

*Technical Report*

**Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut  
(May 19, 1676)**

*Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Plan*

**Department of the Interior,  
National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program  
GA-2287-14-012**



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## **I. Introduction**

### **Project Description**

In recognition of the historical and cultural significance of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut that occurred on May 19, 1676, the Town of Montague, with support of the Historical Commissioners from the Towns of Deerfield, Gill, Greenfield, Montague, and Northfield along with the Narragansett, Nipmuc, Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican, and Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head Aquinnah tribes received a Site Identification and Documentation grant (GA-2287-14-012) from the National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program (NPS ABPP) to conduct a pre-Inventory Research and Documentation project to identify the likely locations of the King Philip's War (1675-1676) Peskeompskut (Turners Falls) Battlefield and associated sites. The Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Project is considered the first phase of a longer term project to conduct a Battlefield Archaeology Survey to identify and recover battle-related objects from the sites, battles, and actions associated with Peskeompskut (Turners Falls) Battlefield.

The pre-inventory and documentation project included consultation with the Native American community associated with Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut and associated sites, examination and analysis of documentary records and archeological collections associated with the battle, collection of Tribal and non-tribal (Yankee) oral histories, military terrain analysis (KOCOAs) to identify and assess the battlefield terrain including avenues of approach and withdrawal, key terrain features, battlefield sites and actions, ancillary sites, and battlefield Study and Core Areas. An additional, although no less important goal was to engage local officials, landowners, and the interested public in efforts to locate and protect the battlefield(s) and associated sites. This technical report summarizes the research, methods, and results of the "Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut" National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program (NPS ABPP) grant awarded in July 2014 to the Town of Montague, Massachusetts.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The NPS ABPP promotes the preservation of significant historic battlefields associated with wars on American soil. The purpose of the program is to assist citizens, public and private institutions, and

The overall goal of the Site Identification and Documentation grant was the documentation of the May 19, 1676 English assault on the Native village of Wissatinnewag and the subsequent Native allied attacks on English forces shortly after the attack was over. Native soldiers quickly responded to the English attack and mobilized forces from several nearby communities. The English withdrawal to Hatfield 20 miles south quickly deteriorated into a rout as rumors spread that King Philip was approaching with 1,000 men at the same time they were counterattacked. In the disorganized retreat several bands of English became separated and cut off from the main body. The “Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut” project chronicled the actions and events that constitute the Battle of Great Falls (May 19, 1676) beginning with the event(s) leading up to the English attack on the village of Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut and through the Native counterattacks on retreating English forces that followed.

An important objective of the grant was to conduct a Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation project to identify the likely locations of the King Philip’s War (1675-1676) Peskeompskut (Turners Falls) Battlefield and associated sites which includes, but is not limited to, the Native American community of Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut. Researching these battlefield sites included the examination of documentary records and archeological collections, tribal and non-tribal oral histories, and the use of military terrain analysis. An additional goal is engagement of the local officials, landowners, and the interested public in efforts to locate and protect the battlefield(s) and associated sites.

The Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut was one of the most significant battles of King Philip’s War (1675-1676) as it marked the beginning of the end of the War. The early morning surprise attack on the multi-tribal villages and encampments at Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut by 150-160 English soldiers and settlers from Hadley, Northampton and Hatfield areas effectively ended nascent peace

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governments at all levels in planning, interpreting, and protecting sites where historic battles were fought on American soil during the armed conflicts that shaped the growth and development of the United States, in order that present and future generations may learn and gain inspiration from the ground where Americans made their ultimate sacrifice. The goals of the program are: 1) to protect battlefields and sites associated with armed conflicts that influenced the course of American history, 2) to encourage and assist all Americans in planning for the preservation, management, and interpretation of these sites, and 3) to raise awareness of the importance of preserving battlefields and related sites for future generations.

discussions between the United Colonies (Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, and Plimoth) and the Native American tribes fighting the English and the Narragansett, Pocumtuck, Nonotuck, Norrotuck, Wampanoag, and Nipmuc. The attack on the unsuspecting villages at their traditional gathering place at Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut for fishing and ceremony resulted in the deaths of over two hundred Native people, mostly women and children. Tribal fishing activities were significantly disrupted and a portion of their fish stores were lost as were important blacksmithing tools and supplies of lead. While the attack was a major blow, particularly with the loss of fish which was intended to see them through the year, the alliance was still able to mount major attacks against the English over the next month at Northampton, Hatfield, and Hadley. Eventually the combined losses of leaders, food and military supplies, soldiers, and growing dissension on future courses of action forced the alliance of tribes gathered at the Turners Falls to disband, and many returned to the “relative” safety of their homelands in Wampanoag, Nipmuc, and Narragansett territories. These communities, and those remaining in the Connecticut valley, were aggressively pursued by the English for the remainder of the war. In the ensuing months, thousands of Native people were killed, captured, and enslaved, bringing the war to a rapid conclusion a few months later.

The Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center (MPMRC) conducted the Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation project through historical (primary) research, interviews and field visits with knowledgeable individuals, military and Colonial history research, historical archeological and material culture research, and military terrain analysis (KOCOA). The resulting information from these sources along with observations gained through windshield and walkover surveys of the battlefield were used to identify and map the likely location(s) of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut and associated sites, Native and Colonial avenues / routes of approach and retreat, battles and engagements, campsites, and village. This information was integrated into a Geographic Information Systems (GIS) database, and battlefield Study (overall battlefield geography) and Core (areas of engagement) defined. All work was conducted in accordance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Archeology and Historic Preservation*, and the methods outlined in the National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program *Battlefield Survey Manuel* (2000). All work was coordinated with the Battlefield Study Advisory Board comprised of

representatives of the Towns of Montague, Gill, and Greenfield, and the Narragansett, Aquinnah Wampanoag, Mashpee Wampanoag, Nipmuc, and Mohegan Tribes, and any individuals with expertise in the history and archaeology of the study area. The authors of this report include Kevin McBride as Project Director, Ashley Bissonnette as Senior Researcher, David Naumec as Senior Historian and Noah Fellman as GIS, map and technical expert and interpretive archaeologist.

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## **American Battlefield Protection Program**

The American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) promotes the preservation of significant historic battlefields associated with wars on American soil. The purpose of the program is to assist citizens, public and private institutions, and governments at all levels in planning, interpreting, and protecting sites where historic battles were fought on American soil during the armed conflicts that shaped the growth and development of the United States, in order that present and future generations may learn and gain inspiration from the ground where Americans made their ultimate sacrifice. The goals of the program are; 1) to protect battlefields and sites associated with armed conflicts that influenced American history, 2) to encourage and assist all Americans in planning for the preservation, management, and interpretation of these sites, and 3) to raise awareness of the importance of preserving battlefields and related sites for future generations.

## **Battlefield Surveys**

Battlefield surveys are an important aspect of historic preservation as many significant battlefield sites are destroyed or negatively impacted through ignorance of their location and significance. Many battlefields might be preserved if the property owner and community were aware of their existence, and informed of the significance of the battlefield and its contribution to a broader understanding and appreciation of history. Preserved battlefields and related historic sites can add to a community's sense of identity and foster a greater interest in history and preservation efforts. The identification, documentation (through historical research and battlefield archaeology), and mapping of a battlefield's historic and cultural resources are an essential first step for any battlefield preservation efforts. The long-term preservation goals of the "Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut" project are to nominate significant battle sites to the National Register of Historic Places, educate the public on the importance of King Philip's War battlefield sites, and to develop a long-term historic preservation program for identified sites.

The first step in battlefield preservation is to locate and delineate the extent of the site and battlefields, and to assess their integrity. This requires establishing a battlefield boundary and integrating cultural features (e.g. paths/trails, roads, hilltops, bridges, fords, towns, palisades, redoubts, etc.), and artifact distributions (e.g. musket balls, brass arrow

points, equipment) into an appropriately scaled topographic base map using GIS. The boundary must be defensible based on historical and archeological evidence (e.g. documents, field survey, terrain analysis and archeological surveys) and encompass historic architectural resources if associated. Three boundaries are created for a battlefield: Study Area, Core Area(s), and Area(s) of Integrity. Study Areas encompass the tactical context and visual setting of the battlefield and reflect the historical extent of the battlefield. Study Areas can contain one or more Core Areas defined as area(s) of direct combat. Areas of Integrity delineate those portions of a historic battlefield landscape that still convey a sense of the historic scene and contain material remains (artifacts and features) that are associated with the battle. Generally Areas of Integrity are not assessed until landowner permissions have been obtained and the battlefield archeological survey has been completed.

The NPS ABPP has developed an approach to research, document, and map battlefields that has proven to be highly successful.<sup>2</sup> These methods were originally developed for Civil War battlefields and later applied to many Revolutionary War battlefields. Seventeenth century battlefields such as those of King Philip's War present unique challenges for historians and battlefield archeologists to research, survey, document, and delineate battlefield boundaries given the nature of seventeenth century sources, the low density and frequency of artifacts associated with seventeenth century battlefields in North America, and the high frequency and density of non-battle related objects on a landscape after 350 years of land use activities unrelated to the battle. Nonetheless, the methods developed for seventeenth century battlefields have proven very successful and it is anticipated that they will be successful in documenting the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut sites as well.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> American Battlefield Protection Program, *Battlefield Survey Manual* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, revised 2007).

<sup>3</sup> Kevin McBride, Douglas Currie, David Naumec, Ashley Bissonnette, Noah Fellman, Laurie Pasteryak, Jacqueline Veninger. "Battle of Mistick Fort Documentation Plan" GA-2255-09-017. Mashantucket, CT: Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, 2012.

## **Project Scope and Objectives**

The overall goal of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut project was not only to research the battle and to identify potential sites for future battlefield archeological surveys, but to place the battle in a broader historical and cultural context. To that aim the broader history of the war and the region were incorporated into the historical context of this Technical Report. Analysis of historical materials was an important aspect of this study, as was research on the Native and English communities and individuals involved in the battle. Other important aspects of historical and material culture research was documenting the nature of period European and Native American military culture and associated technologies, the evolution of technologies and tactics, and reconstructing the social-political organization and kinship relationships of the Native tribes present in the region at the time of the battle.

The fighting that occurred at the Great Falls on May 9, 1676 involved hundreds of English and Native soldiers who fought over at least a 30 square mile area (Figure 1). The battlefield terrain and key terrain features (e.g. fords, White Ash Swamp) over which much of the combat is believed to have occurred influenced many of the tactical decisions made by both sides before, during, and after the battle. Primary accounts from contemporary historians, such as the Reverends Increase Mather and William Hubbard, English soldiers like sixteen-year old Jonathan Wells or Narragansett soldier Wenanaquabin, provide important details on the battle including the initial English attack, and the successful Native counterattacks which routed the English into a panicked retreat. Various accounts document an unorganized English retreat south towards Hadley on the east side of the Connecticut River, and describe close quarter fighting as the English soldiers broke into small groups in a desperate effort to escape Native attacks. Many were overrun and ambushed from swamps, and many of the captured English were tortured to death. After the initial shock of the attack on the village at Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut, the Native soldiers from several surrounding communities mobilized and counterattacked the English shortly after they mounted their horses to begin the retreat. In sharp contrast to the inexperienced, poorly organized and generally poorly led English, the counterattacking Native forces were very experienced, well led, and intimately familiar with the terrain. The Native tactics of ambush at swamps and fords, and direct

assaults from the flanks and rear of the retreating English were highly effective against the inexperienced soldiers.

An important objective of the “Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut” project was to identify and assess the integrity of the battlefield terrain and sites and villages associated with the Great Falls battle according to KOCOA standards, and evaluate the effects of the landscape on the outcome of the battle. The defining features from battles actions and sites have been categorized into critical, major and minor defining features.<sup>4</sup> The critical defining battles, sites and features were mapped using Global Positioning System (GPS) and GIS technology.

### **Study and Core Areas & Areas of Integrity**

Defining Study and Core Areas of the battlefield is a critical part of the battlefield documentation process.<sup>5</sup> The Study Area of a battlefield is defined as the maximum delineation of the historical battlefield site and should contain all the terrain and cultural features related to, or contributing to, the battle event including where troops maneuvered, deployed, and fought immediately before, during, and immediately after combat. The Study Area functions as the tactical context and visual setting of the battlefield. The natural features and contours visible on relevant USGS 7.5 minute quadrangle maps are used to outline a study area and include all those locations that directly contributed to the development and conclusion of the battle (Figure 1). The study area should include the following:

- Core Areas of combat
- approach and withdrawal routes of the combatants
- locations of all deployed units of the combatants on the field, even reserves
- preliminary skirmishing if it led directly to the battle, and
- logistical areas of the armies (supply trains, hospitals, ammunition dumps, etc.).

The Study Area is restricted to the immediate flow of battle after one side or the other has moved to initiate combat. For example, if a unit left its encampment or assembly area intending to attack the enemy at dawn, it would be appropriate to include these

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<sup>4</sup> See Chapter III Research Design, Methods, & Terrain Analysis; KOCOA Analysis; Table 1.

<sup>5</sup> ABPP, *Battlefield Survey Manual*. Pp. 28-29.

encampments or areas within the Study Area as the initial position of the attacking force (e.g. assembly point west of Falls Brook just before the battle). The route of the previous day's march to reach these encampments or assembly points would not be included, although the selection of the avenue of approach of attacking forces may have been a tactical decision that would play a role in understanding the broader battlefield. The Study Area ends where the armies disengaged, although in the case of the Peskeompskut battlefield that may be difficult to determine. Forces may have disengaged under orders, because of darkness or adverse weather conditions, pursuit of a retreating force halted by a rear guard action, or because one force accomplished its objective and chose not to pursue its retreating foe.

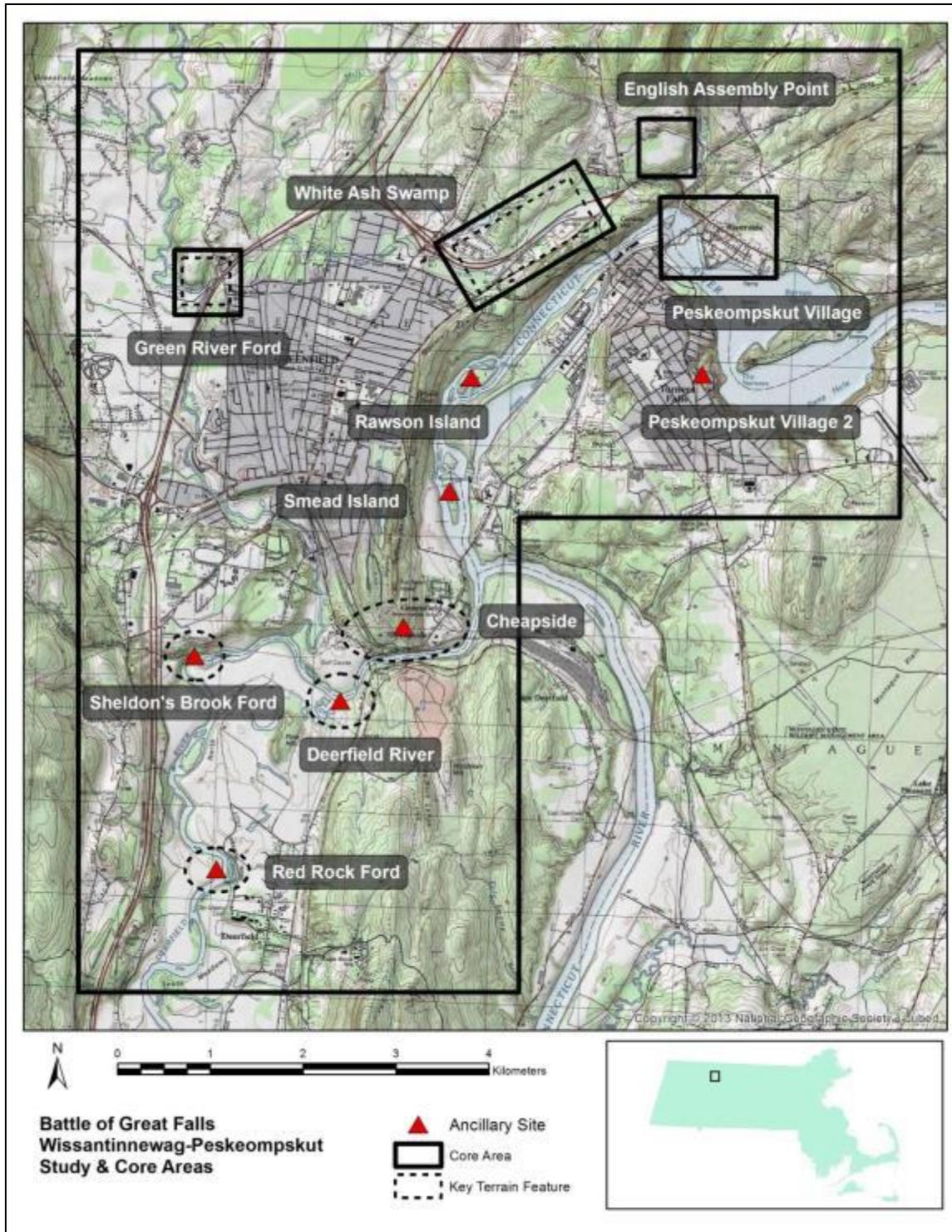
The Core Area of a battlefield is the area of direct combat and includes those places where the opposing forces engaged and incurred casualties such as the Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut village, Native attack on the English assembly/horse tie down area, and Native ambushes along the White Ash Swamp. The Core Area(s) must fall fully within the Study Area. The natural features and contours on the USGS 7 ½ minute quadrant help to define areas of confrontation, conflict, and casualties. Natural barriers, such as rivers, creeks, swamps, hills and ridges often restrained the movement of the combatants, providing a natural landscape or topographical boundary for the battlefield Study.

