

Wampanoag Martial Custom in the Late 17th and Early 18th Centuries:
Benjamin Church's Indians Reconsidered

Brian D. Carroll

In March 1724 a justice of the peace from Bristol, Massachusetts issued a warrant to the local sheriff for the arrest of three Wampanoag men from nearby Dartmouth, known to English colonists as Joseph Annunksoo, Benjamin Abel, and Howland Skipper. Four months earlier, in November 1723, the three killed a dog belonging to one local colonist and hung it up in front of the house of another. The language of the warrant focused on the damages due the dog's owner but said nothing about the Indians' motives. Yet the incident was about far more than a dead canine. A deeply symbolic gesture, the animal was killed because the Wampanoag were going to war. It was an offering to a god they called Cheepi, and they thought it would ensure their success. The three had enlisted to fight alongside the English in an all-Wampanoag company in the Massachusetts provincial army, as they, their fathers and grandfathers had done repeatedly over the past fifty years—following the conquest and incorporation of their lands into English colonial jurisdictions as a result of King Philip's War (1675-1676). They were to take part in an expedition against the Abenaki of the Kennebec River region. This campaign was part of a conflict called Governor Dummer's War (1722-1726) by colonists, but known to the Wabanaki as the fourth in a series of conflicts to defend their homeland, Wabanakia, from colonial invaders.¹ Lieutenant Richard Bourne, the commander who recruited the three men along with almost fifty others from among the Wampanoag and Nauset, was well known to the tribal peoples of southeastern Massachusetts. He was great-grandson and namesake of the missionary who introduced Protestant Christianity to the Wampanoag sixty years earlier, and related to colony officials with authority to oversee tribal lands and Indian affairs on nearby Cape Cod.²

Clearly no Christian ceremony, the sacrifice of dogs to obtain supernatural aid and protection during war was a common ritual among northeastern Algonquian groups. Widespread before contact, the rite was also conducted for healing and divination and as an offering to supernatural beings. Historically, the practice has been most associated with the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) and the Anishinaabe (Ojibwa), who usually burned and sometimes ate the dog, but variations on the ritual were practiced all over the Northeast. Descriptions often note the dog or dogs were strangled and the carcass hung on the end of a pole. This was what Annunksoo, Abel and Skipper did in Dartmouth in 1723—during a period when it has been assumed most Wampanoag in the area had converted to Christianity and had at least superficially adopted aspects of British colonial culture. They hung the dog's body from the tongue of a wagon—the bar protruding from the front of the vehicle that horses or oxen are attached to. The last time such a ritual was recorded in that part of southern New England was sixty years earlier, prior to King Philip's War. Ostensibly Protestants, the incident shows that some Wampanoag maintained older religious beliefs or at least blended them with newer Christian practices, phenomena long-noted and much-studied by modern ethnohistorians.³ But it also shows that martial traditions associated with Wampanoag ways of war also persisted in the setting of the colonial military.⁴ A powerful affirmation of the warrior ethos that traditionally defined the existence of indigenous males in the region, the ritual sent a clear message to Quakers who had recently won converts among the local Wampanoag. The dog's carcass was hung up in front of the home of the most prominent Quaker family in the region, the Slocums. The group were staunch pacifists. Rather than a rejection of war, a clearer statement of the survival of Wampanoag warrior identity and traditions under colonialism would be harder to find. They were advertising the fact that they were still warriors. Following their action, Annunksoo, Abel and Skipper spent four months

patrolling the woods of southern Maine as part of Bourne's company, several hundred miles to the north and far beyond the reach of Bristol's authorities. Upon their return they were arrested.⁵

Wampanoags serving as soldiers for the British played a vital role in colonists' military forays into the Northeastern borderlands during King William's, Queen Anne's, and Governor Dummer's Wars. By the 1680s and 1690s Indians from southern New England routinely served in the colonial military, making up as much as a fifth to a quarter of the troops on early offensives. Usually led by native officers, the Wampanoag served in autonomous units that patrolled the frontier and attacked enemy Indian (usually Abenaki) and French settlements. Short, seasonal military campaigns, the norm in colonial New England at the time, allowed them to work military service into pre-existing cultural and economic patterns with minimal disruption to native lifeways. As a result, and in spite of other economic and cultural transformations affecting their lives, war remained both an important activity and rite of passage for Wampanoag men well into the eighteenth century. Yet Wampanoag attitudes towards war sometimes clashed with English martial traditions. As a result, colonial officers often found them (and other natives) difficult to deal with. Nonetheless, the two accommodated to each other's martial customs and organization. But starting in Queen Anne's War, economic exploitation began to undercut the benefits warrior status provided to Indian men and was symptomatic of the increasing economic and cultural oppression natives from the region faced under colonialism.⁶

