—Abigail Carpenter of Rehoboth, widow, deeded to John Titus of Rehoboth all rights in land in North Purchase being the whole share of the lands purchased from the Plymouth Government. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Samuel Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 2, p. 225].
- 11 May 1669—Nathaniel Paine of Rehoboth, merchant, for valuable consideration deeded to William Allen of Prudence Island, R. I., land in the North Purchase of Rehoboth that was purchased from the agents of Plymouth Colony. Witnesses: Daniel Smith and Thomas Briggs [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 249].
- 28 May 1669—John Sutton of Rehoboth, carpenter, with consent of his wife Juliom Sutton deeded to Jonathan Fuller of Rehoboth 3 acres and 3 rods of upland at Wachemachett. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Joseph Bowin [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 146].
- 4 June 1669—A writing of the lands of John Doged, Jr. of Rehoboth [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 140]. Copied from town records.



30 May 1672—John Peck of Rehoboth, planter, deeded to John Titus, Sr., of Rehoboth 8 acres upland in Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Samuel Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 2, p. 224].

4 July 1672—The Lands of Stephen Paine, Jr., recorded [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 2, p. 232]. Copied from town records.

2 Dec. 1672—"To all people to whom this present writing shall come William Sabin\* of Rehoboth within the Collonie of New Plymouth in New England husbandman sendeth greeting; whereas I the said William Sabin by my deed of bargain and sale bearing date the eighteenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty and foure for the consideration therein mentioned did seek and absolutely bargain sell and enfeof and confirm unto Anthony Perrey of Rehoboth aforesaid husbandman; and to his heirs and assigns forever one moyety or half she of sixteen acres of salt meddow or marsh in Rehoboth aforesaid at a place called and knowne by the name of the hundred acres tongue, be the same more or less which said moyety I the said William Sabine bought with other lands of *my father in law Richard Wright*;† and is bounded on the east by the meadows of mee the said William Sabine, and on the west by the meddow of Phillip Walker, as it is possessed by the said Anthony Perrey and his assigns, and one moyety or half she of such acres of fresh meadow be it more or less in Rehoboth aforesaid at a place comonly called bushey meadow, sittuate lying and being between the meddow of the children of Allexander Winchester, deceased on the south and the meddow of Phillip Walker on the north and the sixth lott once belonging to the said Richard Wright on the north and of the place comonly called the Great Plaine in Rehoboth aforesaid consisting of thirty acres be it more or less and one moyety or half she of the second division lott, belonging formerly to the said Wright consisting of fourscore acres be it more or less, and as the same is now by the free and full consent and agreement of me the said William Sabine possessed by the said Anthony Perrey and his assigns, it is bounded on the west by the land of John Titus, and of mee the said William Sabine and of Ester Hall widdow and on the south by the way or comon; and on the east by the land of mee the said William Sabine; and on the north by the comon; and three hundred and fifty pound estate of Comonage, in the township of Rehoboth aforesaid with the priviledges rights and emunities whatsoever thereunto belonging, *all aforementioned premises I the said William Sabine bought of my said father in law Richard Wright*,† to have and to hold, etc.

William Sabine

Witnesses: Daniel Smith, Mark X of  
Richard Leonard, Nathaniel Paine,  
Nicholas Peck

"Acknowledged by William Sabine of Rehoboth on 4 Mar. 1672/3 before Constant Southworth, Asst." [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 2, p. 262].

10 May 1673—John Woodcocke, Sr., of Rehoboth, planter deeded to "my eldest son John Woodcock Jr." of Rehoboth 60 acres upland, meadow

\* This deed is printed here in full for the reason that it is the only evidence we have that the first wife of William Sabin was a daughter of Richard Wright, the Rehoboth miller. This discovery was first published by the writer in the *New England Historical & Genealogical Register* in 1944. William Sabin was buried at Rehoboth 9 Feb. 1687. Although he had twenty children, he had no son named William, so that there can be no confusion in names. He was probably in Braintree with his father-in-law before coming to Rehoboth. He must have married his first wife about 1640 or 1641. The date of birth of his first child, Samuel, is unknown, but a daughter Elizabeth, according to her gravestone in the Newman Cemetery, was born in 1642. The names of the remaining eighteen children are found in the Rehoboth records,—from 1645 to 1660 by his first wife and from 1664–5 to 1680 by his second wife. His first wife died after her last child was born on 27 July 1660. He married, secondly, at Medfield, Mass., 22 Dec. 1663, Martha Allen, born 11 Dec. 1641, daughter of James and Anna Allen [cf. *Register*, vol. XXXVI, p. 52]. It seems likely that Richard Wright was living in 1672, since his son-in-law William Sabin does not refer to him as "deceased" in his deed dated that year.

† These italics are the writer's.