Generally, Study Areas can be reasonably well defined for Revolutionary and Civil War battlefields based on better documentation and maps as compared to King Philip's War battlefields. No known period maps document the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut or any other action that occurred during King Philip's War, and period descriptions of battle locations are often conflicting and ambiguous.

Areas of Integrity delineate those portions of the historic battlefield landscape that still convey a sense of the historic scene (retain visual and physical integrity) and can still be preserved (at least in part). Any parts of the study and core areas that have been impacted or otherwise compromised by modern development, erosion or other destructive forces, and can no longer provide a feeling of the historic setting, are excluded from areas of integrity. Although impacted to some degree, the Core Areas identified for the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut still convey a sense of the historic landscape. Even battlefields located in suburban areas such as the

Riverside District may still retain a degree of integrity and significance if battle-related artifacts and other archeological information (e.g. campfires, ditches, etc.) can be recovered or observed in undisturbed contexts. In such instances the presence of houses may affect the feeling of the historic setting but information may still be present that will contribute to the archeological significance of the battlefield.

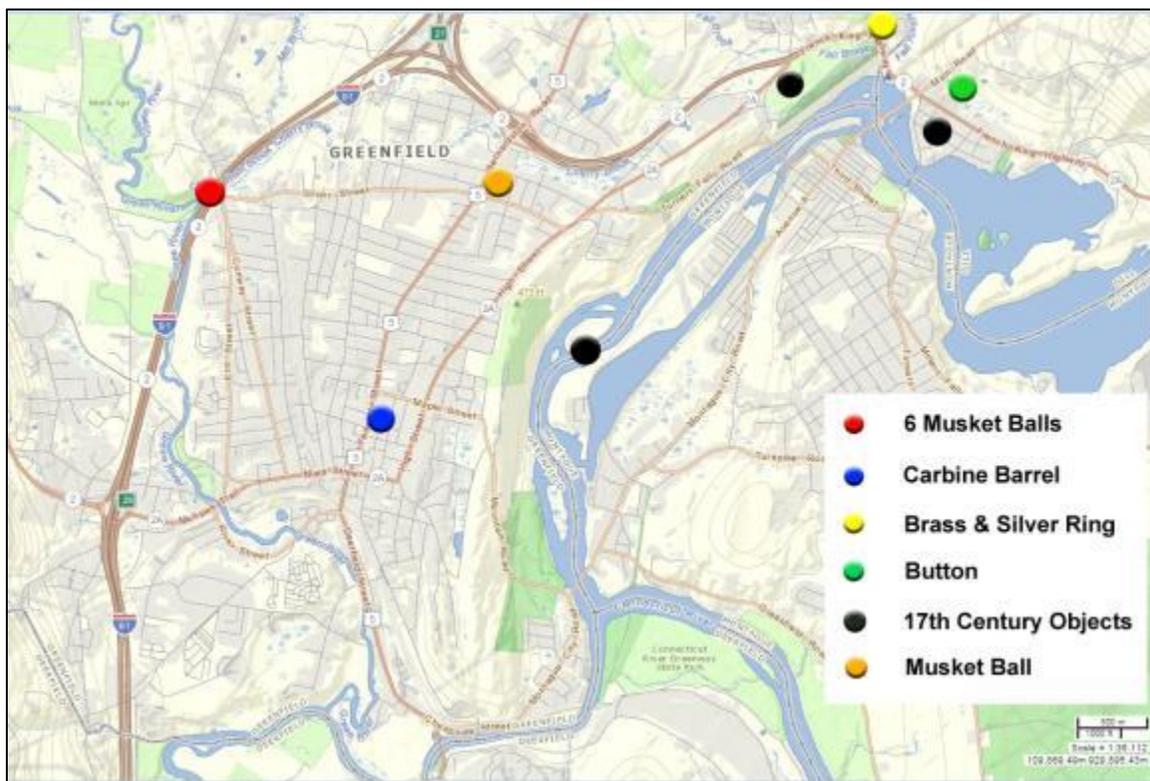
The Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut still retains physical elements that convey a sense of the landscape at the time of the battle. Since 1676, the introduction of houses, roads, dams, and industrial sites have impacted portions of the battlefield, but there are many areas of the battlefield that still retain sufficiently intact, such as battlefield terrain and key terrain features to give one a sense of the seventeenth century battlefield. For example, although the Riverside District where the attack on the Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut village took place has been visually and archeological impacted by residential development, the area still retains a moderate degree of visual and archeological integrity. The rising hill behind the village where the English attack originated from still retains geographic and topographic integrity sufficient to convey the setting for the avenue of attack taken by the English and the setting for the village below. In addition, earlier archeological investigations in the Riverside District area have demonstrated that intact archeological deposits still exist, some dating back 8,000 years.



**Figure 1** *Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut: Study and Core Areas, Ancillary Sites and Key Terrain Features*

Surprisingly, suburban areas always retain a fairly high percentage of undisturbed terrain, sometimes as much as 50-60% as demonstrated by the archeological surveys of the Battlefields of Mistick Fort (1637) and Saybrook Fort (1636-1637).<sup>6</sup> The most significant impacts to a seventeenth century New England battlefield are often those associated with 350 years of land use activity after the battle. Post-battle artifacts can include stone walls, quarry pits, modern bullets, horse and ox shoes, quarry tools such as feathers and plugs, chain links, and personal items such as coins, buttons and harmonicas. These activities resulted in thousands of objects deposited on the battlefield landscape, and made the identification of battle and non-battle related objects more challenging; however they do not significantly affect the integrity of the battlefield.

Figure 2 depicts potential battle-related objects individuals recovered from the Study and contributed to the delineation of the Study and Core Areas.



**Figure 2** *Battle-Related Objects*

<sup>6</sup> See: McBride, et. al. *Mistick Fort: Documentation Plan* 2012.

## **Preliminary Statement of Significance of the Battle of Great Falls: Evaluation under National Register Criteria of A and D.**

The National Register is the nation's inventory of historic places and the national repository of documentation on the variety of historic property types, significance, abundance, condition, ownership, needs, and other information. It is the beginning of a national census of historic properties. The National Register Criteria for Evaluation define the scope of the National Register of Historic Places; they identify the range of resources and kinds of significance that will qualify properties for listing in the National Register. The Criteria are written broadly to recognize the wide variety of historic properties associated with our prehistory and history. Decisions concerning the significance, historic integrity, documentation, and treatment of properties can be made reliably only when the resource is evaluated within its historic context. The historic context serves as the framework within which the National Register Criteria are applied to specific properties or property types.

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, material, workmanship, feeling, and association: Criterion A: That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; Criterion B: That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; Criterion C: That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; Criterion D: That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Under Criterion A, the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag- is significant in the overall conduct of King Philip's War because it marked the beginning of the end of the tribal alliance and organized resistance to the Colonists in the middle Connecticut River Valley. The broader Colonial campaign against the Native people in the middle Connecticut Valley is also significant as a demonstration of the English forces' acquired mastery of military tactics, including the use of combined English and Indian forces and

mounted troops, which enabled them to reverse earlier losses and bring the war to a successful close.

The battlefield also possesses significance under Criterion D for its potential to further elucidate the nature of the battle, and the evolution of the tactics and materiel of King Philip's War. In addition, further archaeology has the potential to yield significant information on evolving Native strategy and tactics during the war and particularly in the Connecticut Valley. Further archeological and historical research can elucidate the particular role Wissetinnewag-Peskeompskut played as a place of habitation, agriculture, ceremony and refuge.

## **II. Historic Context**

### **Brief History of King Philip's War**

#### *King Philip's War Begins – June 1675 through April 1676*

King Philip's War (June 1675 – August 1676) was an armed conflict between dozens of Native American tribes and bands who inhabited (and still do) present-day southern New England fighting against the United Colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, and Plimoth.<sup>7</sup> Dozens of frontier towns in central Massachusetts and the Connecticut Valley were attacked and burned during the war, as were settlements in Providence Plantations, Plimoth Colony and eastern Massachusetts (Figure 3). Colonial authorities estimated that 600 English were killed and 1,200 houses burned during the conflict. A minimum of 3,000 Native men, women, and children were battle casualties, and thousands more died from battle, disease, starvation, and exposure, or were sold into slavery. The conflict is

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<sup>7</sup> King Philip's War has also been referred to as the First Indian War, Metacom's War, or Metacom's Rebellion. Most recently, Major Jason Warren has referred to the conflict as the Great Narragansett War in his book *Connecticut Unscathed: Victory in the Great Narragansett War* (2014). The Nolumbeka Project, a 501©(3) non-profit organization dedicated to the preservation of the history of Native Americans/American Indians of New England based in Greenfield, Massachusetts. The Nolumbeka Project refers to the war as the "Second Puritan war of Conquest" (The first being the Pequot War) and believe that it "was not simply a clash of cultures" but "the results of the actions of and reactions to a very identifiable group of connected people who had a vision for themselves and their descendants in the Nee world that could not co-exist over time with the value sand life-ways of the First Peoples of North America." (Personal Communication).

often referred to as the deadliest in American history based on English and Native civilian and military casualties relative to population.<sup>8</sup>

English-allied Native tribes of the various colonies played a significant role in the war including the Mohegan, Pequot, Tunxis, and Western Niantic of Connecticut, and Christian Indians groups in Massachusetts and Plimoth. The war is named after the Pokanoket sachem Metacom, known to the English as "King Philip" as the war began in Plimoth Colony, homeland of the Pokanoket.

King Philip's War began on June 25, 1675 when a group of Metacom's men attacked and killed several English at Swansea, Massachusetts as a result of rising tensions between the Pokanoket and Plimoth following the execution of three Pokanoket men hanged by the English several months earlier.<sup>9</sup> This action initiated a sequence of events that engulfed all of New England in a full-scale war within six months. Once Metacom and his followers escaped English forces at Mount Hope and fled to central Massachusetts in late August, the Nipmuc of central Massachusetts and northeastern Connecticut, as well as the Pocumtuck and other tribes of the middle Connecticut Valley, joined the war against the English.

Through the summer of 1675 until the early winter of 1676 several Wampanoag bands, Narragansett, Nipmuc, and tribes from the Connecticut Valley, including the Pocumtuck, Nonotucks, Agawam, Quabaug, Nashaway, Norwottock, and Sokokis, launched dozens of highly successful attacks against English towns throughout Massachusetts Bay Colony and Plimoth Colony settlements in eastern and central Massachusetts, and along the Connecticut River Valley between Springfield and Northfield. These attacks forced the English settlements at Northfield (Squakeag) and Deerfield (Pocumtuck) to be abandoned by September of 1675. In October of 1675, strategic Native attacks on English corn and grist mills in the area forced Massachusetts to send soldiers to garrison and fortify the remaining upper river valley settlements of Springfield, Hatfield, Hadley, and Northampton during the winter of 1675-1676. This

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<sup>8</sup> Douglas Leach, *Flintlock and tomahawk; New England in King Philip's War*. New York, NY: Macmillan, 1958

<sup>9</sup> George Madison Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War: Being a Critical Account of that War* (Boston, MA: Rockwell and Churchill Press, 1906. Pp. 25-27

greatly increased the burden on the local population who had to feed and house the soldiers and complained of overcrowding and shortages in medicine, food and clothing.

During the winter of 1675-1676 English towns experienced severe hunger and famine, but not nearly to the extent in Native communities. Chronic food shortages, malnutrition, and consumption of spoiled meat (e.g. decomposed horse legs) led to a severe deterioration in the overall health of Native communities, widespread dysentery (“bloody flux”) and a dramatic increase in the number of deaths from battlefield casualties, exposure to the elements, dysentery and other undefined sicknesses. Although not documented in Native communities during the war, smallpox may have also led to a significant number of deaths, particularly within an already weakened population. Massachusetts Bay soldiers may have inadvertently spread sickness and disease throughout the English and Native communities when they returned home from the field or as captives. Though European peoples had some antibodies protecting them against such viruses, smallpox and influenza were opportunistic and highly infectious diseases which infected thousands of natives and Euro-Americans during the war, particularly during the winter and spring of 1676.<sup>10</sup> Native settlements in Nipmuc Country and the Connecticut Valley were abandoned as Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut forces destroyed Native cornfields and food stores, and kept Native communities on the run to prevent them from gathering and hunting to “see to it the Indians would likewise face hardships come winter.”<sup>11</sup>

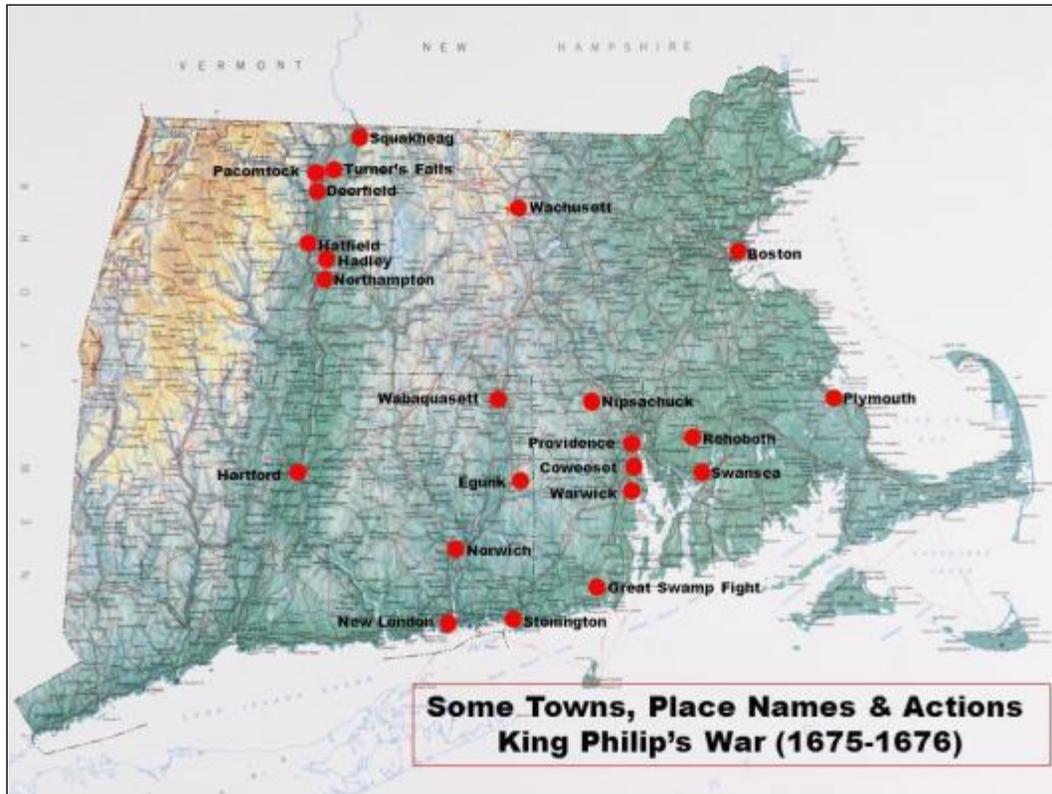
By the spring of 1676, the war had raged for nearly a year with heavy casualties on both sides, but the Native coalition was far more successful on the battlefield than were the English. Even so, the tide of the war began to turn in favor of the English as they began to aggressively pursue, harass, and attack Native communities throughout the region, not allowing them to rest, gather food, or plant their fields. Both sides were exhausted and there was a brief pause in the war as the combatants took time to rest and resupply. English forces in Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, and Plimoth refitted their armies, provided for the defense of their towns, and were prepared for spring offensives

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<sup>10</sup> Mather, Increase. *Diary, March 1675-December 1676* (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, 1900).