Observers had long noted the importance of war to native masculinity. One missionary in the region noted in 1723 that "the occupation of the men is hunting or war,"⁷ and that "the only way of acquiring public esteem and regard is . . . to gain the reputation of a good warrior; it is chiefly in this . . . that they make their merit consist, and it is this *which they call being truly a man.*"⁸ Even after the Wampanoag were conquered in King Philip's War and many had converted to Christianity in the 1670s, hunting and warfare—linked activities in Algonquian

culture—continued to have cultural and spiritual significance. Sacrificing part of a kill to the ‘keeper of the game,’ fasting before hunts, seeking visions that revealed prey, warding off evil spirits, and ritualized ways of processing game ensured successful hunting.⁹ In modified form these same observances applied to war. New England Algonquians sought spiritual protection during conflicts by invoking their own gods or helper spirits, and through ritual purification, special adornment, and, later (or alongside), prayers to Jesus.¹⁰

Throughout the seventeenth century, Wampanoag men participated in war parties organized along kinship lines that travelled far from their homes for extended periods, providing them opportunities to test their bravery.¹¹ Typically groups of twenty to forty men, sometimes more, were led by expert military leaders, known as *pneise*, or *pneisok* who practiced powerful ritual magic as well as instructing other men in the art of war. Prestige, plunder and captives were prime motivators, yet raids also fulfilled other social, economic, and political obligations. As a result of contact with Europeans, by the time of King Philip’s War, both Wampanoag and British ways of war had evolved, and were characterized by the destruction of villages, crops and livestock, and the routine slaughter or torture of non-combatants.¹²

During later conflicts, King William’s and Queen Anne’s wars specifically, recruiting Wampanoag troops was largely the task of one man and later his sons. Drawing on his experience during King Philip’s War, over a period of twenty-three years between 1689 and 1712 Benjamin Church recruited hundreds of natives to serve on a dozen British colonial campaigns against the Wabanaki Confederacy and the French. Initially Massachusetts’ solution to attacks on its frontier settlements during wartime was to send Indians from southern New England to wreak the same “murders and outrages” and “destruction” upon the Indians of northern New England. Similar in organization and execution, the campaigns Church led all had the same strategic goal—attack indigenous villages along Maine’s three largest river systems: the

Androscoggin, Kennebec, and Penobscot. Recruiting took place in summer. His later missions (1696 and 1704) were more ambitious and included attacks on the French and Mi'kmaq in Acadia (now Nova Scotia). They typically started in early September and none lasted longer than four months. Church's 1689 orders set the tenor. According to the Massachusetts governor, he and his Indians were to "march to the headquarters of the enemy, as they have advice and encouragement, to cut up their corn, and take their women and children if they miss the opportunity of destroying the fighting men."¹³ This was as much a war on Wabanakia's noncombatants and their resources as it was about engaging its fighting men.

Church's expeditionary forces ranged from two hundred and fifty to six hundred men, which included between one hundred to one hundred and fifty Wampanoag warriors—roughly a quarter to a half of his force depending on the mission.¹⁴ They were recruited from Plymouth Colony (annexed by Massachusetts in 1692), and often divided into three companies—one from what became Bristol County, another from what became Plymouth County, and a third from Barnstable County (Cape Cod). His Indian officers included a number of veteran Wampanoag *pneise*, including Numpas and Lightfoot from Saconet, and Captain Amos of Mashpee. Another war leader, Captain Daniel, led Nausets recruited from the outer Cape. Accounts show Numpas's company contained sixty-four men, Amos's thirty-four, and Captain Daniel's about thirty. Given an adult male population of seven hundred and nineteen, counted in a census taken four years before Church's first mission, this represents one fifth of all mainland Wampanoag men.¹⁵ All Church's troops, English and Indian, were given wages, a share of captives and plunder, and paid bounties for taking Wabanaki scalps.¹⁶

War continued to have distinctive meanings to Wampanoag warriors who fought for Church on these campaign. They continued to conduct war ceremonies, particularly those surrounding the appointment of war captains, like the one Church famously described in his

memoir in the spring of 1676 during King Philip's War. Through diplomatic negotiations and a ritual dance with the *sunksquaw* Awashonks, Church won over the Saconet band from Philip's side. By this point the Narragansett, Philip's Wampanoag supporters, and their Nipmuc allies were in full retreat. Death or enslavement awaited those who continued to fight. Church's offer to join the English provided the best chance at avoiding such fates, but they would have to fight other Wampanoag people.¹⁷