- and swamp at the ten mile River within the north purchase of Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Carpenter and James Redaway, Sr. [*Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. 2, p. 283].
- 17 June 1673—John Woodcock of Rehoboth, planter, with consent of his wife Sarah for valuable consideration deeded to Peter Hunt, Jr., of Rehoboth land in Rehoboth. Witnesses: Steven Paine, Jr., and Nathaniel Paine [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 153].
- 19 June 1673—Nehemiah Smith of New London, Conn. for valuable consideration deeded to Ensign Henery Smith of Rehoboth land in Rehoboth "which formerly was the Lands of Mr. Alexander Winchester, being all of it that she of Land . . . which was the proportion of my beloved wife Lydia Smith". Witnesses: Daniel Smith and James Gilson [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 106].
- 30 Mar. 1675—Nathaniel Paine of Rehoboth, merchant, for valuable consideration deeded to Samuel Butterworth of Rehoboth one-third share of a lot of salt marsh lying in the hundred acres,—5 acres in Rehoboth "that was first layed out to Mr. Winchester being bounded to the west with the meddow that was first layed out to William Cheesbrook, to the east the meadow first layd out to Richard Wright" etc. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Nathaniel Chaffey [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 402].
- 4 May 1675—James Browne, gentleman, and Lydia his wife of Swansey deeded to William Ingraham of Boston land in Swansey. Witnesses: Nicholas Tanner, John Angles, and Daniel Allen [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 258].
- 26 Oct. 1676—Robert Fuller of Rehoboth deeded to "my grandchild John Fuller son of John Fuller lately deceased" a tract of upland and meadow lying upon the ten mile River within the last purchase on the South Side of the Town of Rehoboth "when he comes to 21 years", . . . in the interim the land was to go "to my daughter in law Abigail Fuller late wife to my deceased son John Fuller". Witnesses: William Carpenter and John Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 61].
- 11 June 1677—Richard Whitaker of Rehoboth for valuable consideration deeded to Samuel Butterworth of Rehoboth land in Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Carpenter and John Ormsby [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 313].
- 13 June 1677—William Sabine of Rehoboth for valuable consideration deeded to Philip Walker of Rehoboth and Richard Arnold of Providence all interest "in the place where the old mill stood viz: William Sabins mill, both trench and stream from the bridge commonly called the Mill Bridge, and the Falls" in Rehoboth. Witnesses: Noah Newman, William Buckland, and Daniel Smith [*Ibid.*, vol. V, pt. 1, p. 198].
- 30 Oct. 1677—John Peck of Rehoboth deeded to Abigail Fuller, relict of John Fuller, of Rehoboth, deceased 4 acres upland in Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Carpenter and John Titus, Sr. [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 151].
- 13 Feb. 1677/78—Thomas Cooper, Sr., of Rehoboth, yeoman, for a valuable consideration deeded to Phillip Walker of Rehoboth, yeoman, 42 acres of upland on Wachamoquett Neck in Rehoboth. Witnesses: Daniel Smith and Ester Smith. Acknowledged by Thomas and Anne Cooper on the above date [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 134].
- 21 Nov. 1678—Stephen Paine, Sr., of Rehoboth for a valuable consideration deeded to William Allin of Prudence Island, R. I., land in Swansey. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Josiah Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 250].
- 7 Dec. 1678—John Miller, Jr., of Rehoboth, Tayler, for good grounds deeded to "my Daughter Mary as her share of her wedding portion and unto Samuel Perry at his day of marriage with my daughter Mary" 16 acres of upland at Wachamoquet Neck in Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Carpenter and John Butterworth [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 346].
- 7 Dec. 1678—Anthonie Perrey of Rehoboth, yeoman, for good grounds deeded to "my eldest son Samuel Perry of Rehoboth one-half of all



- lands within the North Purchase of Rehoboth". Witnesses: William Carpenter and John Butterworth [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 360].
- 17 Dec. 1678—Capt. Anthony Low, mariner, of Swansey, for a valuable consideration deeded to William Allen of Prudence Island, R. I., one-third share of land being of the west share of the four score acre lot that was formerly Mr. Stephen Paine's of Rehoboth, bounded North on the land of Samuel Hooker. Witnesses: John Browne and Andrew Edmonds [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 237].
- 8 Jan. 1679—Samuel Butterworth of Rehoboth for a valuable consideration deeded to John Titus, Sr., of Rehoboth "all that one third share of the Swamp that was formerly layd out to Mr. Winchester's children, being that in Partnership with widow Elizabeth Smith and Nathaniel Paine in Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Nathaniel Butterworth [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 403].
- Last Day of February 1679—William Sabin of Rehoboth who had conveyed land to Philip Walker by a deed dated 16 Dec. 1659, now for an additional £50 deeds to Philip Walker of Rehoboth, weaver, land at Wachamoquett Neck in Rehoboth. Witnesses: Nicholas Peck and William Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 129].
- 20 May 1679—Robert Fuller of Salem for good grounds deeded to "my grandchild Samuel Fuller when he comes of 21 years" a tract of land and meadow on the west side of Palmer's River in Rehoboth. This deed also mentions "John Redaway my grandchild's father in law and Mary Redaway my daughter in law" who were to hold this land until child came of age. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Sarah Ingraham [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 263].
- 20 June 1679—Richard Martin of Rehoboth for good grounds deeded to "my youngest son John Martine that at the present Doth live with me" all the rights "that my brother Robert Martin Did give me by his will" upland in Rehoboth, but if John had no heirs the land was to go to "my other sons or grandchildren as I shall see meet to give it". Witnesses: William Carpenter and Samuel Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 330].
- 23 Dec. 1679—Richard Martin of Rehoboth for valuable consideration deeded to Silas Titus of Rehoboth 6 acres in Wachamanquet Neck. Witnesses: William Carpenter and John Titus, Sr. [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 314].
- 29 Dec. 1679—William Bowen of Rehoboth for a valuable consideration deeded to Jane Walker, widow, and Samuel Walker, both of Rehoboth 20 acres "which is now due to me to take up on the commons of Rehoboth within the 2,000 Acre Division". Witnesses: William Carpenter, Sr., and William Carpenter, Jr. [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 133].
- 6 Jan. 1679—Will of John Read of Rehoboth, "being aged", mentions wife Sarah and makes her executrix; sons Moses, Daniel, and Israel; two daughters Mary and Mehitabel; son John, now deceased, and sons Thomas and Samuel who have already been given their portions; grandchild John Read to dwell with his wife (grandmother) until he is 21. Overseers: Ensign Nicholas Peck, Samuel Peck, and William Carpenter. Witnesses: Nicholas Read and William Carpenter. Will proved 20 Oct. 1685; inventory dated 1 Sept. 1685 [*Ibid.*, vol. V, pt. 2, p. 360].
- Just why this will and inventory should be recorded in the Land Records instead of in the Probate Records where it properly belongs is not known. The case is so unusual that the record is included in this list of deed abstracts.
- 4 Mar. 1679/80—John Miller, Sr., of Rehoboth, Tanner, for good grounds deeded to "my son Samuel Miller all that my house orchard home lott together with all my salt marsh that I have now in present possession lying and being in the hundred acres" in Rehoboth, unless "my beloved wife Elizabeth doth outlive me" in which case she is to have half the house and lands for life "and at his mother's death" Samuel was to take such properties. Signed, John Miller, Sr. Witnesses: John

Miller, Sr., John Miller, Jr., and X of Hannah Miller. Acknowledged on 12 Apr. 1680 by John Miller, Sr.