<sup>11</sup> Daniel Gookin, *An historical account of the doings and sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England, in the years 1675, 1676, 1677* (North Stratford, NH: Ayer Company, 1999). P. 439.

against the enemy. Native communities began gathering in the upper Connecticut River Valley to find refuge and recover from the long winter, develop new strategies, rearm and refit, plant corn, and gather food supplies, particularly fish for immediate and future consumption.



**Figure 3** *Selected Towns, Place Names, and Actions of King Philip's War (1675-1676)*

By April the Great Falls area, commonly referred to as or “Peskeompskut” by the Native peoples of the region and “Deerfield Falls” by some English, had become a center of a multi-tribal refugee villages and encampments. This immediate area consisted of two flat plains along the north and south banks of the Connecticut River immediately east of the falls, as well as adjacent hills and terraces. The natural rock dam at Peskeompskut forms one of the largest water falls along the entire river where anadromous fish such as shad, alewife, salmon, and eels are easily caught as they make their way upriver to spawn. Native peoples from all over the region gathered at Peskeompskut for thousands

of years during the spring to take advantage of the tremendous quantities of fish, plant, renew ties with other communities, and for ritual and ceremony.<sup>12</sup>

The English and the tribes gathered at Peskeompskut were war weary by the early spring of 1676 and each began to make serious peace overtures. Earlier messages were exchanged between the Narragansett sachems and the English in late December and early January, but with little prospect of achieving any lasting results. Seventeenth century historian William Hubbard reported that on January 12<sup>th</sup> a messenger came from Canonicus “desiring the space of a month longer, wherein to issue the treaty, which so provoked the Commander of our forces, that they resolved to have no more treaties with the enemy, but prepare to assault them, with God’s assistance, as soon as the season would permit.”<sup>13</sup> Hubbard also reported the “rest of the winter was spent in fruitless treaties about a peace, both sides being well wearied with the late desperate fight, were willing to refresh themselves the remaining part of the winter with the short slumber of a pretended peace at least with a talk or a dream thereof.”<sup>14</sup> On March 11<sup>th</sup>, the Commissioners of the United Colonies issued a letter to the respective Colonial governments stating:

We are well informed that the enemy hath given it out that they keep some English which they have taken captive in order to their making of peace and for that end our council have it in consideration to commission two or more meet persons...to embrace & improve all ...with assurances that they shall not be remanded by the English so as to be sold for slaves or to lose their lives...the enemy are far the greatest part of them weary of the war, as well as the English, only the youngest and their pride and fear of slavery have propose for a peace...<sup>15</sup>

For their part the Connecticut War Council sent a letter dated March 28<sup>th</sup> to “the Indians in hostility against us” proposing a prisoner exchange at Hadley. They also offered “if the said Indians do desire any treaty with us, and make appear that they have been wronged by any of the English, we shall endeavor to have that wrong rectified and

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<sup>12</sup> Personal Correspondence, Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Native American Battlefield Study Advisory Board.

<sup>13</sup> William Hubbard, *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England*. Boston, MA: John Foster, 1675). P. 148.

<sup>14</sup> Hubbard, *Narrative*. P. 145.

<sup>15</sup> Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives Series, *Colonial War, Series I, 1675-1775*. Document 45.

hear any propositions that they shall make unto us; and that if any of the sachem have a desire to treat with us, they shall have liberty to come to us and go away without any molestation.”<sup>16</sup> The letter was carried by a Narragansett man named Towcanchasson who was a trusted advisor to Narragansett sachems Pessicus and Quiapan. Towcanchasson was called upon on a number of occasions in the winter and spring of 1676 to serve as an intermediary between the English at Connecticut and Massachusetts and the Narragansett, Wampanoag, and Pocumtuc sachems. Although not explicitly stated it appears that at least the Narragansett communities from the middle Connecticut Valley were in Turner’s Falls areas at this time, as was King Phillip, based on Mary Rowlandson’s account

No immediate reply was forthcoming from the sachems, perhaps because Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay continued to attack the Narragansett and other tribes in the Connecticut Valley, as well as Nipmuc and Narragansett territory during this period. English strategy was to: “put the greatest dread upon the enemy...so also the prudently to embrace and improve all opportunities for obtaining a peace, so that the enemy with thorough hopelessness of having a case of submission be made desperate in their designs.”<sup>17</sup> Understandably Native leaders were loath to expose their communities to the uncertainties of an English peace. In early April the Narragansett Sachem Canonchet, a highly respected leader among Natives and English alike, was killed by Connecticut Dragoons when he returned to Narragansett Country to retrieve seed corn, presumably to plant in the Connecticut Valley. Canonchet’s death was a tremendous blow to the Narragansett and the alliance. The principal Narragansett Sachem Pessicus (Sucquance) responded to the Connecticut War Council’s peace proposal in mid-April and stated that he would gather the other sachems to present Connecticut’s terms and requested that any Narragansett sachems imprisoned by the English be released.<sup>18</sup> On May 1<sup>st</sup>, the Connecticut Council sent a message to “Pessicus, Wequaquat, Wanchequit, Sungumachoe and the rest of the Indian sachems up the river at Suckquackheage ([Northfield])”

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<sup>16</sup> Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, Vol. 2. Jonathan Trumbull Ed., P. 435

<sup>17</sup> Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:425.

<sup>18</sup> Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:425

we have received your writing brought by our two messengers and by Pessicus his messenger [presumably Towcanchasson], and in it we find no answer to what we proposed, and therefore once again we have sent these lines lo you, to inform you that, as we sayd before, we are men of peace, and if they will deliver unto us the English captives that are with them, either for money or for captives of yours in our hands, to be returned to them, we shall accept of it so far ; and if they will attend a meeting at Hadley within these eight days, if the Sachems will come thither bringing the captives with them as a sign of their real desire of peace, we shall appoint some to meet them there, and to treat them upon terms of peace.<sup>19</sup>

At this time, it appears that Connecticut was serious about peace negotiations. The Connecticut War Council instructed Russell and the settlers at Hadley not to take any aggressive action as “in any onset should be made upon the enemy whilst the captives are in their hands they will destroy each of them...if they accept a treaty we may send a good guard to attend the messengers that shall be sent to joyne with such...accordingly to be improved to best advantage.”<sup>20</sup> The council offered to exchange Native prisoners for English captives and proposed to meet the sachems at Hadley within eight days (May 9).<sup>21</sup> On May 15<sup>th</sup>, Reverend Russell of Hadley reported to the Connecticut Council that captive Mary Rowlandson had been released (on May 2) and a Mr. Hoar “brought a letter subscribed by Philip: The Old queen [(Quiapan)] & sundry sachems containing a desire of peace or rather an overture for a cessation that they might quietly plant at Menden, Groton, Quaboag etc.”<sup>22</sup> In late May it was reported that the “enemie” was planting at “Quabaug & at Nipsachook, nigh Coweesit: that Philip’s men & the Narraganset are generally come into these above mentioned places, only Pessicus, one of the chief of the Narragansett sachems did abide up at Pocomtuck with some few of his men.”<sup>23</sup> These letters suggest that with the exception of Pessicus and a few of his men, the Pokanoket, Nipmuc, and remaining Narragansett may not have been at the Falls, and were certainly not there shortly after, but were returning to or close to their homelands. We do know that

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<sup>19</sup> Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:439

<sup>20</sup> Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives Series, *Colonial War, Series I, 1675-1775*. Document 67.

<sup>21</sup> Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:439

<sup>22</sup> Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives Series, *Colonial War, Series I, 1675-1775*. Document 71.

<sup>23</sup> Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives Series, *Colonial War, Series I, 1675-1775*. Document 80a.

Narragansett men were present at the Falls Fight, but they may have been Pessicus' men. A Native man named "Wenanaquabin of Pawtuxett...confesseth, that he was at the fight with Capt. Turner, and there lost his gun, and swam over a river to save his life." John Wecopeak a Narragansett Indian "saith, that he was at the fight with Capt. Turner, and run away by reason that shot came as thick as rain...he saw Capt. Turner, and that he was shot in the thigh, and that he knew it was him, for the said Turner said that was his name."<sup>24</sup>

It is possible that the alliance was beginning to dissolve after the Falls Fight with each or groups of tribes considering different courses of action, including returning to or relocating close to their homelands. It is interesting that "Philip: The Old queen [(Quiapan) & sundry sachems "proposed planting at Menden, Groton, Quaboag etc. in Nipmuc country not the Connecticut Valley."<sup>25</sup> English sources place the Narragansett Sachem Pessicus at Pocomtuck in late May, and Phillip and Quiapan at Watchusett in early May. Philip and Quiapan may not have been at the falls fight. English sources also indicate a developing rift in the alliance in the early spring, with some members of the alliance wanting to pursue peace and others wanting to continue the war.

#### *Brief History of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut*

In April of 1676, Northampton, Hadley, and Hatfield were the northernmost English frontier towns on the upper Connecticut River. Settlements in Deerfield and Northfield had been destroyed and abandoned earlier in the war. The Great Falls had become a gathering spot for Native peoples at war with the English, and the settlements at Peskeompskut was steadily growing as Native people throughout the region gathered to rest, resupply and participate in ceremonies and ritual. English settlers in the upriver towns were gathering intelligence that alerted them to a growing Native presence to the north at the falls. While Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay authorities were involved in peace negotiations with various Native leaders, the townspeople of the English settlements at Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield were becoming increasingly concerned

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<sup>24</sup> John Easton, *A Narrative of the Causes which led to Philip's Indian War, of 1675 and 1676*, by John Easton, of Rhode Island. (Alban, NY. J. Munsell, 1858). P. 179.

<sup>25</sup> Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives Series, *Colonial War, Series I, 1675-1775*. Document 71.

with the large body of Native forces massing to the north and the potential threats this represented.

Around May 13, 1676 Natives soldiers from the Peskeompskut area raided Hatfield meadows and captured seventy cattle and horses which were driven north to the north Deerfield meadows for use by the Native communities gathered at Peskeompskut. This incident enraged English settlers at Hatfield and the other river towns, who had been urging colonial officials to attack those upriver Native settlements for weeks. Many of the English in the Hatfield and Hadley communities were refugees from the destroyed Northfield and Deerfield settlements and harbored a great deal of resentment toward the tribes gathered at the falls. The deaths of more than 100 English soldiers and settlers in the upper valley at the hands of the Indian enemy over the previous six months also contributed to a growing desire on the part of the settlers to attack the Native people gathered at Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut.

Two days later two English “lads” taken captive during the earlier raid on Hatfield, and recently released, informed the settlers and garrison at Hadley about the whereabouts and disposition of the Natives at Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut. One of the informants, Thomas Reed, related that the Natives had planted at the Deerfield meadows and had fenced in the stolen cattle. He also described the Native encampments at the falls and estimated that there were around 60-70 fighting men.<sup>26</sup> Armed with this new information the militia committees of the upper river towns gathered garrison soldiers and settlers from Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, Springfield and Westfield and prepared for an attack on the encampments at Peskeompskut.

On May 15, 1676 Reverend John Russell wrote to Secretary John Allyn for the Council of Connecticut in which he detailed the new intelligence that had been recently gathered. Russell relayed word of the Mohawk attacks on “enemy” Native forces and of the Indians gathered in the vicinity of the falls:

They sitt by us secure w<sup>th</sup>out watch, busy at their harvest worke storing themselves with food for a yeer to fight against us and we let theme alonge to take the full advantage that ye selves would afford them by there wise nor enemy.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

<sup>27</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

Russell pressed Connecticut to join the upper river towns in an attack against the Natives gathered at the falls. He informed Allyn that the upper river towns were going to take immediate action against the Native encampments around Peskeompskut whether Connecticut was willing to assist or not, and regardless of any ongoing peace negotiations.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps before the Connecticut Council even received the letter from Russel and Captain Turner, English forces assembled from the various towns at Hatfield by May 18<sup>th</sup>. Turner's relatively inexperienced militia force, drawn from townspeople and garrison troops, counted on the element of surprise and greater numbers of soldiers. Benjamin Wait and Experience Hinsdale were selected to serve as guides due to their experience and knowledge of the region.<sup>29</sup> Captain William Turner and 160 men, most of them mounted, left Hatfield at dark on the evening of May 18<sup>th</sup>, anticipating a dawn surprise attack on the Native encampment at Peskeompskut.<sup>30</sup>

The Native encampments at Peskeompskut were located in the vicinity of the Great Falls with the two main villages located above the falls on the north and south banks of the river. The English battle plan was likely drawn from intelligence obtained from Thomas Reed and English scouts who reported there were Native soldiers encamped on an island in the Connecticut River (present-day Smead's and perhaps Rawson's Island) a little more than a mile south of the falls and at Cheapside guarding the Deerfield River ford. The English began their march just as night fell on May 18<sup>th</sup>. Turner's force traveled north through Hatfield meadows on the road towards Deerfield staying on the west side of the Connecticut River and remaining east of the Deerfield River.<sup>31</sup> It is clear that English commanders chose to avoid the area now known as "Cheapside" and searched for a point to cross the Deerfield River further to the west. The 20<sup>th</sup> century historian George Bodge claimed they crossed the river at the northerly part

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<sup>28</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 71.

<sup>29</sup> Sylvester Judd, *History of Hadley* (Springfield, MA: H.R. Hunting & Company, 1905). P. 171; Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

<sup>30</sup> Estimates on troop strength include "One hundred and four score" in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49; "two or three hundred of them" in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86; "One hundred fifty rank and file" in Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245; "About 150 or 160 mounted men" in Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 171.

<sup>31</sup> Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

of the Deerfield meadow near Sheldon's Brook."<sup>32</sup> Another possible location was the Red Rock Ford just west of present-day Deerfield, MA.<sup>33</sup>

Once Turner's company forded the Deerfield River they continued north through Greenfield Meadow along the west bank of the Green River. According to local 19<sup>th</sup> century historian George Sheldon, Turner's command crossed the Green River at the Green River Ford "at the mouth of Ash-swamp brook to the eastward, skirting the great swamp."<sup>34</sup> In the midst of a thunderstorm, which served to hide their movements from the Native Sentries at Cheapside, Turner's command continued eastward on horseback paralleling the brook and swamp until they came to a high terrace overlooking the Fall River. The English guides knew they were in close vicinity of the falls and the mounted troops likely heard the noise of the falls at that distance. The English troops dismounted, tied their horses to nearby trees and the company crossed the Fall River and ascended a steep slope to the summit of the broad, flat hill above.<sup>35</sup> The English gathered their forces on the upper slope of the hill which overlooked the village to their south along the north bank of the Connecticut River. Captain Turner and Lieutenant Holyoke likely made final preparations for the assault now that they had a rough visual in the early morning hours of the Native encampment on the northern side of the Great Falls and stretching east for some unknown distance. The English launched their attack at daybreak.

By all accounts, English forces were able to advance within point-blank range of the village without being detected. On a given signal English forces opened fire and fell in with the unsuspecting inhabitants of the village and began to indiscriminately kill all Native peoples they encountered. As non-combatants (unarmed old men, women, and children) ran away from English soldiers towards the banks of the Connecticut River armed Native men tried to engage the English and slow the assault.

Several English accounts describe the panic of the attack and in desperation to escape from the English how many of the people in the village tried to cross the Connecticut River, either by swimming or by canoe. English soldiers who took up

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<sup>32</sup> Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

<sup>33</sup> David Graci, *Standing on History: Deerfield – Northampton – Hadley – Hatfield – Northfield – Springfield & The Valley Indians* (West Springfield, MA: Class A Graphics, 2006). P. 6; Personal correspondence with Suzanne Flynt, Curator, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, September 2015.