However, the Saconet first needed to incorporate Church into *their* kinship and military systems before they would fight for him. Similar to a Mohegan ceremony witnessed forty years earlier during the Pequot War, and another Wampanoag ceremony witnessed the previous year by captive Mary Rowlandson, Peter Washanks, led a ritual that involved dancing in concentric circles around a fire and combat with firebrands against the spirits of opposing groups they were declaring war against. Each *pneise* followed in turn. Church was brought into the inner circles with other elite warriors and initiated into their brotherhood, other men then swore loyalty to him. In return, Church promised them his friendship and protection. The ritual was sealed with the gift of a valuable musket that signified Church was now a Saconet *pneise* with the authority to call their men to war.¹⁸

The Wampanoag who served under Church in the imperial wars continued to conduct similar ceremonies. In early 1690, with rumors afloat of a campaign against the Wabanaki, the Wampanoag of Dartmouth and Saconet anticipated being called to fight. In April they held a meeting to reaffirm their support for Plymouth. When they chose the captains who would lead them on the coming campaign, they conducted a ceremony very similar to the one presided over by Peter Washunks fourteen years earlier.¹⁹ Elite warriors again performed ritual combat, this time with the spirits of the Abenaki and French, declaring war on them.²⁰ At least one hundred Wampanoag men were present at the ceremony, with fifty armed and in battle regalia and taking

part. Whether the English officers they selected joined in, as Church once had, was not recorded.²¹ Colonial officials not only permitted such rituals, six years later they mimicked them. At a small ceremony in 1696 Massachusetts officials presented a musket to a leader they called Hugh after he and a small band of Nauset took up arms against the French, signifying, in recognizably Wampanoag ways, that he was now a war captain, a *pneise*, in the service of the Bay Colony.²²

After Church was made a *pneise* in 1676 he took command of a combined company of Plymouth militiamen and Saconet warriors. The force consisted of two hundred men—one hundred and forty Englishmen and sixty Indians. He recommended this 2:1 ratio to later military planners because, in his opinion, it optimized English and Indian operational strengths. The Saconet scouted for enemy camps and reported intelligence back to Church. They also ambushed enemy war parties. This unit served as the prototype for future companies Church raised during the colonial wars of the 1690s and early 1700s.²³

While Church's company was ostensibly one unit, it is clear the Wampanoag contingent usually operated independent of the main force.²⁴ Church also recognized that they had cultural and political agendas of their own, distinct from English aims. These reveal the clear link between manhood, war, and, particularly, indigenous concepts of retributive justice. After one action in King Philip's War Saconet warriors pressed Church to pursue retreating Narragansetts as they "wanted to be revenged on them for killing some of their relations." As this coincided with English objectives, Church told them "go and acquit themselves *like men*." After the action, he wrote, "[they] were mighty proud . . . and rejoiced much at the opportunity of avenging themselves."²⁵

Wampanoags under Church in King Philip's War also had a say in who served in their company. Church augmented the number of Indians under his command by recruiting more men

from amongst the enemy Wampanoags his men had captured. But approval from the Saconet was needed before recruits were invited to join. It is probably many had kinship connections to the men already in Church's unit. Church demanded professions of loyalty from those they approved and incorporated them into the force.²⁶ These bonds forged an alliance between the Church family, Plymouth and later Massachusetts Colony, and the Saconet that lasted two generations.

Accomplishments in war still mattered to Algonquians in southern New England in the eighteenth century. On one level, Wampanoag men agreed to fight the Abenaki in the 1690s and early 1700s in order to gain much needed cash, food, and trade goods they now required, and to prove their loyalty to the Plymouth and later Massachusetts provincial governments. But mainly they did so to buttress native manhood in light of cultural changes wrought by colonialism and the influence of missionaries. The latter encouraged hunter-warriors to become sedentary farmers, which was women's work in Algonquian culture. In spite of such teachings, honor, reputation and status still accrued to Indian men who were proven warriors.²⁷ Stephen Badger, missionary at nearby Natick observed warriors there were "embodied into a military corps," and some were "invested with military titles," which he noted proved a source of great pride. Badger recalled that "they then held up their heads; [and] considered themselves of some importance."²⁸ Oral tradition touts the exploits of one of Church's Wampanoag soldiers, Benjamin Tuspaquin. Stories of his wartime accomplishments still circulated among his descendants in the nineteenth century. They bragged that he bore facial scars from a wound received fighting for the English.²⁹ And on 26 May 1735, the *Boston Gazette* reported a story about members of a hunting party sitting around a campfire and boasting about their exploits in Governor Dummer's War a decade earlier. One Wampanoag veteran in the group talked proudly of "what Indians he had kill'd."