The witness signature "John Miller, Sr." is written above the names of the other two witnesses with a small arrow pointing to it [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 354].

- 31 Mar. 1680—Jonathan Bliss of Rehoboth, smith, Jane Walker, widow, and Samuel Walker, both of Rehoboth, administrators of the Deceased Philip Walker confirm the exchange of lands between said Bliss and Decon Philip Walker, now deceased, "there having passed no instrument or confirmation betwixt them", the Walkers to get 24 acres in Wachamockett Neck and Bliss to get 26 acres on the east side of Palmer's River in Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Carpenter, Sr., and Ester Smith [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 131].
- 21 May 1680—Anthony Perrey of Rehoboth, yeoman, for a valuable consideration deeded to Robert Miller of Rehoboth, tanner, 9 acres at Palmer's River in Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Samuel Peck [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 274].
- 21 May 1680—Peter Hunt of Rehoboth, smith, for valuable consideration deeded to Robert Miller of Rehoboth, Tanner, 5 acres salt marsh in Swansey. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Nicholas Peck [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 275].
- 14 June 1680—Stephen and Nathaniel Paine of Rehoboth, "whereas our grandfather Mr. Stephen Paine lately deceased" had sold to Decon Philip Walker of Rehoboth one-eighth part of a share of meadows and uplands and swamps at "Anannoiset and New Meadow Neck" in Swansey now confirm to Jane Walker, widow, and Samuel Walker, administrators of the estate of said Philip Walker. Witnesses: Nicolas Peck and William Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 132].
- 24 May 1681—John Paddock of Swansey, planter, for £5 deeded to Obediah Bowen of Swansey 7 acres upland in Rehoboth at Rocky River. Signed: John Paddock and X of Anna Paddock. Witnesses: Timothy Brookes, John Thurber, and John Browne [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 128].
- 14 July 1681—George Robinson, Sr., of Rehoboth for good grounds deeded to "my two sons Samuel and George Robinson, both of Rehoboth" equally 50 acres of land in the North Purchase of Rehoboth, etc., at a place called "Bushe". Witnesses: Joseph Peck, Jr., and William Carpenter, Sr. [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 93].
- 10 May 1682—Samuel Bullock of Rehoboth, yeoman, for £3 deeded to Samuel Luther of Swansey 4 acres swamp land on the East side of Palmer's River in Rehoboth. Witnesses: Nicholas Tanner and Tho. Eastabrook [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 367].
- 14 Oct. 1682—Richard Arnold of Providence for a valuable consideration deeded to John Butterworth, Jr., of Rehoboth all rights "in a saw mill & corn mill . . . In Rehoboth upon the River commonly called the Mill River, being the full one half of the said mill being in partnership with widow Walker". Witnesses: William Carpenter, Sr., and Ester Smith [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 203].
- 7 Jan. 1683—Whereas the Town of Rehoboth voted 16 Mar. 1679 to give Reverend Samuel Angier the house, lot, and Barn which the Town had lately purchased from Mrs. Margery Flint [Rev. Noah Newman's house] for the minister, a committee appointed by the town, Daniel Smith, Esq., Capt. Peter Hunt, Lieut. Nicholas Peck, Gilbert Brooks, Anthony Perrey, and Jonathan Bliss for the town of Rehoboth granted the land to Mr. Angier. Witnesses: Thomas Cooper, William Carpenter, Sr., John Butterworth, and Thomas Read [*Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 35].
- 17 Apr. 1683—Peter Hunt of Rehoboth, smith, for a valuable consideration deeded to Sampson Mason of Rehoboth, shoemaker, 12 acres in Wachamocket Neck in Rehoboth. Signed, Peter Hunt and X of Elizabeth Hunt. Witnesses: John Serch and John Hals [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 378].