<sup>34</sup> This quote may from an interview, was alive until 1916. Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

<sup>35</sup> Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

positions along the shoreline opened fired on the swimmers and paddlers hitting some and causing others to be swept by the force of the river over the falls. During the attack English soldiers encountered at least two blacksmith forges, tools, and large bars of lead which they threw into the river. In addition to the forges and munitions, Turner's soldiers encountered large stores of dried or smoked fish which they also destroyed on site.<sup>36</sup>

The English suffered one man killed and two wounded during the assault.<sup>37</sup> Native casualty figures were uncertain at the time but according to Increase Mather "Some of the Souldiers affirm, that they numbered above one hundred that lay dead upon the ground, and besides those, others told about an hundred and thirty, who were driven into the River, and there perished, being carried down the Falls."<sup>38</sup> Turner's men rescued an English captive who told them that Philip [Metacom] was nearby with a thousand men. The report was believed by the English and at the same moment it was received, or within a few minutes of the report, they were attacked by Native men from the village on the south side of the Connecticut River. The coincidence of the report and the attack spread panic and fear through the English ranks, and the retreat quickly turned into a rout with every man for himself.

The Indian soldiers encamped on the islands below the falls also responded to the attack on Peskeompskut by attacking the English on their flanks and setting ambushes in front of the retreating English along the White Ash Swamp. Native soldiers from the southern village, Cheapside, and survivors from the Peskeompskut attack began to converge on Turner's company whose westerly retreat likely followed their earlier approach route along either the north or south of White Ash Swamp. The English forces were attacked from all directions and their command and organization began to break down turning the retreat into an unorganized rout. Native soldiers struck the English from the cover of White Ash Swamp and from the rear, and overwhelmed smaller groups of men that separated from the larger group. Most of the English soldiers followed Captain Turner and Holyoke while others followed the guides Benjamin Wait and

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<sup>36</sup> L'Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4.

<sup>37</sup> Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

<sup>38</sup> Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

Experience Hinsdale who presumably knew the route to the Green River.<sup>39</sup> Smaller groups of soldiers were cut off from the main body in the headlong rush to escape, a few fleeing as far north as the West Mountain while others tried to make their way westerly along the more obvious trails. Jonathan Wells attached himself to at least two or three small groups of ten or twenty men, eventually finding himself with only a single wounded soldier.

Native forces continued to strike English forces as they emerged from the vicinity of White Ash Swamp along their route to the Green River Ford they crossed a few hours earlier. Native forces could easily anticipated the English route of retreat, and converged at the Green River Ford where they ambushed the English as they made their way through the narrow valley. It was at the Green River Ford that Captain Turner was struck by musket fire as he was crossing the river. A few days after the fight English forces recovered Captain Turner's body removed a small distance from the Green River ford.<sup>40</sup> Lieutenant Holyoke rallied the remaining soldiers and organized the remaining men for a disciplined fighting retreat, and is credited with preventing the complete destruction of the remaining English troops. It is unclear how many men were now under Lieutenant Holyoke's command but it appears they safely made it to Deerfield and later Hatfield. Of the 37 or so men reported killed during the retreat, it appears most were not under Holyoke's command during the retreat. Other soldiers, alone and in small groups, made their way south to the Deerfield River only to be intercepted by Native soldiers.

By May 22<sup>nd</sup> it was clear that Captain Turner's company had suffered a total of thirty-eight casualties (killed), including the commanding officer.<sup>41</sup> An exact tally of English wounded cannot be determined but it is likely that a large percentage of the survivors of Turner's company, like Jonathan Wells, were wounded in the engagement. It took some of these wounded men months to recover, while others died a year or two later

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<sup>39</sup> Daniel White Wells and Reuben Field Wells, *History of Hatfield, Massachusetts, in three parts* (Springfield, MA: F.C.H. Gibbons, 1910). P. 464.

<sup>40</sup> Mather, *A Brief History*. Pp. 49-50.

<sup>41</sup> English Casualty Figures as reported in primary accounts are as follows: "eight or nin[e] and thirty" (38-39) in CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74; "two and thirty" (32) in L'Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4; "about thirty-eight" (38) in Edward Douglas Leach, Ed., *A Rhode Islander Reports On King Philip's War, the Second William Harris Letter of August 1676* (Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1963). P. 80; "thirty and eight" (38) in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 50; "thirty eight" (38) in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 85; "Los of 37 men and the Captin Turner" in Chapin. *Chapin Genealogy*. P. 4.

from complications.<sup>42</sup> Years following the battle, Holyoke and Benjamin Munn die “of a surfeit got at the Falls Fight.”<sup>43</sup>

It is not clear how many Native soldiers and non-combatants lost their lives in the engagement as accounts vary considerably. Also, like the English casualty figures, there is no accounting for those who died of their wounds after the attack. Based on the accounts of two soldiers who appear to have carefully tallied the dead at Peskeompskut, Reverend Russell estimated that “we Cannot but judge that there were above 200 of them Slain.”<sup>44</sup>

#### *The War Ends: May 1676 - 1677*

The Turners Falls attack effectively ended any serious attempts by either side to pursue peace negotiations for the remainder of the war. Several days after the battle English scouts reported that the enemy had regrouped and were still encamped at Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut. Connecticut immediately sent 80 men to Hadley to strengthen the settlements in the upper valley. The Narragansett communities who were in the Connecticut Valley began to return to Narragansett Country a few weeks after the Turners Falls battle in the hopes of recovering stored corn to plant. Believing that the Narragansett and other tribes were still in the Connecticut Valley, Major Talcott was issued orders from the Connecticut War Council on May 24<sup>th</sup> to assemble an army at Norwich and “go forth against the Indians at Pocumtuck and those parts.”<sup>45</sup>

On May 30<sup>th</sup> Hatfield was attacked by 150 Native men presumably from Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut. The attack was eventually repulsed but resulted in the deaths of five Englishmen and three wounded with several houses burned.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Jonathan Wells was bed-ridden for a full year and by his account it took him up to four years to fully recover. The Reverend Hope Atherton’s death on June 4, 1677 was blamed in part to the exposure he suffered while lost in the woods. Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 85, 466.

<sup>43</sup> Everts, L. H. *History of the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts: History of Franklin Country*, Vol. II. (Philadelphia, PA: Louis H. Everts, 1879). P. 600.

<sup>44</sup> Native Casualty Figures as reported in primary accounts are as follows: “abov<sup>e</sup> 200” (200+) in CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74; “several hundred” (200+) in L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12; “four hundred” (400) in L’Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4; “hundreds” (200+) in Leach. *Second William Harris Letter*. P. 80; “above one hundred that lay dead upon the ground...about an hundred and thirty, who were driven into the River” (230+) in” (38) in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 50; “two or three hundred” (200-300) in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 85.

<sup>45</sup> Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:443.

<sup>46</sup> Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:450.

Connecticut's forces had not yet arrived and Talcott wrote on May 31<sup>st</sup> that they could assist as soon as their supplies and men were replenished.<sup>47</sup> The Connecticut troops arrived in Northampton on June 8<sup>th</sup> with an army of 450 men, including 100 Mohegan and Pequot soldiers and spent the next several weeks searching for the enemy. They rendezvoused with 500 Massachusetts Bay soldiers at Hadley on June 16<sup>th</sup> to conduct joint operations and seek out the enemy in the upper Connecticut Valley. The combined Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay expedition was the largest English force sent to the Connecticut River Valley in the entire war.

Talcott returned to Norwich on June 22<sup>nd</sup> and reported to the Council that his forces had scouted both sides of the river above Pocomtuck with no sign of enemy forces. Talcott reported that his men had been to the:

Falls above Pocomtuck, and scouts being sent up the River on both sides and on the east side as high as Sucquackheag ; and not discovering the enemy to be in those parts, but rather they were retired back towards Watchosuck or into the Nipmuc country; and that they were under no engagement of farther conjunction with the Massachusetts forces...<sup>48</sup>

On July 2<sup>nd</sup> a force of 300 Connecticut dragoons and 100 Pequot and Mohegan attacked a Narragansett encampment at Nipsachuck (northwest of Providence) killing over 150 people, mostly women and children. Among the dead were the Squaw Sachem Quaiapan and other important councilors who may have returned to Nipsachuck to pursue peace negotiations with Massachusetts Bay after they were derailed by the Battle of Great Falls. Quaiapan was feared and respected by the English as a powerful leader and someone who could gather the remaining Narragansett to potentially continue the fight against the English. Her return to Narragansett Country to seek a peace agreement with Massachusetts Bay affected Connecticut's plans to claim Narragansett territory by the doctrine of Right of Conquest and Vacuum Domicilium. Connecticut forces moved east after the Battle at Nipsachuck and attacked a band of Narragansett led by the

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<sup>47</sup> Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:450.

<sup>48</sup> Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:455.

Narragansett sachem Potucke who intended to deliver a peace proposal to Massachusetts Bay authorities in Boston, likely on behalf of Quaiapan.<sup>49</sup>

Connecticut's attack on Potucke did not sit well with the Massachusetts General Court who wrote a letter to the Connecticut Council on July 18<sup>th</sup> chastising them for undermining the peace process:

You are pleased in a postscript to take notice of an Indean taken by your forces with the enemy, treating with them, and pretending a commission from us; which we suppose you intimate as an irregularity in us, and is to us a matter of admiration, considering your declaration to the Indians of March 28 under the hand of your secretary. The business of the Indian you being only to receive from some of the Narragansett sachems (for which he had only our passé) some proposals of peace, which they had offered to us at Boston by a messenger of their own; which perhaps had been effected, had it not been interrupted by the accidental falling in of your forces, for which we neither blame you nor them, neither see we reason they should be discouraged thereby or the enemy hardened.<sup>50</sup>

Massachusetts was being careful not to offend their most important ally, but they essentially accused Connecticut of undermining Narragansett peace overtures and intimated Connecticut was acting duplicitous as they had had earlier initiated peace negotiations with the Narragansett and then abandoned the effort. In any event, Talcott's attack on Quaiapan's and Potucke's bands was certainly fortuitous as Connecticut clearly wished to eradicate any Narragansett presence in the region.<sup>51</sup>

The war in southern New England ended when English soldiers and their Native allies killed Metacom at Mount Hope in present-day Bristol, Rhode Island on August 12, 1676. The war continued in northern New England (primarily on the Maine frontier) until a treaty was signed at Casco Bay in April of 1678. By the time the war had ended, colonial authorities estimated that 600 English had been killed and 1,200 houses burned. It is impossible to accurately calculate Native casualties but it is estimated that a minimum of 3,000 Native men, women, and children were battle casualties, and thousands more died from disease, starvation, and exposure to the elements, and

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<sup>49</sup> Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:459.

<sup>50</sup> Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:465.

<sup>51</sup> Hubbard, *Narratives*. P. 96.

hundreds more were sold into slavery throughout the Atlantic World.<sup>52</sup> The conflict is often referred to as the deadliest in American history based on English and Native civilian and military casualties relative to population.<sup>53</sup>

### **Combatants, Weapons, Tactics**

One of the goals of the “Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut” project was to understand how the weaponry, tactics, and experience of the combatants influenced the outcome of the war generally and the Battle of Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut in particular. Whenever possible specific English Colonial or Native tribal affiliations will be used to describe combatants, otherwise English military forces will be referred to as “English Forces” while Native American groups who allied themselves with Metacom will be referred to as “Native Forces.” All armed combatants will be referred to as “soldiers” as it best describes their military status and abilities at the time of the battle and combatants on both sides are referred to as such in the primary sources.

The exact number of Native combatants engaged in the Battle of Great Falls is unknown as the figures are based on English estimates and not any true accounting of fighting men. English intelligence routinely estimated that Native allied forces in the region were sometimes as high as 1,000 soldiers. One account claimed that Turner’s command of 160 men “were in number near twice as many as the Enemy” placing the number of Native soldiers on the battlefield at around eighty.<sup>54</sup> Increase Mather wrote that Native surrenders claimed that there were 300 casualties inflicted on them at the battle and that of that number there were 170 “fighting men.”<sup>55</sup> This is an extremely high estimate and not at all consistent with other estimates, including those from English soldiers who participated in the battle who estimate the total number of casualties at 200. Thomas Reed, who spent several days as a captive at Peskeompskut estimated that there were only 60 or 70 fighting men on both sides of the river. His estimates were likely low and certainly did not include the Native forces at Cheapside and elsewhere.

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<sup>52</sup> John Romeyn Brodhead, Ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1855). Pp. 3:243-244.

<sup>53</sup> Jason W. Warren, *Connecticut Unscathed: Victory in the Great Narragansett War 1675-1676* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014). P. 4.

<sup>54</sup> Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

<sup>55</sup> Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 50.

Native military tactics and technology had advanced significantly since the Pequot War (1636-1637) when Native men had just begun to adopt European arms technology and had only a limited knowledge of English military capabilities. By 1670 Native men had long been equipped with firearms, iron edged weapons, and brass-tipped arrows. They were not only skilled in the operation, repair, and care of firearms but were expert marksmen. Native men were very familiar with English military technology and understood English military training and tactics from years of working and residing in English communities. Some Native men may have even been enlisted in Massachusetts Bay trainbands as the General Council ordered that all Native men who either acted as English servants or resided in English towns were required to attend training days.<sup>56</sup>

Native people had steadily acquired firearms in increasing numbers by the mid sixteenth century and were well armed when hostilities commenced in 1675.<sup>57</sup> There appears to have been a buildup of arms and ammunition by many Native communities in the years leading up to the war. The English observed an “accumulation of powder, shot, and arrows” by the Wampanoag who claimed that it was “a preparation against the Mohawks, but actually it was aimed at the English.”<sup>58</sup> Native men were not only very experienced with firearms on the eve of the war, but many communities had blacksmiths who had the tools and knowledge to maintain and repair firearms.<sup>59</sup> Native blacksmiths, such as those situated at Peskeompskut, made bullet molds and cast lead bar into shot of various diameters but were not able to make gunpowder. Native forces faced constant shortages of powder and shot throughout the war. Native allies of the English were either supplied by Colonial forces or took powder and ammunition from enemies killed on the battlefield. Enemy forces relied on the Dutch, French or Native middlemen for their supplies or took them from English soldiers killed on the battlefield.

Both Native Allied and English forces were armed with a wide array of weaponry with three main categories of firearms—matchlock, wheelock, and flintlock. Of these, the flintlock firearm was the primary armament for combatants on both sides in King Philip’s

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<sup>56</sup> Patrick M. Malone, *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1991). Pp. 50, 67-68.

<sup>57</sup> Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*. Pp.48-49.

<sup>58</sup> Leach, *Second William Harris Letter*. P. 23.

<sup>59</sup> Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*. Pp. 69-71.

War. The most common arm used during the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut was likely the flintlock. Flintlock arms employed an ignition system consisting of a flint and steel system. With the flintlock arm a pull of the trigger released a piece of flint screwed tightly between the jaws of the musket hammer snapped forward to strike the frizzen, or steel, which covered a pan of powder. When the flint hit the frizzen, a shower of sparks would fall into the now exposed pan which ignited the main powder charge in the barrel, firing the musket. Of all the musket designs the flintlock was the most effective and reliable weapon and, consequently, the one which the majority of English and Native used.<sup>60</sup>

Native men also used bows and arrows throughout the war either as a weapon of stealth and surprise, to shoot fire arrows, or because they did not have enough firearms to arm every Native soldier. From various accounts it appears that most enemy Native forces had sufficient firearms to arm only one-third to one-half of their forces. Native arrow points were generally made from brass cut from brass kettles and while they could easily penetrate English clothing they could not penetrate English buff coats unless fired at point blank range, and were completely ineffective against armor. Native bows were most effective at a range of 40 yards to better aim and penetrate the weak spots in English armor or buff coats. The maximum range of Native bows was 120-150 yards if shot compass (at an arc) at a 45-degree angle. The bow and arrow may have been carried by all Native men as a secondary weapon when their supplies of powder and shot ran out. A single example of a southern New England bow survives picked up from the Sudbury battlefield during King Philip's War now in the collections of Harvard University. It is constructed of hickory, is approximately five and a half feet tall, and required about forty to forty-five pounds of strength to draw and fire.<sup>61</sup>

When King Philip's War began in the spring of 1675 the Pokanoket, Pocumtuck, Nipmuc, Wampanoag, Narragansett, and other tribes were well armed, munitioned, and prepared to counter the English advantages in men, armor, and firepower. The Native

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<sup>60</sup> David Blackmore, *Arms & Armour of the English Civil Wars* (London, UK: Royal Armouries, 1990). Pp. 32-38.