As at Natick, Wampanoag social hierarchies were reflected in provincial military rank. From 1689-1726 respected elites and war leaders served in provincial companies as captains or lieutenants, while others were sergeants or corporals in units commanded by white officers.³⁰ For instance, in 1696, Jethro, the son of a prominent Nantucket *sunksquaw* became a captain in Church's force. In 1704, Wampanoag James Church was commissioned a captain as well, while Robin Manchester was given the rank of lieutenant. In 1710, Benjamin Numpas of Little Compton was issued a captain's commission by the Massachusetts governor. He was the son of Numpas, one of Church's original war captains. While Numpas was subordinate in rank to his company's white captain, Benjamin Church's son, he was the leader of the unit's Indians.³¹ A decade later, Peter Oliver from Herring Pond, Joseph Ralph, a Nauset, and John Pockonett and Josiah Peters, from Mashpee, were all made sergeants in the Wampanoag company led by Richard Bourne that was discussed earlier.³²

Traditionally, displays of bravery, martial acumen or physical prowess on the battlefield helped a warrior accrue *manitou* or spiritual power and increased his status among his people.³³ This imperative remained important to Wampanoags fighting in imperial wars. One dramatic example of such a feat occurred in Casco Bay in September 1689 when the Saconet *pneise* Lightfoot singlehandedly turned the tide of battle. Church's force was pinned down and out of ammunition. Lightfoot swam across a tidal creek with a keg of bullets under one arm while balanced a pack of gunpowder on his head—to keep it dry—all the while being shot at by opposing Abenaki warriors.³⁴ This was just the sort of accomplishment that enhanced a warrior's reputation. Not every Wampanoag soldier would perform such spectacular feats, but many smaller opportunities presented themselves providing warriors with chances to prove their mettle.³⁵

An engagement a year later reveals the continued importance of purification rituals in the setting of the English army and further highlights the southern New England Algonquian martial ethos. One night Church issued orders to his English troops and Indians, led by Numpas, to camp close together for safety and not light a fire. The Wampanoag laughed in his face and chided him for being afraid. Numpas's men then bivouacked on the opposite bank of a nearby creek and lit a fire and began singing and dancing. Swift punishments awaited English troops who challenged authority, but Church risked alienating the Wampanoag if he tried to force compliance or punish them for insubordination.³⁶

Ignoring orders, needling Church and displaying bravado were typical of native masculine rhetoric, first noted by ethnohistorian Nancy Shoemaker, which often involved bragging about one's bravery and abilities.³⁷ But Numpas's men were not just ignoring Church. Having just returned from a lengthy patrol they felt proper ceremonial observances were in order. Like with other Algonquian peoples, Wampanoag tradition dictated warriors perform purification rituals before and after going on a war party.³⁸ As in hunting, in order to maintain the proper balance of spiritual forces and ensure continued success, rituals also needed to be observed that appeased supernatural "other than human beings" who aided war parties.³⁹ A "strict course of purification," according to historian Todd Romero, was required of warriors if they hoped to draw on the *manitou* of the gods and spirits they invoked.⁴⁰

Church thought the Wampanoag merely reckless.⁴¹ His worst fears were realized when the Abenaki attacked the camp during the ritual.⁴² The English and Wampanoag won the ensuing skirmish, but suffered dearly. One in five was a casualty. In retribution, Numpas's men plundered the enemy's nearby camp, avenged their losses by killing two prisoners they captured, and scalped an imposing Abenaki war leader—which they saw as a major coup.⁴³ And, once they turned the grisly trophy in to colonial authorities and collected the £5 bounty and divided it,

each man in the company was two shillings richer. Yet perhaps more important than the money, the taking and display of these trophies was a symbol of a warrior's prowess and prestige. Wampanoag men took and displayed scalps before and during King Philip's War and continued to do so in subsequent conflicts.⁴⁴

Between the 1680s and the 1720s military service for Wampanoag men was a choice, a sign of their agency within the colonial system, and something that fulfilled and even reinforced the hunter-warrior role. But, starting as early as the first decade of the eighteenth century, and clearly noticeable as a trend by the 1720s, debt replaced choice as the primary mechanism for recruiting Wampanoag men for the army. Military service began to increasingly bear the marks of subjugation and exploitation that were fast becoming the norm for Indians in eighteenth-century New England. Many, if not most, Wampanoag soldiers by the time of Governor Dummer's War were indentured servants with only limited freedom of choice. Also, the Great Awakening in the 1730s and 1740s profoundly impacted and reshaped Indian religion and culture in the region. On top of that, when imperial conflict recommenced in the 1740s and 1750s, colonial officials who wanted and needed large regiments trained in conventional European tactics. Many felt they no longer needed Indian warriors. Few all-Indian companies were formed in New England, leaving most Wampanoags who enlisted in the later colonial wars minority soldiers in almost exclusively white regiments. Dog sacrifices, *pneise* ceremonies, purification rituals, elite Indians serving as officers, and other noticeably Algonquian military practices became a thing of the past.