- 25 June 1683—John Allen, Sr., of Swansey quitclaimed to Noah Mason and Samuel Mason of Rehoboth 30 acres in Rehoboth. Signed, John Allen and X mark of Christian Allen. Witnesses: James Brown, Tho. Eastabrook, and John Brown [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 370].
- 20 Sept. 1683—Richard and John Martin of Rehoboth deeded to John Shaw land in Rehoboth [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 326].
- 27 Nov. 1683—Samson Mason of Rehoboth for a valuable consideration deeded to Samuel Butterworth of Rehoboth 14 acres at Wachemokett in Rehoboth [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 314].
- 27 June 1684—"Jonathan Wright of Flushing in Queens County upon Long Island in America, son and heire apparent of Capt. George Wright of said Flushing—"Whereas my aforesaid father George Wright hath by a deed of gift bearing date the 2cond day of february Anno. Dom.: 1683' granted all Right title, etc. to me to 'a certaine home Lott of ground lying & being att Rehoboth allies Seacounke in Plymouth Colonie in New England' deeded to John Doged Rehoboth land in Rehoboth, 'That is to say certaine p<sup>o</sup>cells of Lands together with fifty pounds estate of Comonage . . . lying and being within the Township of Rehoboth aforsaid, as namely sixteen acres of Land (more or Less) Lying and being in Wachamokett Necks in the second devision; and is together with a p<sup>o</sup>cell of Land belonging to the said John Doged; all which together maketh thirty & five acres and some odd Pe'cells bounding on the western end with a high way: The Eastern end buting upon the next Range of Lotts the Northerne side a lott formerly belonging to Nicholas Tanner Butt now in the posession of John Butterworth; and on the southeren syde with a Lott formerly belonging unto Thomas Cooper but now in the Posession of Thomas Willmouth alsoe one peice of Land more Containing of eight acres lying and being at the Mill River Lotts; Lying all alonge by the side of the said John Doged his meadow, and adjoyning to the great plaine;
- "Alsoe six acres of Land Lying upon the eastern side of the Swamp called holmes swamp, being a p<sup>o</sup>ice of thirty acres of Land layed out in one p<sup>o</sup>sell The which six acres is yett undevied from the Land of the said John Doged; and some other Land which make up the said Tract; and when the said thirty acres was laid out it bounded . . . every way with the common; alsoe halfe a Devision of meaddow lying on both Sides of the River called palmers River the one p<sup>o</sup>te Lying by the Streame of the said River about halfe a mile on the eastern side of the said River Distant from the other p<sup>o</sup>ce which Lyeth on the western side of the said River alsoe two Lotts being in estimation about nine acres Lying and being upon the plaine called The Great plaine; as alsoe fifty pounds estate of Comonage; all which said Demified p<sup>o</sup>cells of Land the said meddow plaine Lott and Comons excepted contain about thirty acres The said Lands and comons with the appurtenants and every peice and p<sup>o</sup>sell thereof called and known by what name foever, wood Land Marsh meadow, Pasture, Commons or what'" [*Ibid.*, vol. V, pt. 2, p. 281].
- The above-mentioned deed of gift of George Wright of Flushing, Queens Co., Long Island, conveying all his rights to lands, etc. in Rehoboth to his son and heir Jonathan Wright of Flushing, Long Island, dated 2 Feb. 1683/4 (see ante, p. 146) is recorded in Rhode Island, in *Providence Deeds*, vol. I, pp. 88-9].
- 11 Mar. 1684/5—John Shawe of Rehoboth, Tayler, for £20 deeded to John Butterworth of Rehoboth 18 acres at Wachamoket Neck in Rehoboth, it being the land that "I purchased of Richard and John Martin on Sept. 20, 1683". Signed: John Shaw. Witnesses: Samson Mason and William Carpenter [*Plymouth Colony Deeds*, vol. V, p. 325].
- 7 July 1685—Daniel Smith, as agent of the Town of Rehoboth, appeared at this session of His Majesties Court of Assistants at New Plimouth and set forth bounds of said Town of Rehoboth, a part of which follows: "The first grant of the sd. Township being eight miles square granted

in the year 1641 unto Mr. Alexander Winchester, Richard Right, Mr. Henry Smith, Mr. Joseph Peck, Mr. Stephen Paine, and Divers others", etc., then gives said bounds [*Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 341].

1 Apr. 1686—Justus Eames of Marshfield deeded to John Dogget of Marshfield land in Marshfield [*Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 31]. A John and Thomas Dogget are mentioned; probably not the Rehoboth men.

26 Dec. 1689—Maj. William Bradford, son and heir of William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth Colony, for £15, gave the inhabitants of Rehoboth a quitclaim confirmatory deed covering all the lands in the Township of Rehoboth [*Bristol County Deeds*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 356–360].

This deed was not recorded until 21 Apr. 1736, forty-six and a third years after it was executed. For a complete transcript, names of the inhabitants, picture, and description of this deed, cf. *Early Rehoboth*, vol. I, chap. III, pp. 47–67.

In the Registry of Deeds for Bristol County, at Taunton, Massachusetts, are recorded the deeds for the county from 1686. Although Plymouth Colony was divided into the three counties of Barnstable, Bristol, and Plymouth on 2 June 1685, some Bristol County deeds after that date are recorded at Plymouth. The records from 1686 are found at Taunton in the following four volumes: vol. I (1686–1696), 387 pages; II (1696–1699), 373 pages; III (1699–1702), 464 pages; and IV (1694–1705), 512 pages. Excerpts from these volumes follow:

9 Oct. 1677—John Doggett of Rehoboth in consideration "of a valuable sum in Lands & other goods", without naming them, deeded to "My Brother Thomas Dogget of Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard", Mass. "my home or house lott containing twenty-two acres . . . within . . . Rehoboth". Signed, John Doggett and Anne Dogget [*Bristol County Deeds*, vol. I, p. 22].

21 Oct. 1679—Thomas Barnes of Newport, R. I., for "a good & valuable consideration", without naming it, deeded to Zechariah Eddy of Swanzy "my House Lot being twelve acres . . . & two acres which I had of Jonathan Bosworth" being in Swanzy. Signed, Thomas Barnes [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 14].

This is undoubtedly the land granted to Thomas Barnes by the Swansea proprietors on 19 Jan. 1674.

1 May 1682—Elizabeth Smith, widow and administratrix of Ensign Henry Smith, and Joshua Smith, Eldest Son and Heir of Ensign Henry Smith, deceased, and Abraham Peren and Phillip Walker, with the consent of his guardian Daniel Smith, as tenants in joint partnership deeded to Nathaniel Bosworth and Benjamin Jones, both of Hull, Mass., land in Bristol, Mass. [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 23].

20 Mar. 1684/5—Benjame. Wheaton of Mendon, Mass., "late of Rehoboth, cooper" for £3, 10s deeded to Jonathan Fuller of Rehoboth all his shares of meadow and swamp in the North Purchase of Rehoboth, "given me by my father Robert Wheaton" lying partly upon Ten Mile River and partly upon Seven Mile River. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Benjamin Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 53].

7 Feb. 1686—Samuel Hall, Sr., of Taunton, "the son of Edward Hall of Rehoboth, Deceased" and Abigail his wife, for 8 acres of land in Rehoboth deeded to Thomas Leonard of Taunton land in Taunton [*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 35].

5 Aug. 1686—Christopher Saunders of Bristol, "Mercht., with . . . free consent of Elizabeth his wife" for £150 deeded to Simeon Stoddert of Boston, "shopkeeper", his tenement and house lot in Bristol "in ye said Saunder's present possession & occupation". Signed by both Christopher and wife Elizabeth [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 9].