<sup>61</sup> Harvard Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Object Report, PMAE Number 95-20-10/49340; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Captain John Smith: A Selected Edition of his Writings* (Chapel Hill, NC; University of North Carolina, 1998). 144

forces often did so by laying ambushes, striking isolated English settlements, and launching coordinated, sustained, and innovative assaults on English towns. Native forces often attacked and laid siege to English towns for short periods of time killing or capturing any English who did not quickly retreat to the town's designated fortified house. Native attacks would routinely result in the destruction of all the structures outside of any fortifications along with the killing or taking of livestock. They relied on the element of surprise and would employ tactics designed to separate and overwhelm English units who could not react quickly enough to the attack. There were also many instances when Native forces had sufficient men, ammunition, and a tactical advantage to fight a sustained engagement against English soldiers.<sup>62</sup>

Captain Williams Turner assembled a force comprised of settlers and garrison soldiers from Hatfield (then residing in Hadley), Hadley, Northampton, Springfield, and Westfield.<sup>63</sup> Most of these men, including Turner had little or no combat experience accompanied by some youths no older than age sixteen. Benjamin Wait and Experience Hinsdale were selected to serve as guides due to their experience and knowledge of the region.<sup>64</sup> Captain William Turner's command included Lieutenant Samuel Holyoke, Ensigns Isaiah Toy and John Lyman, Sergeants John Dickinson and Joseph Kellogg, accompanied by Reverend Hope Atherton.<sup>65</sup> When Turner's Company marched north from Hatfield on May 18, 1676 it consisted of a 150-180 mounted force of Dragoons (mounted infantry).<sup>66</sup>

By the time of King Philip's War English colonial militia was largely based on the old militia system in existence in England. Every able bodied male of military age was required to be a member of the local militia known as the "trainband." Officers, not

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<sup>62</sup> Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*. Pp. 67-71; Warren. *Connecticut Unscathed*. Pp. 159-162

<sup>63</sup> On May 17, 1676 one Soldier Japhet Chapin of Northampton, inscribed in his account book that "I went out to Volenteare against the ingens the 17<sup>th</sup> of May, 1676 and we ingaged batel the 19<sup>th</sup> of May in the moaning before sunrise and made great Spoil upon the enemy and came off the same day with the, Los of 37 men and the Captin Turner, and came home the 20<sup>th</sup> of May." Orange Chapin, *The Chapin Genealogy* (Northampton, MA: Metcalf & Company, 1862). P. 4.

<sup>64</sup> Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 171; Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

<sup>65</sup> Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

<sup>66</sup> Troop estimates include the following: "One hundred and four score" in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49; "two or three hundred of them" in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86; "One hundred fifty rank and file" in Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245; "About 150 or 160 mounted men" in Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 171.

all of whom had prior military experience, were appointed from the local community. The number of men in an infantry company was usually 70 while Dragoon companies “troops” (mounted infantry) typically ranged between 40-60 men. Trainbands would often meet monthly on predetermined “training days” to drill and learn how to effectively wield their assigned weapons. In Massachusetts Bay two-thirds of men in the trainbands were trained as musketeers and one third as pikemen. This remained the case until early in King Philip’s War when colonial military officials quickly realized the ineffectiveness of pikemen against Native soldiers and began to instruct all their soldiers in the use of the musket and increasingly adopted mounted troops.<sup>67</sup>

English Colonial leadership was well aware of Native methods of warfare and the limitations of European tactics in the heavily wooded terrain of New England against an experienced enemy. Some of the English commanders had experience fighting Native forces during the Pequot War and in a few small scale engagements in the ensuing forty years. As a result of the overwhelming English victory over the Pequot forty years earlier, the English increasingly believed in the superiority of their weaponry and tactics over that of surrounding Native groups and did little to adopt their military training to fight against a Native enemy. What Colonial leaders did not fully realize was the extent to which Native men were able to acquire significant amounts of firearms, powder and shot in the decades before King Philip’s from Dutch, French, and English sources or from other Native groups, perhaps in anticipation of a conflict with the English. When King Philip’s War broke out in 1675 the Native enemies of the English were well supplied with arms and had been fighting constantly against their Native enemies. On the other hand, English forces were woefully unprepared for woodland fighting against highly mobile, well-armed, and experienced Native adversaries.

In New England the English were trained to defend against a foreign European invader (Dutch or French) or a Native attack on their settlements. Local trainbands were trained and equipped to fight a European style of warfare against a European enemy in open terrain. When Metacom’s allied bands began to attack English townships in Plimoth Colony and Massachusetts Bay Colony, the colonial leadership reacted by

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<sup>67</sup> Bodge, *Soldiers of King Philip’s War*. Pp. 11-12; Douglas Edward Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip’s War* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1958). Pp. 11-12.

sending companies or regiments of foot soldiers and a few Dragoons levied from the local trainband to relieve the threatened towns. When these same units went to pursue Metacom they became subject to ambush and were unprepared to fight an enemy who generally refused to battle on open ground. If the Native forces did fight the English on open ground it was usually because they had vastly superior numbers and could employ tactics advantageous to them. The English (primarily soldiers from Massachusetts Bay and Plimoth) suffered very high casualties in the first months of the war because of their inexperience.

Following a string of defeats the English began to modify their organization, weapons, and tactics based on their experiences in the field. When the war began, the General Court at Boston declared:

Whereas it is found by experience that troopers & pikemen are of little use in the present war w<sup>th</sup> the Indians, now, for the improvement of them to more or better advantage...all troopers shall forthwith furnish themselves w<sup>th</sup> carbines and ammunition...and also be liable to be impressed...to serve as foot soldiers during the said warrr...and all pikemen are hereby required forth with to furnish themselves wth fire armes.<sup>68</sup>

All pikemen and a large part of the Massachusetts Bay cavalry were to be trained and deployed as infantry. The Commissioners of the United Colonies adopted a policy in November 1675 of splitting their armed forces between infantry and mounted troops consisting of “a Thousand souldiers whereof 500 to be Dragoones or troopers with longe Armes.”<sup>69</sup> English commanders quickly learned that mounted units were best suited for a war against the New England Native forces because of their mobility, and by February 1676 Massachusetts Bay rescinded their earlier orders disbanding mounted units which they “found by experience to be very serviceable and necessary.”<sup>70</sup>

The role of the mounted Massachusetts militia who participated in the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut could best be described as Dragoons. A Dragoon referred to a mounted infantryman trained to travel on horseback but to fight on foot. The horse allowed units to move quickly within a mile or so of the enemy before

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<sup>68</sup> Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed. *Records of the Governor and Company of The Massachusetts Bay in New England* (Boston: William White, 1853). P. V:26.

<sup>69</sup> David Pulsifer, Ed. *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth. Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England* (Boston, MA: William White, 1859). P. II:365.

<sup>70</sup> Shurtleff. *Records of Massachusetts Bay*. Pp. V: 70-71.

they dismounted to engage the enemy on foot. Dragoons were armed with “long armes” such as a carbine or musket (although they carried pistols and swords as well) and buff coats were usually substituted for armor.<sup>71</sup> As early as 1673, the Connecticut “Grand Committee for Ordering the Militia” stipulated the following regulations for equipping Dragoons:

...each dragoone be provided with a good sword and belt, and serviceable musket or carbine, with a shott powch and powder and bullets, viz: one pound of powder made into cartiridges fit for his gun, and three pound of bullets fit for their guns, or pistol bullets; and a horse to expedite their march.<sup>72</sup>

Dragoons are universally described as “little more than infantry on horseback” and dragoon units employed by the army of the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus were used “like Horse-men: but they fight on foot.”<sup>73</sup> In a European battlefield context a dragoon was a mounted soldier capable of fighting on horseback but who was mounted primarily to reach the battlefield quickly, and then dismount to fight as a foot soldier.

Native enemy and allied forces were equipped with flintlock muskets, pistols, bows, short spears, knives, hatchets and powder horns or pouches in which to carry shot and powder. Native forces were very mobile and not tied to supply lines as their English adversaries. Native men would carry a few pounds of dried corn meal in the field that they mixed with water for a quick meal. They could also supplement this meager fare by hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants, seeds, and tubers.

Colonial forces carried muskets (primarily flintlocks if they were operating in the field), as well as swords, hatchets, and knives, and powder horns and pouches. Full musket calibers, regardless if they were a flintlock, matchlock, snaphaunce, or Wheelock, usually ranged between .60 and .70 caliber and had four foot barrels. Carbines usually had a barrel length of between two and three feet and usually ranged between .50 and .60 caliber. Regardless of the ignition system (match, flint, Wheelock) smoothbore weapons had an effective range of 50-75 yards for shorter barreled weapons and a range of 100-150 yards for longer barreled weapons. Pistols, with calibers most often between .45 and

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<sup>71</sup> Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:270.

<sup>72</sup> Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. Pp. 2:207-208.

<sup>73</sup> Richard Brzezinski, *The Army of Gustavus Adolphus: Cavalry* (Oxford, UK: Osprey Publishing, 1993). Pp. 14-15.

-.55 caliber, only had an effective range between 30 and 50 yards. Colonial forces, particularly dragoons, were very dependent on supply lines if on garrison duty. English dragoons could carry enough food and supplies for themselves and their horses for about two weeks, the usual length of time for most military expeditions.

### **III. Research Methods**

The primary objective of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Plan will be to identify prospective battlefield actions and related sites through a synthesis of historical research, land use history, Native and English oral traditions, and previously collected archeological material culture. Specific steps involved in this process include:

- Research the battlefield event(s)
- Develop a land-use history
- Develop a list of battlefield defining natural and cultural features
- Conduct a visual reconnaissance of the battlefield
- Locate, document, and photograph features
- Map troop positions and features on a USGS topographic quadrangle
- Define study and core engagement areas for each battlefield
- Assess overall site integrity and threats

The combined information will be used to model the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area and Core Areas in preparation for a future battlefield survey.

The research design consists of six tasks, which often occurred simultaneously: 1) analysis of primary sources to construct a timeline and location(s) of battlefield events and sites with anticipated archeological signatures; 2) military terrain analysis of the project area utilizing KOCOA; 3) detailed land use history of both Native and European occupations before and after the event; 4) a visual inspection of the prospective core areas and a view shed analysis of the entire study area; 5) hold regular project update meetings to keep the public informed and to secure landholder permissions; 6) integrate battlefield terrain, and historical, and artifact data into Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to reconstruct battlefield events and sites across time and space.

## Analysis of Primary and Secondary Sources

The first step in the historical research process was to reconstruct a comprehensive military and cultural history of the Falls Fight battle by identifying the various primary and secondary accounts that provide information on battlefield events or sites. Once these accounts were identified they were analyzed to assess the quality, veracity, relevancy, and significance of the material they contained. Very few primary sources survive which discuss the fighting but all identified accounts were written at the time of the battle or shortly after such as court cases later filled with combatant testimony.<sup>74</sup> These critical accounts were written by individuals who participated in the battle or by period historians who may have interviewed battle participants. Although primary sources are relied upon whenever possible to reconstruct battle events secondary sources published from the nineteenth century to present were also consulted to better understand the historiography and historical memory of the event. Secondary source are also assessed for any local lore, oral traditions, early photographs and sketches, and geographic clues that are occasionally imbedded within later publications.<sup>75</sup>

Important consideration has been given to assess the veracity of individual accounts including: determining who the author was (battle participant or chronicler), why the account was written (e.g. field report, history, colonial records), how long following the engagement the account written, and if the information included in the account could be corroborated by other sources. *Atlas.ti*, literary software, was used to systematically code, compare and arrange information from a wide range of sources, primary and secondary, regarding the Falls Fight. Using optical character recognition and applying a wide variety of search terms to these digitized documents, *Atlas.ti*, is able to quickly query any given term and highlight all instances of that term in any given document.

Some of the primary sources consulted in the course of this research include the narratives of Jonathan Wells (Falls Fight soldier), Roger L'Estrange (chronicler), William

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<sup>74</sup> For a list of identified primary sources see: Chapter XXX : Works Cited

<sup>75</sup> For a list of identified second sources used to reconstruct the battlefield narrative see: Chapter XXX : Works Cited

Hubbard (chronicler), and Increase Mather (chronicler) have proved important insight into the sequence of battle events, physical terrain features and troop engagements (Native and English). Both Increase Mather and William Hubbard relied on local intelligence made readily available to them from family, friends and official letters being tasked to publish a history of Massachusetts Bay Colony and the Indian wars – and both Mather and Hubbard rivaled to secure initial press release and positive public opinion.<sup>76</sup>

Manuscript collections containing letters to and from officials of the Massachusetts (Military Series) and Connecticut War Councils (1 Colonial War & Indian Series) also provide important details of the battle including mortality rates, movements of Colonial and Native forces, logistics, supplies, military compensation and requests for inter-colony support. The letters written by John Russell of Hadley who was a central figure reporting on the events leading up to and during the battle were important sources of information. His letters to the Connecticut War Council in the weeks before the battle provided valuable information on the disposition of Native communities and the vengeful mood the local Colonists were in, intending to attack the Native encampments at the falls in spite of Connecticut's wishes to delay any action to see how the peace process unfolded. Other official records include Newport Court records that provide the testimony of captured Native (Narragansett/Coweaset) men who were at the Falls Fight and subsequently executed for their role in the battle.

King Philip's War has been the subject of numerous secondary source publications including early antiquarian histories, dime-novels, plays, travel guides, popular histories and academic works.<sup>77</sup> Most localities affected by the war published

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<sup>76</sup> Nelson, Anne Kusener. "King Philip's War and the Hubbard-Mather Rivalry," *William and Mary*, Series III, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Oct. 1970). Pp. 615-629.

<sup>77</sup> Numerous published works concerning King Philip's War have been produced since the seventeenth century. The following lists includes some representative samples of secondary sources often consulted by historians and the public: James David Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); Samuel G. Drake, *Indian Biography, Containing the Lives of More than Two Hundred Indian Chiefs: Also Such Others of that Race as Have Rendered Their Names Conspicuous in the History of North America. Giving Their Most Celebrated Speeches, Memorable Sayings, Numerous Anecdotes; And a History of Their Wars. Much of Which is Taken from Manuscripts Never Before Published* (Boston, MA: J. Drake, 1832); Samuel G. Drake, *The History of King Philip's War* (Boston, MA: J. Munsell, 1862); Yasuhide Kawashima, *Igniting King Philip's War: The John Sassamon Murder Trial* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2001); Douglas Leach, *Flintlock and tomahawk; New England in King Philip's War* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1958); Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1998); Patrick Malone,

histories of the particular event that impacted their town in the form of pamphlets, newspaper articles, town histories, or other historical writings. Such secondary sources provide fascinating insights into local events and commemoration which often reflect the biases, prejudices, and Anglo-American perspectives of the period in which they were produced. One of the more useful secondary sources includes several town histories written by twentieth century historian Sylvester Judd which provides additional details on the Falls Fight.<sup>78</sup> Sylvester Judd was responsible for organizing the Connecticut Colonial War Series at the Connecticut State Library which also contained the John Russell letters and assembled the Judd Collection at the Forbes Library, Northampton, Massachusetts. Judd interviewed many local people who were descended from many of the English soldiers who fought at the Falls Fight and collected a number of oral traditions which he included in his publications.

Similarly, the historian George Madison Bodge published an extremely detailed account of the war in his 1891 book *Soldiers in King Philip's War* in which included both extensive primary source research and oral traditions of many English descendants. Bodge also compiled comprehensive rosters of English forces and English and Native casualty figures. He also took great care in his reconstructions of individual engagements in terms of tactics, movements, combatants, and Bodge's history still stands as one of the definitive books regarding the history of King Philip's War.<sup>79</sup>

All of the above mentioned documentary sources were deconstructed to identify defining cultural and physical features of the Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut battlefield including Native villages and encampments, battle events and

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*The Skulking Way of War* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1991); Kevin McBride, "Mohantic Fort: The Pequots in King Philip's War" in Gaynell Stone, Ed. *Native Forts of the Long Island Sound Area* (Stoney Brook, NY: Suffolk County Archaeological Association, 2002); John McWilliams, "A Cloud of Blood: King Philip's War" in *New England's Crises and Cultural Memory: Literature, Politics, History, Religion 1620-1860* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Eric B. Schultz & Michael J. Tougias, *King Philip's War: The History and Legacy of America's Forgotten Conflict* (Woodstock, VT: Countryman Press, 1999); Richard Slotkin & James K. Folsom, eds. *So Dreadfull a Judgment: Puritan Responses to King Philip's War, 1676-1677* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1978); Jason W. Warren, *Connecticut Unscathed: Victory in the Great Narragansett War 1675-1676* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014).

<sup>78</sup> Judd, *History of Hadley*.