Endnotes

The author thanks the Mashantucket Pequot Nation for hosting the *17th-Century Warfare, Diplomacy, & Society in the American Northeast* conference in October 2013. This paper was originally presented as part of a panel at the

conference. He greatly appreciates Lorraine “Rainwaters” Henry, of the Herring Pond Wampanoag tribe, for sharing her extensive knowledge about Wampanoag families during the era. He would also like to thank the staff at the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, and, in particular Ashley Bissonette, David Naumec, and especially Kevin McBride for organizing this event.

¹ The territories controlled by members of the Wabanaki confederacy would later become parts of current-day Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. The Wabanaki confederacy included numerous Abenaki bands as well as Maliseet, Pigwauket, Passamaquaddy, and Mi’kmaw groups. They were traditionally allied with the French. Among other names, the war referred to here is known as Father Râlse’s War [often misspelled in English as Rale or Râle] (in Maine), Grey Lock’s War (in Vermont), and Lovewell’s War (in New Hampshire), and Governor Dummer’s War (in Massachusetts). From the perspective of the Wabanaki, and some modern historians, the war is often called the Fourth Anglo-Abenaki War. For the conflicts and complex relations between the English, French and Wabanakis, see Christopher J. Bilodeau, “The Economy of War: Violence, Religion, and the Wabanaki Indians in the Maine Borderlands,” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2006) and Colin G. Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).

² Nathaniel Byfield, Esq., Warrant for the arrest of John Annueksoo, Benjamin Abel, and Howland Skipper, Bristol, Massachusetts, 19 March 1724 (original in private collection, Photostat copy in the possession of the author); Pay records show that this was Bourne’s second deployment to the Kennebec with a unit composed of Wampanoags. *The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* . . . vol. X (Boston: Wright & Potter, 1903), 506, 507, 591; For information about family associated with the house where the incident took place, that of Peleg Slocum, a Quaker, see Zephaniah W. Pease, *History of New Bedford*, Vol. II (1918), 52-53, William A. Wing, “Peleg Slocum of Dartmouth and His Wife Mary Holder,” *Old Dartmouth Historical Sketches*, no. 3 (1903): 4-6, Charles Elihu Slocum, *A Short History of the Slocums, Slocumbs and Slocumbs of America* (1882), 50-54, and Daniel Ricketson, *The History of the New Bedford, Bristol County, Massachusetts, Including a History of the Old Township of Dartmouth* . . . (1858), 37-42. For information on the Bourne family see also Hannah S. B. Dykes, *History of Richard Bourne and Some of His Descendants* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1919).

³ While traditionally studies on New England Indians centered on Christianization, that paradigm has shifted in recent decades in favor of more complex cultural analyses, yet early Christianization attempts in the region remain popular. By no means a complete list, relevant recent works on New England ethnohistory describing the impact of colonization on the region’s native population in early America include Daniel Mandell, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), and *Tribe, Race, History: Native Americans in Southern New England, 1780–1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); Jean O’Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650–1790* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); David Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha’s Vineyard, 1600–1871* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Amy Den Ouden, *Beyond Conquest*; Jenny Hale Pulsipher, “*Subjects unto the Same King*”: *Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); R. Todd Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians: Masculinity, Religion, and Colonialism in Early New England* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011); and Linford D. Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early New England* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁴ For religious blending or syncretism, see, among other sources, Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening*, Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, Douglas L. Winiarski, “A Question of Plain Dealing: Josiah Cotton, Native Christians, and the Quest for Security in Eighteenth-Century Plymouth County” *New England Quarterly* 77 (2004): 368-413 and “Native American Popular Religion in New England’s Old Colony, 1670-1770,” *Religion and Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 15, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 147-186; Kathleen Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650*, 169-183, and “Gender a Social Category in Native Southern New England,” *Ethnohistory* 43 (1996): 575-578, 585.

⁵ Literature on dog sacrifice in the Northeast is extensive. For a sampling see Cath Oberholtzer, “Fleshing Out the Evidence: From Archaic Dog Burials to Historic Dog Feasts,” *Ontario Archaeology* 73, no. 1 (2002), 3-14; Elisabeth Tooker, “The