- 1 Nov. 1686—Francis Stevens of Rehoboth for £8 deeded to Jonathan Fuller of Rehoboth 16 acres in Wachamokett Neck in the last division of Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Nathaniel Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 54].
- 15 Nov. 1686—Bounds of Land of "John Blaxton in ye Town of Rehoboth . . . Transcribed out of the Town Records and Recorded 23 Nov. 1686" [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 18].
- 7 Mar. 1687—William Bowen of Rehoboth died leaving no instrument disposing of his house and land, and administration was granted to "Richard Bowen Brother unto ye said Dec'd. William Bowen". It was agreed between said Richard Bowen and Obediah Bowen of Swanzey, "Eldest Brother of ye said Dec'd. William Bowen that the said estate, both real and personal should be divided among: said Obadiah Bowen, Richard Bowen son of Thomas Bowen deceased, who was a nephew of said Dec'd. William Bowen, Richard Bowen son of said Richard Bowen administrator, John Bowen son of Richard Bowen who was brother to William Bowen deceased, Alice Wheaton Sister of Deceased William Bowen, Ruth Kinrick Sister of sd. Dec'd. William Bowen, Elizabeth Whelleck Daughter of Robert Fuller formerly of sd. Rehoboth, 'ye said woman being ye nephew [niece] of said Dec'd William Bowen' and Richard Bowen brother of Dec'd. William Bowen". Witnesses: Nathl. Chaffee and Daniel Read [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 66].
- 15 July 1687—Christopher Saunders of Rehoboth, merchant, and Elizabeth his wife for £12, 10s deeded to Nathaniel Byfield of Boston, merchant, one two & thirtyeth part of a 200 acre farm on Mount Hope Neck at Bristol known as the ferry farm which included Beach flats, wharfs, ferry boat oares, masts & sails belonging to said ferry boat. Witnesses: Samuel Peck and Mary Peck [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 195].
- 2 Nov. 1687—Samuel Sabin of Rehoboth, miller, quitclaimed to "my mother Martha Sabin, relict & Executrix unto my ffather William Sabin Deceased & unto my Brother James Sabin Executor" all houses, lands, orchards, meadow ground, uplands, Swamps of "my ffather William Sabin" in Rehoboth now in the occupation "of my sd. Mother in Law & Brother". Witnesses: Joseph Bosworth and William Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 80].
- 3 Dec. 1687—Benjamin Fuller of Salem, mason, deeded to Sampson Mason of Rehoboth, cordwinder, house lot of 6 acres in Rehoboth in exchange for a house lot in Wachamoket Neck of 18 acres belonging to said Mason. Witnesses: Richard Bowen, Samuel Potter, and William Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 57].
- 1 May 1688—Thomas Eastabrook of Swanzey, yeoman, deeded to John Shaw of Freetown, husbandman, land in Swanzey. Witnesses: James Brown, Jr., and Jabez Brown [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 218].
- 6 Sept. 1688—As Jonathan Bliss of Rehoboth died leaving an estate undisposed of by legal instrument, Samuel Bliss, "his eldest son" of Rehoboth quitclaimed to his brother Jonathan Bliss land in Rehoboth and Swanzey. Witnesses: Henry Newman and Samuel Bullock [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 104].
- 12 Sept. 1688—As "our Father Samuel Carpenter late of Rehoboth" died intestate and the court had ordered a division of the estate, Samuel Carpenter, eldest son of the said Samuel Carpenter, deceased, and Abiah Carpenter, second son, Planters, procured a confirmation of said lands of "our unkle Capt. John Carpenter" divided to our brother, deeded to James Carpenter, land in Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Nicholas Peck [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 210].
- 12 Dec. 1688—Samuel and Abiah Carpenter deeded to brother Jacob Carpenter land in Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Nicholas Peck [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 212].
- 1 July 1689—Joseph Buckland, Sr., of Rehoboth, yeoman, for £35 deeded to Joseph and Nathaniel Browne of Rehoboth 265½ acres in Providence