<sup>79</sup> George M. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War: Containing lists of the soldiers of Massachusetts Colony, who served in the Indian war of 1675-1677. With sketches of the principal officers, and copies of ancient documents and records relating to the war* (Boston, MA: Printed for the author, 1891).

locations, movements of combatants on the battlefield and avenues of approach and retreat. An integrated analysis of all relevant primary and secondary accounts provided a much richer and more complex narrative of the battle and greatly assisted in refining the scope and scale of the battlefield study areas.

### **Archival and Archeological Collections**

One important aspect of the Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation project was to investigate relevant archeological and material cultural collections attributed to the Great Falls/Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut region. This included materials belonging to museum collections, university archives, local historical societies, antiquarian collections, and artifacts recovered by local collectors.

The vast majority of surviving collections of objects from the Great Falls/Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut region consist of lithic materials and aboriginal pottery dating to the late Archaic and Woodland Periods. They reflect the thousands of years of continuous occupation that has occurred in this area. Objects related to the May 19, 1676 battle have been reported to have been collected in the years following the battle, but they are no longer in existence or the provenience information has been lost. The Carnegie Public Library in Montague, MA was the only repository in which documented battle related objects have been identified. In the Carnegie Public Library collection are materials attributed to the Riverside section of Gill, MA which were donated by James M. Chapman, John Jamison, Edward Campbell, Henry Barton, Robin Scully, Kevin Collins, and Stephen Bassett. A human skull and leg bone found in the Riverside area by Lewis William Hodgman on February 8, 1921 was on display at the Carnegie until they were stolen from the display cases around 2010. Contact period items that are attributed to the Riverside section of Gill, MA which may be battle related include two musket balls, one copper ring, pottery shards, projectile points and a European gun flint.

The public has been encouraged to share their personal collections with the MPMRC research team if they believe their artifacts to be related the battle or if they were collected in the local region. On several occasions visitors who attended the Public Updates brought lithic materials with them for identification. During the Pocumtuck Homelands Festival a dozen visitors brought substantial lithic artifact collections to share

for identification but none of the objects were determined to be of the Contact Period, most of which dated to the middle or late Woodland Period (Appendix V – Results of Public Outreach; Figure 4).

#### ***American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA***

The American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, MA no longer houses any artifacts associated with King Philip’s War or 17<sup>th</sup> century Native and Colonial objects. All artifacts were sent to the Smithsonian in the early 1900’s for safe keeping. Associated King Philip’s War manuscript collections such as the *Curwen Family Papers*, *John Barton Account Book*, and *Edward Randolph Report on New England 1676*, *Russell Family Sermons* and the *Shepard Family Papers* were examined but no relevant particulars on the Battle of Great Falls was obtained from these sources.

#### ***Beneski Museum, Amherst College, Amherst, MA***

A large amount of artifacts from the Turner’s Falls region, and Gill, MA in particular, were sent to Amherst College to be housed at what was originally known as the Gilbert Museum. After several conversations with the Director of the Beneski Museum of Natural History and NAGPRA Coordinator it was learned that much of the collection had been lost throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and only a fraction of the original collection remains. Those that survive have problematic provenience information. There is a detailed publication, “Catalogue of the Gilbert Museum of Indian Relics” which describes all the objects in the collections and where they were collected. This also contains inventory numbers which are no longer accurate. This collection was researched for items from the Turner’s Falls area and all of those objects identified appeared to be of the pre-contact period.

#### ***Carnegie Library, Turners Falls, MA***

The Barton Collection (of Henry and Lemuel Barton) remains in locked cabinets on the top floor of the Carnegie Library. Linda Hickman, the Library Director, was extremely helpful and greatly assisted in our research process. A 1980 pamphlet *Artifacts Loft at Carnegie Library* associated with the collection states that the “Indian Artifacts” on display were collected in the Turners Falls area by James M. Chapman, John Jamison,

Edward Campbell, Henry Barton, Robin Scully, Kevin Collins, and Stephen Bassett (Figure 4). A human skull and leg bone found in the Riverside area by Lewis William Hodgman on February 8, 1921 were also associated with the collection. Contact period items that are attributed to the Riverside section of Gill, MA are still on display include two musket balls, one copper ring, pottery shards, projectile points and a gun flint. These items may be related to the May 19, 1767 Battle of Great Falls.



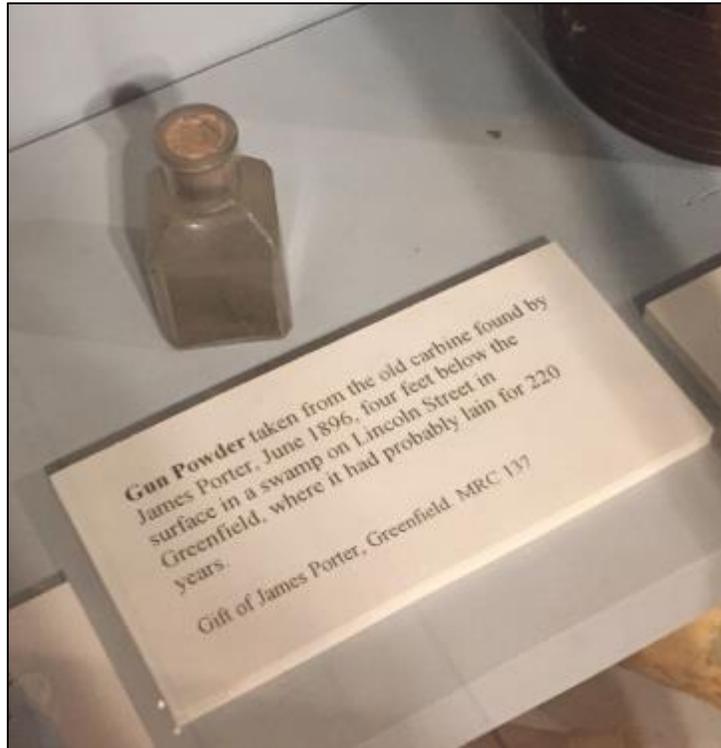
**Figure 4** *Carnegie Public Library collection. [Clockwise from top left] Impacted Musket balls, Cuprous Ring, English gunflint, Local objects on display.*

#### ***Deerfield Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library***

Library collections were viewed to obtain any additional information regarding the Jonathan Wells manuscript of the Falls Fight, which continues to be the most valuable account of the battle. No manuscript collections viewed contain information on the Falls Fight. Manuscript collections view included: Deerfield MSS, John Wells Papers, Papers of Jonathan Wells, Papers of Thomas Wells, Mary P. Wells Smith Papers, Charles Wells Papers, Ebenezer Wells Papers, P.V.M.A. Correspondence, Pocumtuck Grant and Surveys 1673-1738.

### ***Deerfield Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Museum***

A number of objects associated with King Philip's War are curated at the museum including Sarah Coleman's shoe (ca. 1677; Edwin Bardwell Collection; Figure 5). Sarah was captured during the Hatfield Raid on September 19, 1677 and was eventually ransomed by Benjamin Wait (veteran of the Falls Battle). Seventeenth century glass beads and glass bead fragments likely associated with the Pocumtucks are on display at the museum, along with Native projective points and pottery shards. In 2004, Barbara McMahon Forest and family donated a birch bark mukak, an Abenaki item with an old label identifying it as "Indian Birch Bark Bottle picked up at South Deerfield, Mass after the Bloody Brook Massacre in 1675." The only object that may be connected to the May 19, 1676 battle is a small vial of gunpowder which came from an old carbine discovered in Greenfield, MA in 1896. The provenience is as follows: "Gun Powder taken from the old carbine found by James Porter, June 1896, four feet below the surface in a swamp on Lincoln Street in Greenfield." The provenience is as follows: "Gun Powder taken from the old carbine found by James Porter, June 1896, four feet below the surface in a swamp on Lincoln Street in Greenfield."



**Figure 5** Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association collection. A vile reported to contain "Gun Powder taken from the old carbine found by James Porter, June 1896, four feet below the surface in a swamp on Lincoln Street in Greenfield."

***Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown, New York***

A generous lead was provided by Greg Lott of East Bridgewater, MA, of the King War Club housed at the Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown, New York. The 17<sup>th</sup> century war hardwood club is 24” long and inlaid with brass and shell (Figure 6). The club is thought to have been picked up by Northampton recruit John King whom served with William Turners in the Falls Fight. It is rumored that King had acquired the club on the banks of the Connecticut River.



**Figure 6** King War Club housed at the Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown, New York.

***Gill Historical Commission, Gill, MA***

Pam Shoemaker compiled numerous local histories, accounts, oral traditions, photographs, and paintings related to the Great Falls battle, the Riverside neighborhood,

and of the Great Falls. Several important landscape photographs of the area known as Stoughton's Farm from which English forces approached. No existing non-burial related contact period artifacts have yet been identified in Gill, MA or the Riverside neighborhood. This has been the case further downriver on the islands.

***Harvard Peabody Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Cambridge, MA***

Meredith Vasta, former Collections Manager of the MPMRC and current Collections Steward at the PMAE compiled an inventory list of artifacts in the collection attributed to Franklin County, Massachusetts, and specifically the towns within the vicinity of Turner's Falls. This yielded a number of lithic objects but nothing that was clearly attributed to the contact period.

***Institute for American Indian Studies, Washington, CT***

The Rogers Collection at the Institute of American Indian Studies was recently documented as it was known to contain artifacts from the vicinity of Turner's Falls. The objects were primarily lithic in nature but also contained wampum which may indicate late woodland through contact period attributions. Many of these objects were recovered from Gill, MA and specifically in the Riverside neighborhood and the Fort Hill landform.

***Massachusetts State Library, Boston, Massachusetts***

Massachusetts Archive collections Volume 3: *Colonial*, 1629-1720; Volume 9: *Domestic Relations*, 1643-1774; Volume 30: *Indian*, 1603-1705; Volumes 68-70: *Military* provide official intelligence of civilian and military relations and activities in Massachusetts Bay, in addition to interactions with their neighbor colonies and Native communities.

***Nolumbeka Project, Non-profit, Western Massachusetts***

The Nolumbeka Project shared copies of relevant site reports for the Mackin Sand Bank Site, numerous inventory lists and overviews of museum and university collections highlighting objects attributed to the Great Falls region. Inventory lists and photographs of local collections were also included along with place-name research. The Nolumbeka Project members have provided substantial knowledge and insight into the Native and

Colonial history of the area as well as many archeological sites in the area, along with a number of 17<sup>th</sup> century artifacts recovered from the hill directly across the falls on the Gill side, immediately west of the Falls Bridge River, including kaolin pipe stems, musket balls, and Native ceramics (Figure 7).



**Figure 7** *Artifacts from the Nolumbuka Project Collection. [Clockwise from Top Left] Lead Shot; Woodland Period Pottery Sherds; Woodland Period Rim Fragment; Kaolin Pipe Fragments*

#### ***Northfield Mount Hermon School, Northfield, MA***

On May 20, 2015 Peter Weiss, the librarian of the Northfield Mount Hermon School was contacted in search of the Roswell Field Collection. Weiss stated that the Roswell Field Collection currently at the high school consists only of fossils and that there are no domestic Native or Colonial artifacts.

#### ***Peabody Museum at Yale University, New Haven, CT***

The collection holdings have been searched. Identifiable 17<sup>th</sup> century items (both Native and European) and battlefield associated items are very limited – most of the collection consists of lithic materials. A summary list of collections viewed at institution

includes: Fragment of soapstone vessel, Indian, Turners Falls, MA; Lancehead of black flint with very simple tang and bards, Northfield, MA; Large flint fragment, Turners Falls, MA (collectors not identified).

***Springfield Science Museum, Springfield***

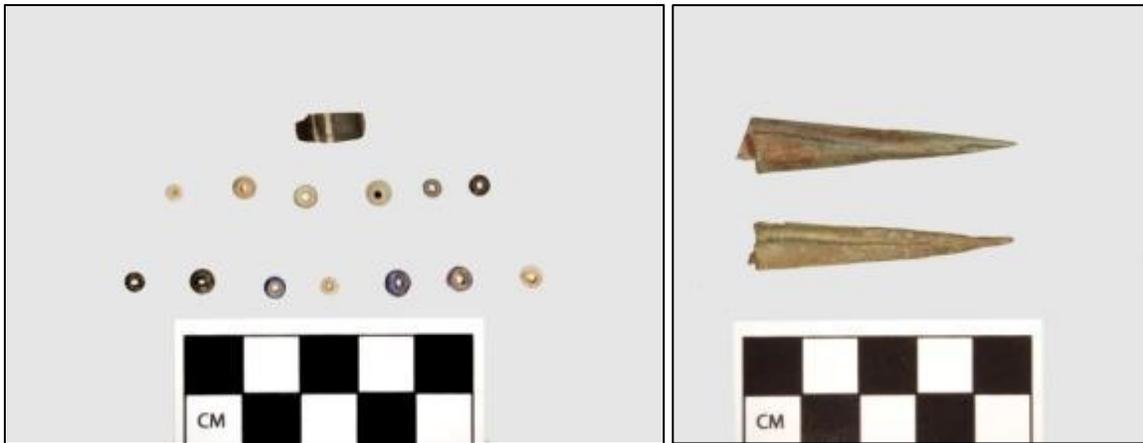
The comparative collections that were viewed include Fort Hill/Long Hill Site in Springfield, MA and the Bark Wigwams Site in Northampton, MA. A summary list of collections of interest at the Springfield Science Museum include: Fort Hill/Long Hill Site in Springfield, MA and the Bark Wigwams Site in Northampton, MA. Contact-period items photographed include glass beads and gunflints (Figure 8).



**Figure 8** *Beads (shown to the left) and gun flints shown to the right were recovered from the Contact-period Bark Wigwam site.*

***University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts***

The Eaglebook Collection housed at the University of UMass, Amherst, Massachusetts consists of Contact Period Native artifacts recovered from the Deerfield vicinity of Franklin County, Massachusetts. The collection consists of brass scrap, brass points, pottery shards and beads dating to a 17th century native site named Pocumtuck Meadows (Figure 9).



**Figure 9** *Beads (featured to the left), brass points (featured to the right), Eaglebrook Collection.*

### **Terrain Analysis & KOCOA Evaluation**

Terrain analysis is a critical aspect of battlefield surveys, so much so that the NPS ABPP require all grant recipients to use KOCOA (Key terrain, Observation, Cover and concealment, Obstacles, Avenues of approach), a military terrain model the U.S. Army developed to evaluate the military significance of terrain associated with a battlefield. By studying the military applications of the terrain using KOCOA, a battlefield historian or archeologist can identify the landscape of the battlefield and develop a basis for judging the merits and flaws of battle accounts. Table 1 includes the critical defining features identified for the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut. KOCOA components include:

**Key Terrain and Decisive Terrain:** Key Terrain is any ground which, when controlled, affords a marked advantage to either combatant (Figures 10 & 11). Two factors can make terrain key: how a commander wants to use it, and whether his enemy can use it to defeat the commander's forces. Decisive Terrain is ground that must be controlled in order to successfully accomplish the mission.

**Observation and Fields of Fire:** Observation is the condition of weather and terrain that allows a force to see friendly and enemy forces, and key aspects of the terrain. Fields of Fire are areas in which a weapon or group of weapons may cover and fire into from a given position.

**Cover and Concealment:** Cover is protection from enemy’s fire (e.g. palisade, stone wall, brow of a hill, wooded swamp), and Concealment is protection from observation and surveillance (e.g. ravines, swamps, intervening hill or wood).

**Obstacles:** Obstacles are any features that prevent, restrict, or delay troop movements. Obstacles can be natural, manmade, or a combination of both and fall into two categories: existing (such as swamps, rivers, dense wood, town or village) and reinforcing (placed on a battlefield through military effort).