Iroquois White Dog Sacrifice in the Latter Part of the Eighteenth Century,” *Ethnohistory* 12, no. 2 (Spring 1965), 129-140; John Ensminger, “Dogs of the Northeast Tribes in the Colonial Period,” *Dog Law Reporter: Reflections on the Society of Dogs and Men*, 11 June 2012 <www.doglawreporter.blogspot.com> Accessed 14 May 2013; William John Potts, “Iroquois Dog-Sacrifice,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 3 (1890), 70-71; Harold Blau, “The Iroquois White Dog Sacrifice: Its Evolution and Symbolism,” *Ethnohistory* 11, no. 2 (Spring 1964), 97-119. Bougainville gives two excellent examples of dog sacrifices in war rituals among the Menominee and Mississauga of the Great Lakes. See *Adventure in the Wilderness: The American Journals of Louis Antoine de Bougainville, 1756-1760*, edited by Edward P. Hamilton (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964; repr. 1990), 7, 264. For Native Americans adopting mainstream Christianity and Quakerism in the Dartmouth region as well as being exposed to myriad other religious and folk beliefs see Winiarski, “Native American Popular Religion,” 147-186, and Christina J. Hodge, “Faith and Practice at an Early-Eighteenth-Century Wampanoag Burial Ground: The Waldo Farm Site in Dartmouth, Massachusetts,” *Historical Archaeology*, 3 (2005): 73-94, and Meredith Baldwin Weddle, *Walking in the Way of Peace: Quaker Pacifism in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2001). Romero in *Making War*, 160-165, 174-175, outlines the importance of warrior status to New England Algonquian gender constructions. See also Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana: Or, the Ecclesiastical History of New England* (London, 1702), 192.

⁶ Richard R. Johnson, “The Search for a Useable Indian: An Aspect of the Defense of Colonial New England,” *Journal of American History* 64 (1978): 632-651; Brian D. Carroll, “From Warrior to Soldier: New England Indians in the Colonial Military, 1676-1763,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 2009), chapters 2-4; Romero, *Making War*, 161-167, 175-176; Ann Little, *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 12-55; David J. Silverman, “The Impact of Indentured Servitude on the Society and Culture of Southern New England Indians, 1680-1810,” *New England Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (Dec. 2001), 622-666; Margaret Ellen Newell, “The Changing Nature of Indian Slavery in New England, 1670-1720,” *Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience*, edited by Colin G. Calloway and Neal Salisbury (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2003), 106-136.

⁷ Sebastien Rasles, to Monsieur his Brother, Narantsquak [Norridgewalk], 12 October, 1723 in *The Jesuit relations and allied documents: travels and explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791: The Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English translations and notes*, Vol. LXVII: Lower Canada, Abenakis, Louisiana, 1716-1727, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Co., 1900), 137.

⁸ Rasles, *Jesuit Relations*, 171. Emphasis added.

⁹ Romero, *Making War*, 50-52; Rachel Wheeler, *To Live Upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008), 108-110.

¹⁰ Wheeler, *To Live Upon Hope*, 108-110; Romero, *Making War*, 50-52, 139, 145, 166-167; Bragdon, *Native Peoples*, 132-134.

¹¹ Eric S. Johnson, “Released from Thralldom by the Stroke of War: Coercion and Warfare in Native Politics of Seventeenth-Century Southern New England,” *Northeast Anthropology* 55 (1998); Romero, *Making War*, 161-162.

¹² Adam J. Hirsch. “The Collision of Military Cultures in Seventeenth-Century New England,” *Journal of American History* 74, no. 4 (1988), 1187, 1190-93, 1204, 1210-11; John Grenier calls this new style of war America’s “first way of war” and spends much time chronicling its historical rise and evolution in early America. See *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 12-15.

¹³ Simon Bradstreet to Thomas Hinckley, 17 July 1689 in “The Hinkley Papers; Being Letters and Papers of Thomas Hinkley, Governor of the Colony of New Plymouth, 1676-1699.” [hereafter “Hinkley Papers”] *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 4th ser., V (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1861), 203-204; Carroll “From Warrior to Soldier,” 160.

¹⁴ Indian troops in 1689 were 50% of the total. By 1692 they were 27% of the total forces. *Acts and Resolves VII: 1692-1702* (1892), 555-556; Church, *The History of Philip’s War*, 156-158. Carroll, “From Warrior to Soldier,”

160-163; Samuel Penhallow, *The History of the Wars of New England With the Eastern Indians . . .* (Boston, 1726), 16.

¹⁵ These numbers are exclusive of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. See Thomas Hinkley to William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, 2 April 1685, "Hinkley Papers," 132-134; For the pay, boarding, and supply accounts of Capt. Numpas, Capt. Amos and Capt. Daniel's companies see "Account of Debt from Maj. Church to ye Worshipful Maj. Richards . . ." 13-24 September 1689, Massachusetts Archives Collection, 35: 2, Massachusetts Archives, Columbia Point, Boston, Mass (hereafter cited as *Mass Archives*); Walley's payrolls show two Indian companies taking part, approximately one hundred and twenty men, more than a fourth of the regiment. *The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of Massachusetts Bay . . .*, vol. VII (Boston: Wright & Potter, 1892) [hereafter cited as *Acts & Resolves*], 410; *Mass Archives* 100: 465.