- and 50 acres at Senchetecanet in Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Carpenter, Daniel Carpenter, and Joseph Buckland, Jr. [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 175].
- 26 Nov. 1690—Deposition of Moses Paine aged 67 yeares or thereabouts, William Needom aged 76 years or thereabouts, John Dogget, Sr., aged 60 years or thereabouts, all of Boston, but formerly of Braintree, and Joseph Arnold of Brantrey aged 68 years or thereabouts, declared they had known one Solomon Curtis son of Deodatus Curtis and Rebecca his wife, both of Braintree, from a child to the present time and that he is the true child of said Deodatus and Rebecca Curtis [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 217].
- 15 May 1691—John Brown of Swanzey deeded to his brother Nathaniel Brown of Rehoboth, shipwright, 30 acres at the northwest corner of sd. John Brown's farm in Rehoboth. Witnesses: Jabez Brown and John Bullocke [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 177].
- 24 Jan. 1692—Whereas a marriage was entered into by John Thomas of Swanzey, cordwainer, and Elizabeth the daughter of Mr. John Viall of Swanzey, deceased, and whereas John Thomas' "Honored Mother in Law Mrs. Elizabeth Newman of said Swanzey, late the wife of the said John Vial" and executrix of his will, Thomas granted to Elizabeth Newman, Samuel Vial, Benjamin Vial, and Jonathan Vial land in Rehoboth. Witnesses Samuel Newman, Joseph Kent, Jr., and Samuel Kent [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 317].
- 9 Aug. 1692—John Woodcock, Sr., of Rehoboth deeded to "my son Thomas Woodcock" land in Rehoboth. Witnesses: Christe. Sanders and Joseph Tripp [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 188].
- 9 Aug. 1692—John Woodcock, Sr., of Rehoboth deeded to "My son Israel Woodcock" 100 acres in Rehoboth. Signed, X mark of John Woodcock and X mark of Joannah Woodcock. Witnesses: Christe. Sanders and Joseph Doggett [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 187].
- 17 Feb. 1692/3—Thomas Man and Mary his wife of Rehoboth for a valuable consideration deeded to Ephraim Peirce of Providence, R. I., yeoman, a dwelling house and 20 acres in Rehoboth on the Easterly side of Palmer's River, all such land purchased of Robert Jones, Isaac Allen, and Jonathan Fuller. Witnesses: Edward Smith and Thomas Smith [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 283].
- 29 Apr. 1693—Deacon Samuel Newman of Swanzey for £32 deeded to Nathaniel Brown of Newport, R. I., shipwright, 48 acres in Wachamoket Neck in Rehoboth. Witnesses: John Brown, Jr., and Ann Brown [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 172].
- 23 Nov. 1693—John Reed of Rehoboth, husbandman, for a valuable consideration, deeded to Nathaniel Millerd of Rehoboth, weaver, 10 acres land, being the 56th lot on the East side of Palmer's River in Rehoboth in the last 2000 acres division. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Daniel Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 28].
- 9 Jan. 1693/4—David Whipple of Rehoboth, yeoman, for valuable consideration deeded to John Wilkerson of Providence  $\frac{1}{4}$  share of undivided lands in the North of Rehoboth which Whipple bought of Robert Jones of Swanzey. Witnesses: Thomas Ormsby and John Whipple [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 252].
- 17 Feb. 1693/4—John Woodcocke, Sr., and Joanna his wife deeded to John Devotion of Muddy River formerly belonging to Boston (now Brookline, Mass.) 210 acres at Ten Mile River in Rehoboth, excepting a small parcel of land at least 6 rods square "for a Burying place in which my wife and several children & neighbors are intered". A son John Woodcock is mentioned in the bounds of this land. This deed was signed by both grantors and acknowledged at Boston by both John and Joannah on above date. Witnesses: John Ware, John Houghton, and John Gere [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 227].



- 23 Feb. 1693/4—John Blackmer of Rochester, Barnstable County, Mass., for £15 deeded to Edward Gray of Punkateest [Tiverton] land in Shawmut, Swanzey. Witnesses: Henry Talcot and Thomas Tabor [*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 239]. A James Blackmer was in Rehoboth in 1672.
- 17 June 1695—Robert Millerd of Rehoboth, Tanner, for love and affection deeded to “my son Nathaniel Millerd of Rehoboth, malster”,  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre on the East side of Palmer’s River in Rehoboth being a part of the land purchased of John Fitch of Rehoboth [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 109].
- 25 Nov. 1695—John Whipple of Providence, R. I., for a valuable consideration deeded to Silvanus Scott of Providence the half of one half of a share of undivided land in the North Purchase of Rehoboth. Witnesses: Tho. Olney and Peter Plarce [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 253].
- 19 May 1696—Henry Smith of Rehoboth, husbandman, for £30 deeded to John Butterworth of Rehoboth, yeoman, 28 acres in Wachamoket Neck in Rehoboth. Witnesses: Belamy Bosworth and William Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 96].
- 8 Aug. 1696—Thomas Bowen, carpenter, and Thankful Bowen of Rehoboth for £100 deeded to Francis Wilson of Oburn, Middlesex County, Mass., “planter” 20 acres at Rocky River in Rehoboth. Witnesses: John Brooks, Joseph Mason, and John West [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 206].
- 4 Sept. 1696—Nathaniel Cooper and Thomas Cooper, the younger, of Rehoboth, husbandmen, for £5 deeded to Capt. Thomas Leonard and Lieut. James Leonard, yeoman, of Taunton 5 acres of upland and swamp in Rehoboth near to Old Cedar Swamp [*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 32].
- 6 Sept. 1696—Alexander Widdicum of Swanzey, Tayler, for £10 deeded to Capt. Timothy Brooks of Swanzey, yeoman, “my house and 30 acres on the East Side of Palmer’s River in Rehoboth”. Witnesses: John Haile, John West, and George Lawton [*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 138].
- 14 Sept. 1696—Alexander Widicamg, Rehoboth, appointed his friend Nicholas Moorey of Taunton his Attorney to sell 30 acres of land in Rehoboth “I bought of Mr. James Brown as by his Deed to me May appeare Bearing Date February 28, 1690/1 with a house on the land”. Witnesses: Tristrum Bowerman, Stephen Caswell, and Phillip King [*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 170].
- 24 Sept. 1696—John Shaw of Swanzey for £140 deeded to Thomas Earle of Dartmouth land in Swanzey near Mattapoiset. Signed, John Shaw and Hannah Shaw [*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 11].
- 10 Nov. 1696—Samuel Newman, Sr., of Rehoboth, yeoman, for valuable consideration deeded to George Webb of Little Compton 60 acres on the East side of Palmer’s River in Rehoboth in the last 2000 acre division. Witnesses: Samuel Milerd and William Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 156].
- 2 Dec. 1696—John Thompson of Reding, Middlesex County, Mass., husbandman, for £10 deeded to George Webb of Little Compton, farmer, “my Dwelling house & house lott” in Rehoboth of 60 acres on East side of Palmer’s River. Witnesses: Samuel Millerd and William Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 157].
- 9 Mar. 1697—Stephen Paine of Rehoboth, Gent., for £35 deeded to Henry Sweeting of Rehoboth, clothier, 3 acres in Rehoboth. Witnesses: Nathaniel Chaffee, Thomas Ormsbee, and Jonathan Chaffee [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 370].
- 1 July 1697—Henry Stacey of Providence, R. I., for £32 5s deeded to Silvanus Scott of Providence 50 acres on the South Neck of the Patucket River in Rehoboth or Attleborough. Witnesses: Moses Read, John Cary, and Abigail Cary [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 449].
- 1 July 1697—Henry Stacey of Providence for £25 deeded to James Stevenson of Springfield, Hampshire Co., Mass. Bay, 50 acres “in Rehoboth or Attleborough, or one of them” which lot Stacey bought from Stevenson—a mortgage deed to be paid within two (2) years. Signed, X mark