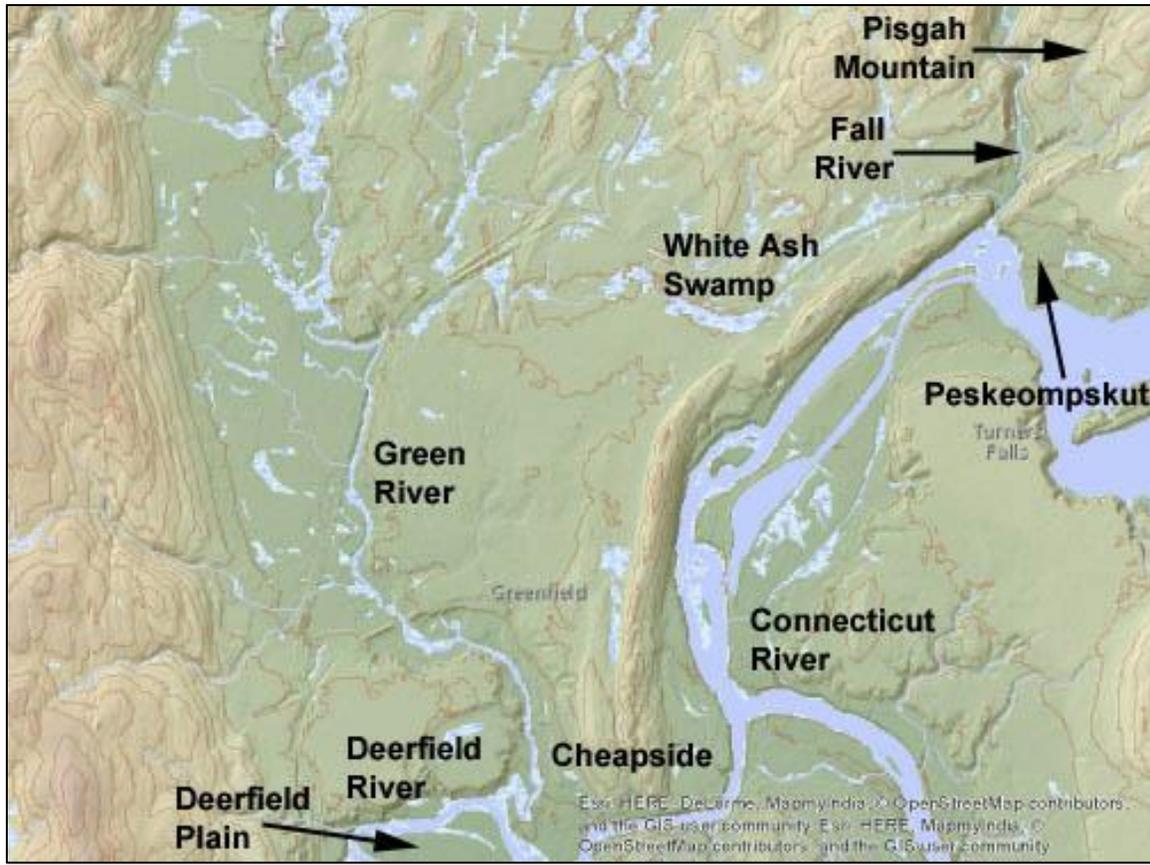
**Avenues of Approach and Withdrawal:** An avenue of approach is the route taken by a force that leads to its objective or to key terrain in its path. An Avenue of Withdrawal is the route taken by a force to withdraw from an objective or key terrain.

Table 1. *Critical Defining Features*

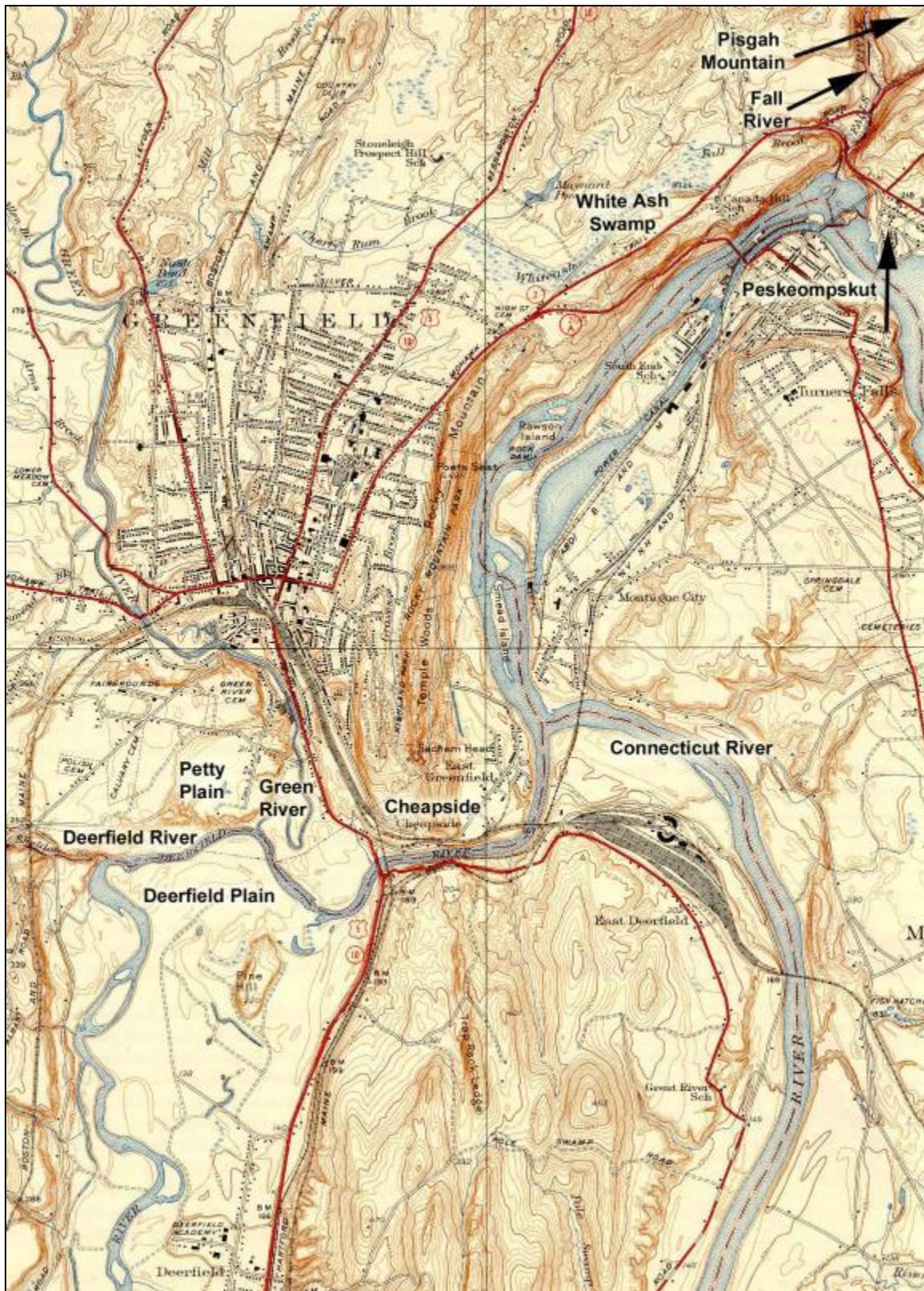
Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut: ABPP Phase I

Name	Location	Relevance to Battle	Field Comment	KOCSA Analysis	Integrity Assessment	Remarks
<b>Terrain and Topographic Features</b>						
Connecticut River	The CT River runs south from the border with Quebec, Canada and discharges at Old Saybrook, CT. The portion relevant to the battle begins: Lat/Long Points: South 42.563015, - 72.556390; North 42.601187, - 72.545404	The portion of the CT River beginning south at Deerfield and running north to Gill served as a major obstacle to English and Native forces	Substantial Industrial development around the towns of Gill and Montague, Open Space, Wooded	Key Terrain, Obstacle (English & Native), Avenue of retreat & approach (Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area
Deerfield Plains	Western side of the Connecticut River, approx. 2.5 miles.	English forces traveled north through Deerfield Plains on their approach to the Deerfield River	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material	Battle of Great Falls Study Area
Deerfield River	Forms a boundary between present-day Deerfield and Greenfield. It is a tributary of the Connecticut River.	English forces need to cross the Deerfield River to proceed north to Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut. There were at least two fords across the river.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material	Battle of Great Falls Study Area

Cheapside Neighborhood	A neck of land on the north bank of the Deerfield River abutted by the CT River to the east and the Green River to the west.	A Native observation outpost and possible fortification was established on this neck of land which forced the English to cross the Deerfield River further to the west. Native forces were alerted to the noise of horses and mobilized on the early morning of May 19, 1676 but did not encounter English forces.	Moderate Residential Development, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Observation (Native), Obstacles, Fortified Place	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area
Petty Plain	Located north of the Deerfield River and west of the Green River	English forces forded the Deerfield River and crossed Petty Plain towards the Green River.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area
Green River	A tributary of the Deerfield River that runs north through the Town of Greenfield, MA.	English forces forded the Green River south of Smead Brook. Captain Turner would later be killed in action during the English retreat while leading his men back across the Green River.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area
White Ash Swamp	White Ash Swamp is fed by Cherry Rum Brook and runs contiguous to Route 2. It is approx.5 mile northwest of the Connecticut River.	English forces likely maneuvered north of White Ash Swamp before dismounting from their horses before Fall River. During the English retreat Native forces held the swamp and decimated fleeing English. One group of English attempted to cut through the swamp and were killed or captured.	Low Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native), Cover & Concealment (Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area
Fall River	A tributary of the Connecticut River which empties just below the Great Falls.	English forces dismounted and left their horses and a small guard west of Fall River. The main force crossed Fall River and continued east.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area
Pisgah Mountain, SW Slope	Dominant landform in the area rising 715' (218 m) above the surrounding landscape.	English forces gathered on the southwestern slope of Pisgah Mountain within site of the Peskeompskut encampment.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Observation (English), Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area
Peskeompskut	A small neck of land immediately east of the Great Falls.	The site of the Native encampment attacked and destroyed by English forces on the morning of May 19, 1676.	Moderate Residential & Industrial Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native), Cover & Concealment (Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area



**Figure 10** *Key Terrain Features*



**Figure 11** Key Terrain Features. U.S.G.S. Topographic Map 7 ½" Series 1941.

## Land Use Research

Seventeenth century New England battlefields, including those associated with King Philip's War are unlike any other battlefields in American history. Compared to American Revolutionary War or Civil War battlefields, 17<sup>th</sup> century battlefields tend to be harder to place in space, often have far fewer battle-related objects, and the battlefields often contain hundreds if not thousands of non-battle related objects as a result of 350 years of land use subsequent to the battle. It is often very challenging for battlefield archaeologists to distinguish battle-related artifacts from later objects without understanding the nature and extent of post-battle land use. Therefore, a Land Use Study should be conducted in anticipation of future archaeology surveys to serve as a frame of reference and context for interpreting the varied artifacts that will be recovered from battlefield archaeology surveys.

Information for the Land Use Study will be collected from deeds, town records, historical newspapers, maps, photographs, local histories, books, various periodicals, oral history and local knowledge and oral tradition and artifact collections from the local area. Preliminary research indicates a light to heavy pattern of land use and occupation over much of the battlefield during the 18<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Eighteenth and 19<sup>th</sup>-century land use and occupation consists of small industrial sites (e.g. saw mill, ice pond) along major streams as well as a few European farmsteads dotting the landscape. Evidence of 20<sup>th</sup> century and early 21<sup>st</sup> century land use and occupation within the battlefield Study Area varied from low- impact activities such as farming to high density residential development in the Riverside area and the eastern section of Gill Center.

Regardless of the level of impact effecting the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area, it is anticipated that archaeological resources associated with the battle are present. By way of precedence, dozens of undisturbed, battle-related artifacts from the Battle of Mistick Fort (Pequot War) have been recovered during archaeological survey work in high-density residential areas.<sup>80</sup> Navigating through the large amounts of non-17<sup>th</sup> century materials deposited on a battlefield site and

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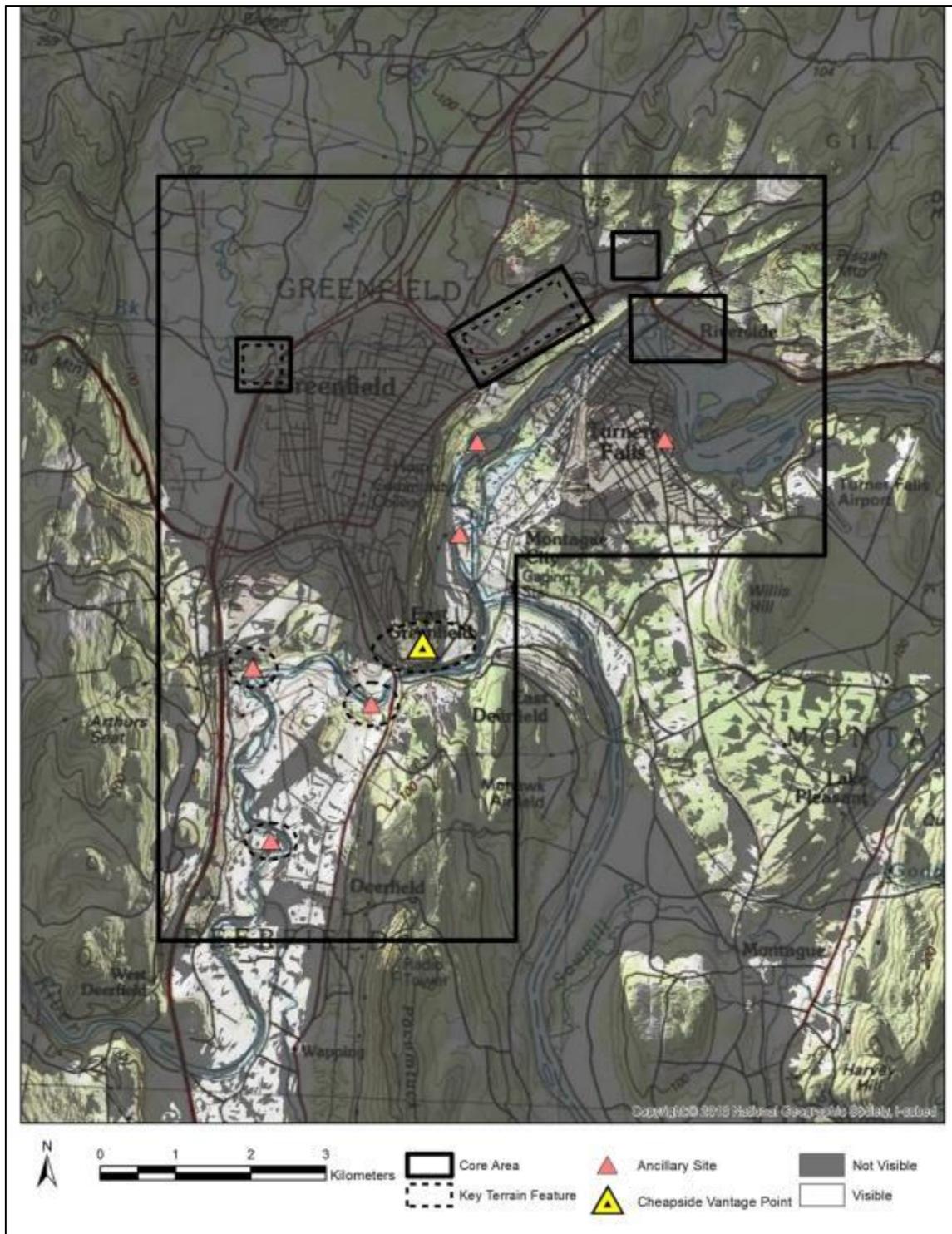
<sup>80</sup> McBride, Kevin, David Naumec, et. al. *The Battle of Mistick Fort: Documentation Plan* GA-2255-09-017. Mashantucket, CT: Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, 2012

distinguishing them from King Philip's War-related objects certainly pose challenges, but they can be overcome through careful analysis in the laboratory.

### **Visual Inspection & Viewshed Analysis**

Windshield surveys were conducted adjacent to potentially significant properties within the project study area thought to be areas where battle actions took place. As permissions to these properties had not been obtained all inspections were done by windshield or stops along public access areas. If landholder permission was granted then a visual inspection of that property consisted of a walkover of the land with the owner to gain information on the locations of possible below-ground disturbance (i.e. septic systems, utility lines), while noting landscape features that had either physical or cultural attributes that denoted possible inferences to the battlefield. These discussions with landowners were helpful in reconstructing recent land use history.

A number of Viewshed Models were developed using elements of KOCOA and GIS. Identified cultural and terrain features will be geo-referenced and integrated into cumulative Viewshed models. A Viewshed is a raster-based map in which from each cell, a straight line is interpolated between a source point and all other cells within an elevation model to find whether or not the cell exceeds the height of the three dimensional line at that point. Therefore, the result of each calculation is either positive or negative. If the result is positive (1) then there is a direct line of sight, if it is negative



**Figure 12** Viewshed Model from the “Cheapside” Key Terrain Feature. Darkened (pink) areas are not visible from the vantage point of Cheapside.