¹⁶ Thomas Church, *The History of Philip's War, Commonly Called the Great Indian War of 1675 and 1676, Also, of the French and Indian Wars at the Eastward . . .* [hereafter *History of Philip's War*] ed. Samuel G. Drake (Exeter, N.H.: J. & B. Williams, 1843), 156-158.

¹⁷ Church, *The History of King Philip's War*, pp. 55, 71-74; Note that some Native Americans who surrendered to Church under the promise of clemency were not so lucky. Annawan and his band surrendered to Church after being promised protection, but colonial officials had different ideas—he was summarily executed.

¹⁸ Church, *The History of King Philip's War*, 90-94. It is highly probable that Church had already undergone adoption into this group, as they were well-known to him. While no documentary evidence supports the claim, Wampanoag oral tradition claims that Church must have married into or been adopted by the Saconet. Some informants claim he was married to Awashunks. The argument behind this seems to be that he would have had to have been incorporated into the kinship structure of the Saconet first before he could have been made a war leader. And he would have had to have been part of a senior lineage. An outsider or someone of low status would not have been granted such privileges. This seems perfectly plausible. Lorraine "Rainwaters" Henry (Herring Pond Wampanoag), interviewed by Brian Carroll, Oaks Bluffs, MA, August 26, 2013.

¹⁹ John Walley to Thomas Hinckley, 21 April 1690 in "Hinckley Papers," 247-248.

²⁰ The unnamed Indian commander in the ceremony was possibly James Church, one of a new generation of Indian war leaders who grew to maturity after King Philip's War. Church became a prominent leader of his people, influential in Wampanoag communities in Bristol and Plymouth counties. For Church's appointment as a Justice of the Peace over the Indians of Bristol County, see William Henry Whitmore, comp., *The Massachusetts Civil List for the Colonial and Provincial Periods, 1630-1774* (Boston: J. Munsell, 1870), 143, and for his role in the Freetown-Wattupa reserve see "Schedule of the Lotts of the Indians Land and to whom they Severaly Belong Lying in Freetown in the County of Bristol," 3 Feb. 1764, *Mass Archives* 33: 269-273; Carroll, "From Warrior to Soldier," 184, 197.

²¹ One of whom was Captain William Southworth (1659-1719) of Little Compton, the younger brother of Alice Southworth Church (1646-1719), Benjamin's wife. They were the children of Constant Southworth (1615-1679) and Alice Carpenter Southworth, who married Govern Bradford of Plymouth Colony after her first husband Constant died. Samuel G. Webber, *A Genealogy of the Southworths (Southards) Descendants of Constant Southworth* (Boston, 1905), 1, 6-9, 21-28, 31-32, 36-39.

²² *Mass Archives* 30: 438.

²³ Another important tactical advantage provided by the Wampanoag contingent was their ability to operate with little hindrance in swamps, terrain where English troops typically performed poorly. Indians often fled to swamps knowing that Anglo-American troops were either unwilling or unable to follow them. One group of retreating enemy Wampanoag attempted to melt into the marshes around Assawompset Neck (now Lakeville, Massachusetts) to escape from Church near the end of the war. The Saconet contingent followed the party directly into the swamp and engaged them. Church, *The History of King Philip's War*, 17-18, 55, 59, 62, 71-75, 98.

²⁴ Church, *The History of King Philip's War*, 111, 130, 131, 192.

²⁵ Church, *The History of King Philip's War*, 79, 83-85, 88.

²⁶ Church, *The History of King Philip's War*, 55, 71-74.

²⁷ For a full treatment of Eliot's mission to the Indians of Massachusetts, see Roger W. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians Before King Philip's War* (Harvard University Press, 1999). For a study that focuses on the gendered aspects of the missions as they relate to reforms of Native hunter-warrior masculinity, see Romero, *Making War*, 10-11, 81-82, 89, 96-103.

²⁸ Stephen Badger. "Historical and Characteristic Traits of the American Indians in General, and those of Natick in Particular . . ." *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the Year 1798* (Boston, 1798), 38.

²⁹ Ebenezer W. Peirce, *Indian History, Biography and Genealogy: Pertaining to the Good Sachem Massamoit of the Wampanoag Tribe . . .* (North Abington, Mass., 1878), 212; *Mass. Archives* 33: 269-273.

³⁰ Geoffrey Plank notes that this practice emerged in Acadia as well, "the French began applying military terminology to describe Mi'kmaq leaders, most commonly calling them "captains" . . . By the eighteenth century Mi'kmaq leaders had begun to describe themselves as "captains," and gradually they adopted a wide array of military titles to designate influential members of their communities." *An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 27.