- of Henry Stacey. Witnesses: Moses Read, Silvanus Scott, and John Cary [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 353].
- 1 July 1697—James Stevenson of Springfield, County of Hampshire, Mass., administrator to the estate of John Stevenson late of Rehoboth, deceased, and Joanna his wife, for £58 10s deeded to Henry Stacey of Providence, R. I., all houses, lands, etc., in Rehoboth belonging to said James as heir to his Brother John Stevenson. Witnesses: Abigail Cary, Silvanus Scott, Moses Read, and John Cary [*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 115].
- 31 Dec. 1697—Samuel Miles of Boston, clerk, for £280 deeded to "William Howes of Boston, chyrurgeon, in Swanzey and Rehoboth: 15 acres at Torrey's Creek and 16 acres at Wachamokett Neck". Signed, Samuel Miles and Ann Miles. Witnesses: Tho. Jackson, Edward Hill, and Eliazer Moody, Servt. [*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 184].
- 8 Apr. 1698—Stephen Paine of Rehoboth, yeoman, for £24 deeded to William Carpenter, yeoman, and Josiah Carpenter, cordwinder, both of Rehoboth a tract of fresh meadow on the northerly end of Mr. Brown's Pond, so-called. Witnesses: James Carpenter and Obediah Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 240].
- 10 June 1698—Barachia Lewes of Dedham, Suffolk County, Mass., for £20 deeded to Isaac Lewes of Rehoboth, husbandman, 30 acres on the East side of Palmer's River in Rehoboth. Witnesses: Josiah Fisher, Timothy Whiteing, and John Lewes [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 354].
- 19 Oct. 1698—Lieut. Joseph Brown of Rehoboth for £8 deeded to Gidion Crofferd of Providence, R. I., merchant, 31½ acres in Wachamoket Neck, Rehoboth, at a place called the "hogpens". Witnesses: Cornelius Darling and Jabez Brown [*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 298].
- 19 Oct. 1698—Joseph Brown of Rehoboth, husbandman, for a valuable consideration deeded to Cornelius Darling of Attleboro, husbandman, 24 acres on Northerly side of Rehoboth at a place called "the Mile & a halfe". Witnesses: Jeremiah Child, Jabez Brown, and William Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 53].
- 10 Dec. 1698—Enoch Hunt of Rehoboth, yeoman, for a valuable consideration deeded to Nathaniel Millerd 12 acres of land on East side of Palmer's River in Rehoboth. Witnesses: John Peck, John Redway, and Samuel Palmer [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 29].
- 30 Dec. 1698—Stephen Paine, Deacon Samuel Peck, Ensign Enoch Hunt, Samuel Paine and Nathaniel Paine of Rehoboth and John Paine of Swanzey, and Jacob Pepper of Rockberry and Daniel Aldis of Dedham, husbandmen, for £25 deeded to Henry Bragg of Bristol two 50 acre lots of upland near to Wolfe Bridge Run in Rehoboth. Witnesses: Nathaniel Chaffee and John Bowen [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 258].
- 7 Mar. 1698/9—Capt. Andrew Willett of Kingston, alias Rochester, in the Colony of Rhode Island, for £26 deeded to Sarjant John Butterworth of Rehoboth, miller, 54 acres in Wachamoket Neck in Rehoboth. Witnesses: William Carpenter, Nathaniel Carpenter, and Henry Sweeting [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 97].
- 9 Jan. 1699—Jacob Pepper of Rockberry, Suffolk County, Mass., and Daniel Aldis of Dedham, Suffolk County, Mass., husbandmen, appointed "our Brother Mr. Samuel Peck of Rehoboth" our attorney to act for us concerning the estate of our brother Benjamin Pain late of Bristol, deceased. Witnesses: John Aldis and Josiah Bollt [*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 1/2].
- 29 Mar. 1699—Mary Millerd, one of the witnesses swore that she saw Robert Millerd sign, etc.,—thus proving that he was then dead. The other witnesses later did the same. Witnesses: Thomas Litchfield, X mark of Mary Millerd, and John West [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 109].
- 24 June 1699—Appointment by the General Court of Massachusetts Bay of John Saffin, John Brown, Thomas Leonard, and Nicholas Peck, Esq., as Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for Bristol County [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 57].