³¹ *Mass Archives* 71: 687.

³² *Mass Archives* 91: 139-141.

³³ Bragdon, *Native Peoples*, 170, 174, 217, 223, 225-226; Romero, *Making War*, 50-53, 139-140.

³⁴ Lightfoot had been a *pneise* and trusted advisor to Awashonks in 1676. Church, *The History of King Philip's War*, 166-168.

³⁵ Works by Romero (*Making War*) and Ann Little (*Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007]) make this clear. It was similar among the Iroquois. See, Jon Parmenter, "After the Mourning Wars: The Iroquois as Allies in Colonial North American Campaigns, 1676-1760," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 64 (2007): 39-82; Letters reporting the event arrived in New England within a week of the battle and news from them in the form of oral accounts spread rapidly thereafter. See Samuel Prince to Thomas Hinkley, 27 September 1689, "Hinkley Papers," 216-217; For networks of communication in early New England, see Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865* (Oxford University Press, 1989), 16-41, and Katherine Grandjean, *American Passage: The Communication Frontier in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

³⁶ The issue of the limits of coercion and the voluntary nature of Indian military service is discussed in Brian D. Carroll, "Savages in the Service of Empire: New England Indians in Gorham's Rangers, 1744-1762," *New England Quarterly* 85, no. 3 (September 2012): 383-429. See also, Church to Hinckley, 30 Sept. 1690, in "Hinckley Papers," 274-275; Church, *The History of King Philip's War*, 191-194.

³⁷ Nancy Shoemaker, "An Alliance between Men: Gender Metaphors in Eighteenth-Century American Indian Diplomacy East of the Mississippi," *Ethnohistory* 46 (1999): 243, 246-248. Of course similar attitudes can certainly be found among soldiers at many times and places throughout history. For immediately relevant examples to New England see Little, *Abraham in Arms*, 35-43; Romero, *Making War*, 149, 153, 160-161; Alexandra Shepard notes the importance of these attitudes to the construction of middle and working class masculinity in Early Modern England in *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 2003); See also Peter J. Way, "Arms and the Man: Soldiers and the Battlefield of Masculinity in the Seven Years' War," (Paper presented at the Spring Seminar of The McNeil Center, Philadelphia, Penn., March 2004), and "Engendering War: Military

Masculinities and the Making of Britain's Eighteenth Century American Empire," (Paper presented at the Institute for the Study of Culture and Society, Bowling Green, Wisconsin, October 2005).

³⁸ Romero demonstrates that warfare among New England Natives, even after Christianization, remained "highly ritualized." *Making War*, 21, 137-140, 164.

³⁹ Anthropologists term offerings made in such rituals 'demand exchanges.' Bragdon, *Native Peoples*, 131-134.

⁴⁰ Roger Williams, *A Key Into the Language of America: Or, An help to the Language of the Natives in the part of America, called New-England* (London: Gregory Dexter, 1643), 118, 163, 180; Michael L. Oberg, *Uncas: First of the Mohegans* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006), 32-33; James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (Oxford University Press, 1981), 53-54, 182, 261-262; Bragdon, *Native Peoples*, 130-134. The quote is from Romero, 145, 160-164.

⁴¹ Church, *The History of Philip's War*, 192-195.

⁴² Church to Hinckley, 30 Sept. 1690, in "Hinckley Papers," 274-275.

⁴³ Church, *The History of Philip's War*, 192-195.

⁴⁴ The practice had deep cultural significance for many groups across North America. James Axtell, "The Unkindest Cut, or Who Invented Scalping?: A Case Study," and "Scalping: The Ethnohistory of a Moral Question," in *The European and the Indian*; For connections between the taking of animal body parts by Native American hunters and the taking of human body parts during intertribal wars and male prestige and status see Robert P. Mensforth, "Human Trophy-Taking in Eastern North America During the Archaic Period," in *The Taking and Displaying of Human Body Parts as Trophies by Amerindians*, eds. Richard J. Chacon and David H. Dye (New York: Springer Science and Business Media, 2007), 222-273. Mensforth concludes from physical evidence from dozens of sites across Eastern North America that "though not common, scalping was geographically widespread in the Eastern United States by Archaic times." Decapitation and other forms of trophy-taking and corpse mutilation were also widespread by this period (9,000 BCE to 1000 BCE); See also *North American Indigenous Warfare and Ritual Violence*, eds. Richard J. Chacon and Ruben G. Mendoza (Phoenix, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 2007); David H. Dye, *War Paths, Peace Paths: An Archaeology of Cooperation and Conflict in Native Eastern North America* (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2008).