- 6 Sept. 1699—Enoch Hunt of Rehoboth (whereas Deacon Samuel Peck of Rehoboth by virtue of a marriage with the relict of Peter Hunt, Jr., had certain interest in land where now said Enoch Hunt's house stands, "being the house lott where several years since John Woodcock dwelt" and Samuel Peck having released his interest) deeded to said Samuel Peck 2 acres of salt meadow in Rehoboth. This was by way of consideration for the previous release of Peck's interest. Witnesses: Benjamin Hunt, John Butterworth, and William Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 199].
- 1 Feb. 1699/1700—Francis Stephens, Sr., of Rehoboth for £9, 10s deeded to "my son-in-law Pelege Roads of Pautuxet, Providence, R. I., husbandman, 50 acres in the north of Rehoboth." Witnesses: Daniel Fuller, John Ormsby, and William Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 93].
- 16 Feb. 1700—Samuel Barney of Rehoboth, "cordwayner", for £100 deeded to Thomas Bowen of Swanzey, yeoman, 90 acres on the west side of Palmer's River in Rehoboth. Witnesses: John Watts, Israel Barney, and John West [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 207].
- 6 Aug. 1700—Thomas Bowen of Rehoboth, yeoman, for £70 deeded to Samuel Winslow of Harwich, Barnstable County, Mass., cordwainer, 90 acres on west side of Palmer's River in Rehoboth. Witnesses: Hezekiah Luther, Zachariah Eddy, and John West [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 261].
- 5 Nov. 1700—Thomas and Thankful Bowen of Rehoboth for £143 deeded to Thomas Shaw of Rehoboth 20 acres at Rocky River in Rehoboth together with one-third part of a Grist mill. Witnesses: Isaac Mason, Isaac Bowen, and John West [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 205].
- 5 Dec. 1700—Thomas Shaw of Rehoboth, brickmaker, for £70 deeded to Thomas Bowen of Rehoboth, yeoman, 20 acres at Rocky River in Rehoboth together with one-third part of a Grist Mill thereon. Witnesses: Isaac Mason, Isaac Bowen, and John West [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 244].
- 27 Dec. 1700—Mary Sabin, widow, and Israel Sabin, of Rehoboth, miller, for £39 deeded to Henry Sweeting of Rehoboth, clothworker,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a corn mill and fulling mill on the Mill Falls in Rehoboth with  $\frac{1}{2}$  a dwelling house and the mill Dam upon the Great River, etc. Witnesses: Samuel Sabin, William Carpenter, Ephraim Carpenter, and John Ormsby [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 372].
- 13 May 1701—Israel Dogget of Edgartown, Dukes County, Mass., for £80 deeded to Thomas Buttler of Edgartown 6 parcels of land in Rehoboth: two of 11 acres, one of 18 acres, one of 15 acres, and one of 25 acres in Rehoboth and land in Swanzey, "Lately belonging to Thomas Dogget, Esq., Dec'd father to the said Israel Dogget". Witnesses: Matthew Mayhew, Samuel Merrie, and Matthew Mayhew, Jr. [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 255 $\frac{3}{4}$ ].
- 26 May 1701—Samson Mason of Rehoboth, Cordwainer, for £3 deeded to John Hunt of Rehoboth, yeoman, 6 acres in Wachamoket Neck. Witnesses: William Carpenter and Daniel Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 315].
- 18 Nov. 1701—Thomas Buttler of Chilmark, Dukes County, upon Martin Vinyard, for £7 deeded to Joseph Doggett and Nathaniel Doggett in Rehoboth, wheelwrights,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  acres of salt meadow at The Hundred Acre Meadow in Rehoboth. No witnesses [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 152].
- 1 Dec. 1701—Samuel Salsbury of Rehoboth in consideration of a marriage between Samuel and Jemima, now wife of the sd. Samuel Salsbury and daughter of the sd. John Martin, deeded to John Martin of Swanzey 40 acres on the East side of Palmer's River in Rehoboth. This is a covenant to stand seized. Witnesses: James Brown, Ann Brown, and Martha Brown [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 337].
- 21 Dec. 1701—John Butterworth, Sr., of Rehoboth, cooper, for a valuable consideration deeded to "my son John Butterworth, Jr." 47 acres at Chestnut Hill in Rehoboth. Witnesses: David Cary, John Cary, and John Cary, Jr. [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 377].

- 10 Feb. 1701/2—Joseph and Hannah Brown of Rehoboth for a valuable consideration deeded to Timothy Ide of Rehoboth  $1\frac{1}{4}$  acres at The Hundred Acres in Rehoboth. Witnesses: David Smith and Abigail Smith [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 452].
- 28 Apr. 1702—Samuel Palmer of Rehoboth for a valuable consideration deeded to George Leonard of Taunton two allotments to be taken up in the north side of Rehoboth each of them being  $12\frac{1}{2}$  acres together with a half share of undivided land to which allotments belong. Witnesses: Elisha Peck and Daniel Smith [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 439].
- 28 Apr. 1702—"Benjamin Allen of Rehoboth . . . attorney unto Mary Allen, administratrix, & Stilson Allen, administrator, of ye estate of Mr. William Allen late of Salsbury in the County of Essex in New England, aforesd. Dec'd Have Received of Samuel Palmer of Rehoboth aforesd., late Constable there" £14, 4s, 6d in payment of a judgment. Witnesses: John Ormsby and Jonathan Ormsby [*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 363].
- 30 Dec. 1702—Joseph Peck, Sr., of Rehoboth, yeoman, deeded to "my son Samuel Peck" 200 acres land and dwelling house on west side of Palmer's River in Rehoboth. Witnesses: Thomas Ormsby, Samuel Bullock, and Deborah Kiby [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 204].
- 6 Dec. 1703—Thomas Bowen for £70 from Redington Mowry quit claimed to Thomas Shaw a third part of a grist mill "bearing date 1 Sept. 1701". Witnesses: Simon Davis and John Cary [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 168].
- 15 June 1704—John Crabtree of Rehoboth, Joyner, in consideration of love and affection deeded to "my son John Crabtree, Jr." 36 acres in North Purchase of Rehoboth. Witnesses: Samuel Robinson, John West, and Hugh Gye [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 328].
- 28 July 1704—Thomas Butler of Chilmark, Dukes Co., for £12 deeded to John Doggett of the same place land and meadow in Rehoboth and Attleborough "which was formerly in the Tenure of Thomas Doggett, Esq., late deceased". Witnesses: James Allen and Icabod Allen [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 304].
- 14 Oct. 1704—William Dean of Rehoboth, carpenter, for £100 deeded to Ensign Moses Read of Rehoboth and Azrikam Peirce of Swanzey, husbandman, all "my house lot on both sides of Palmer's River in Rehoboth". Witnesses: Daniel Carpenter, Abiah Carpenter, and Elizabeth Carpenter [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 329].
- 16 July 1705—Hezekiah Peck of Swanzey, formerly of Rehoboth, Husbandman, for £100 deeded to Ephraim May of Swanzey, cordwainer,  $43\frac{1}{4}$  acres of upland and meadow in Rehoboth "near the Hundred Acre Run with a Dwelling House on it". Witnesses: Joseph Peck, James Smith, and Elisha May [*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 454].



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