(0), there is no line of sight.<sup>81</sup> The resultant Viewshed Model illustrates locations that could be seen from elevations at different locations within the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area including “Cheapside,” the hill above the Peskeompskut village and other locations (Figure 12). Viewsheds provide information and context on what the Colonial and Native combatants could see from various elevations and how this might have influenced their actions. These models were very useful for conceptualizing the battlefield landscape and identifying key terrain, avenues of approach and retreat, obstacles and areas of concealment and observation.

### **Public Meetings and Landholder Permissions**

Landholder Permission: The first step to gaining Landholder Permissions was to hold public informational meetings eventually to be followed by letters, brochures, landowner informational packet mailings, phone calls, and face-to face contacts. Consortium members with assistance from MPMRC staff will focus on obtaining land owner permissions between October-December 2015, particularly those landowners whose property likely lies within Core Areas of the battlefield. Prior to the fieldwork phase of the project regular meetings with landholders will be held to update them on the overall progress of the project, and discuss any ongoing concerns they still had. Permissions will continue to be sought as knowledge of the Core Areas of the battlefield is refined from preliminary fieldwork. The most successful efforts to obtain landowner permissions are through personal contacts and relationship building to build trust among landowners.

### **Geographic Information Systems**

To establish provenience throughout the battlefield Study and Core Areas in preparation for future survey work, a combination of methods will be used. The first step in establishing provenience will be to develop a procedure so that all cultural, natural and features identified within battlefield Study and Core Areas can be assigned a spatial reference using a Global Positioning System GPS. A conceptual 1-meter grid will be

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<sup>81</sup> David Wheatley and Mark Gillings. *Spatial Technology and Archaeology: The Archeological Applications of GIS* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, 2002).

established over 2 ft. contour base maps within the battlefield Study Area with the intent of eventually identifying portions of the grid in real space through GPS (depending on landholder permissions), which can be used a later date to facilitate future field work.

A Global Positioning System (GPS) is a series of orbiting satellites such that at any given time and place at least four are within range of any position on Earth's surface. By determining the distance from the four satellites, the receiver can calculate its precise location in horizontal and vertical space in a process called trilateration. Current technology now provides the means to achieve pinpoint location in real-time with a GPS yielding up to ten centimeter accuracy and sometimes even less. However, in reality there are many factors such as tree cover, aspect of availability, and position of satellites that sometimes caps accuracy to a five meter range, depending on conditions and the time of day. Property boundaries and cultural features can often be obtained from shapefiles provided by the planning departments of the various towns. These geo-referenced shapefiles or whatever part of the shapefile will be relevant to the battlefield Study and Core Areas will be imported into the GPS and used to locate natural and cultural features in real space.

#### **IV. Results of Historical Research**

##### **Battle Narrative and Sequence**

Constructing a battlefield narrative and timeline for the Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut in anticipation of a battlefield archeological survey consisted of a synthesis of historical research, material culture analyses, and a cultural landscape study. The results of this battle narrative are included in Chapter VI "Historical Synthesis."

##### **Timeline**

A detailed analysis of the sequence of events (informing the historical context and the battle), movements and people associated is presented in Table 2. These events, movements and actions were assumed to have a unique archeological signature across time and space.

**Table 2. Battlefield Events Timeline**

<i>Time-Date</i>	<i>Action</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Signature</i>
10 March 1676	Solider-Indian captive Thomas Reede relates to those at Hadley that Natives are planting at Deerfield (judge 300 acres) and “dwell at the Falls on both sides of the river-are a considerable number, yet most are old men and women” and about 70 warriors.	Deerfield; Falls	High: Village Site, Domestic Objects, Military Objects.
14 May 1676	Natives drive four-score horses and cattle away to Deerfield Meadow.	Deerfield Meadow	Low: Dropped equipment/ personal items
Thursday May 18: 8 PM	150-160 men from Springfield, Westfield, Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield assemble at Hatfield and depart ca. 8 PM.	Hatfield	Low: Dropped equipment/ personal items
Thursday-Friday May 18-19: 8 PM-4 AM	The English force march 20 miles crossing the Deerfield and Green Rivers, and halt a little west of the Fall River, about a half a mile from the Indian village at Peskeompskut at the head of the falls where they left their horses with a small guard	Deerfield River, Greenfield River, Fall River,	Dropped equipment/ personal items
Friday May 19: 4-5 AM	At dawn the English force crossed the Fall River climbing a steep hill moving eastward to the slope of the hill overlooking the Native village to the south camp.	Fall River, steep hill to east, stretching to the east	Dropped Equipment/ Personal items
Friday May 19: 5-8 AM	English approach and fire into wigwams. Some Native defenders engage the English and others run and swim across river. Some canoe away and others seek shelter under the banks of the river and killed. The English burn wigwams, destroy Native ammunition and provisions and war materials, and loot the village	Riverside area and along banks of river	Impacted musket balls, concentrations of small diameter shot, dropped and broken equipment, Native domestic objects

Friday May 19: 8 AM	As English return to assembly area to recover horses and rumor spreads that Philip and 1,000 men coming against the English. Panic spreads among the English panic.	Horse tie down area	Dropped equipment/ personal items
Friday May 19: 8-9 AM	As English mount horses they are attacked from Native forces from the village on the south side of the Connecticut River. As they retreated they were attacked from the rear and flanks between horse tie down area and White Ash Swamp	Horse tie down area to White Ash Swamp	Impacted and dropped musket balls, dropped equipment and personal items
Friday May 19: 9AM -12PM	English panic and split into 4-6 groups in their effort to escape and continue to be attacked along route of retreat. Native firing from ambushes to the front of the English set along the White Ash Swamp and attack the flanks and rear of the English column.	Trail/path to ford at confluence of Green River and Cherry Run Brook, south and north of White Ash Swamp	Impacted and dropped musket balls, dropped equipment and personal items
Friday May 19: 12PM – 6PM	English forces under the command of Captain Turner follow Cherry Rum Brook towards the Green River. While crossing the ford, Captain Turner is shot by Native soldiers. Lieutenant Holyoke takes command, draws the men into close order, and retreats towards Hadley where they arrive that evening.	Green River Ford	Impacted and dropped musket balls, dropped equipment and personal items
Saturday afternoon 20 May 1676	One English soldier arrives to Hadley. Other soldiers not wounded were reported to be wandering the West Mountains.	West mountains	Low / None
Saturday Night 20 May 1676	One English soldier arrives at Hadley.	Hadley	Low / None

Morning Sunday 21 May 1676	Well reaches Muddy Brook, left the brook and entered into a plain and reaches Hatfield.	Hatfield	Low / None
Sunday 21 May 1676	Two English soldiers arrive to Hadley.	Hadley	Low / None
Morning Monday 22 May 1676	One English soldier arrives to Hadley.	Hadley	Low / None
Afternoon Monday 22 May 1676	Noon, Mr. Atherton arrives to Hadley. Following the course of the river Atherton reaches Hatfield.	Hadley / Hatfield	Low / None
Night Monday 22 May 1676	Scouts find that “the enemy abide still in the places where they were on both sides of the river and in the Islands, and fires in the same place where our men had burnt the wigwams.” Also reported that their fort is close to Deerfield River.	Deerfield River	Low / None
30 May 1676	700 Natives attack Hatfield and burn 12 houses and barns, drove away many cattle and kill five English men.	Hatfield	Impacted and dropped musket balls, dropped equipment and personal items

## V. Synthesis: Identification of Probable Battlefield Areas

Prospective battlefield and ancillary site locations were identified by analyzing and integrating information from the following sources; primary accounts, local oral history, local and institutional artifact collections, land records, historical maps, aerial photographs, site visits, archeological excavation and KOCOAs analysis.

### Historical Synthesis

In April of 1676, Northampton, Hadley, and Hatfield were the northernmost English frontier towns on the upper Connecticut River. Settlements in Deerfield and Northfield had been destroyed and abandoned earlier in the war. The Great Falls had become a gathering spot for Native peoples at war with the English, and the Native community at Peskeompskut was steadily growing as Native groups through the region arrived to seek shelter and supplies. English settlers in the upriver towns greatly concerned with the growing Native presence to the north at the falls and the threats it represented, advocated Connecticut to take immediate action. At the same time Connecticut was pursuing peace negotiations with the various tribes at the falls and did not want the upriver towns to take unilateral action against the Natives gathered there.

As early as April 6, 1676 Deputy Governor William Leete of Massachusetts Bay wrote to the Connecticut Council at Hartford reporting how “some scouts sent towards Dearefeild” had “discovered sundry wigwags with fires not farre from thence” which was evidence of a growing Native presence to the north.<sup>82</sup> Lette further reported receiving “intelligence off three men killed att Hadley where none had so before been donne” along with “intellegience of 1,000 of the enemies” soldiers which was not confirmed.<sup>83</sup> On April 25, 1676 Captain William Turner of Hadley wrote the Massachusetts Bay Council requesting clothing and other supplies for his men describing how “the soldiers here are in great distress for want of clothing, both linen and woolen. Some has been brought from Quabaug, but not an eight of what we want.”<sup>84</sup> Captain

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<sup>82</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 60.

<sup>83</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 60.

<sup>84</sup> Massachusetts State Archives, Massachusetts Archives Series. April 25, 1676. Volume 69, Document 6; Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 168.

Turner also informed the council of the return of John Gilbert, a soldier of Springfield, who had escaped captivity with new intelligence regarding the location of Native forces:

There is come into Hadley a young man taken from Springfield at the beginning of last month, who informs that the enemy is drawing up all their forces towards these towns, and their head-quarters are at Deerfield.<sup>85</sup>

Soon after, a group of soldiers under Captain Samuel Holyoke of Springfield captured a Native man on April 27, 1676 near the Connecticut River who claimed that nearly 1,000 Native soldiers were upriver around Squakeag residing in three forts.<sup>86</sup> On April 29, 1676 Reverend John Russell of Hadley wrote to both the Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut councils with essentially the same information in which he argued for continued offensive operations against the enemy. To Connecticut he wrote how:

...rationall it is to think y<sup>t</sup> might [illegible] be undertaken [illegible] against them here in conjunction w<sup>th</sup> what is in other parts it might at such a time sink their hearts & brake their rage and power; and make them much more real for peace... The spirit of man w<sup>th</sup> us are more than ever heightened w<sup>th</sup> desire & earnestness to be going forth against the enemy have been others moving for liberty & would Some they might obtain is this night And shall the Lord incline and direct you to order any volunteers to other help hither; they would find more of ours than reason would y<sup>t</sup> we should spare ready to sayn w<sup>th</sup> them in the enterprize...<sup>87</sup>

To the Massachusetts Bay Council he described how:

It is strange to see how much spirit, (more than formerly,) appears in our men to be out against the enemy. A great part of the inhabitants here, would our committees of militia but permit, would be going forth. They are daily moving for it, and would fain have liberty to be going forth this night. The enemy is now come so near us that we count we might go forth in the evening and come upon them in the darkness of the same night.<sup>88</sup>

Russell also mentioned how “intelligence gives us cause to hope that the Mohawks do still retain their old friendship for us and enmity against our enemies. Some proofe of it they

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<sup>85</sup> Massachusetts State Archives, Massachusetts Archives Series. April 25, 1676. Volume 69, Document 6; Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 169.

<sup>86</sup> Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 169.

<sup>87</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 67.

<sup>88</sup> Massachusetts State Archives, Massachusetts Archives Series. April 25, 1676. Volume 69, Document 6; Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 169.

have of late in those they slew higher up this River.”<sup>89</sup> It is unclear when these assaults took place but according to information received from two English allied Natives and one of Quabaug it appears they took place earlier in April.<sup>90</sup> This may have turned the attention of a portion of those Native soldiers to the north and west in anticipation of additional Mohawk attack believing them to be a greater threat than the English.

Around May 13, 1676 Natives soldiers from the Peskeompskut area raided English animal herds set out to graze in the Hatfield Meadows to the south and captured seventy cattle and horses. The cattle were herded north to Deerfield meadows and temporarily fenced in before driving them further north to the Native communities at Peskeompskut. This incident enraged English settlers at Hatfield and the other river towns, who had been pressing Massachusetts and Connecticut Colonies to attack the upriver Native communities.

Howard Clark and Joe Graveline of the Nolumbeka Project have argued “it is unlikely the tribe present at the Great Falls would have put at risk a peace treaty with Hartford by making a raid on Hatfield to acquire cattle as they had all the protein they could use from the fish harvest that was ongoing. It is more likely that Russell fabricated that story of the Hatfield attack to justify attacking the falls knowing that Connecticut had told them to hold off as peace negotiations were in progress.”<sup>91</sup>

Graveline and Clark raise some important issues regarding not only Native strategies at this point in the war but Colonial motivations as well, although a careful review of the primary sources indicates that the settlers in the upper valley did not need an excuse to attack the native communities at falls and were planning to do so regardless of the peace negotiations. The first issue is whether this account was “fabricated” as an excuse to attack the communities at Peskeompskut. If so it would suggest a conspiracy as three different sources mention the incident. However, each source described the incident at different times and in different contexts and unlikely to have been in communication with one another. The first description of the incident was by Thomas Reed as related to Reverend Russel on or about May 15<sup>th</sup> two days after

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<sup>89</sup> Massachusetts State Archives, Massachusetts Archives Series. April 25, 1676. Volume 69, Document 6 Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 242.

<sup>90</sup> Massachusetts State Archives, Massachusetts Archives Series. April 25, 1676. Volume 69, Document 6 Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 242.

<sup>91</sup> Comments and Study Research for Consideration: Battle of the Great Falls/Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut. Nolumbeka Project Researchers Howard Clark and Joe Graveline.

he escaped from Peskeompskut: “The night before Last they came down to Hatfield upper meadows have driven away many horses and Cattle to the number of fourscore.”<sup>92</sup> A second source states “The occasion of the engagement [Turners Falls Fight] was this, The *Indians* having stolen and driven away much Cattle from Hatfield and those Towns adjoining, and our men perceiving by the track which way they went, learned at last where the *Indians* Rendezvous was.”<sup>93</sup> William Hubbard relates “The English Forces [Connecticut] were now drawn off from the lower towns of Hadley and Northampton, now and then took advantages to plunder them of their Cattle... for in the evening they had made themselves merry with new milk and roast beef, having lately driven away many of their milch cows, as an English woman confessed, that was made to milk them.”<sup>94</sup>

It would appear that the cattle were in fact stolen, but the remaining question raised by Graveline and Clark is why the Natives would raid cattle in the midst of peace talks that might derail the negotiations. There are several possible explanations, although none are completely satisfactory. The peace talks were with Connecticut, not with the towns in the upper valley, so the Natives may not have felt the raid would have put the negotiations at risk. There was apparently some division among the leaders whether to pursue peace talks and the raid may have been carried out by individuals and communities who did not support the negotiations. Finally, evidence suggests that some Native communities were gathering supplies, such as smoked or dried fish, to feed them through the summer in order to continue the war. Beef may not have been as easy to store and, at least in the short term, would have been a better alternative rather than reduce the supply of dried fish for future use.

At this time the English in Hadley received word from a messenger from Boston “that they have Certain intelligence from the Eastward y<sup>l</sup> the Mohawks have taken & slew twenty six of o<sup>r</sup> enemies”<sup>95</sup> Although it is unknown where these attacks took place it is possible that they occurred somewhere near the Peskeompskut region which would have been received as welcome news by the Hadley settlers.

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<sup>92</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

<sup>93</sup> L’Estrange, *A True Account*, P. 3.

<sup>94</sup> Hubbard, *A Narrative of the Troubles*, P. 85.

<sup>95</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

Two days later two English “lads” taken captive during the earlier raid on Hatfield were released in late April and upon their return they informed the settlers and garrison at Hadley about whereabouts and disposition of the Natives at Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut. On May 15, 1676 Reverend John Russell sent a letter to Secretary John Allyn to the Council of Connecticut in which he detailed the new intelligence that had been recently gathered. Russell relayed word of the Mohawk attacks on “enemy” Native forces. He again told Allyn of “ye Indians at their fishing place” and how:

They sit by us secure w<sup>th</sup>out watch, busy at their harvest work storing themselves with food for a year to fight against us and we let them along to take the full advantage that ye selves would afford them by there wise nor enemy.<sup>96</sup>

Russell pressed Connecticut to join the upper river towns in an attack against those Natives gathered at the falls. He went on to describe the new information Hatfield received from Thomas Reed that very morning:

But this morning Providence hath alarm<sup>d</sup> us w<sup>th</sup> another voice & call seeming to Speak to us that the Season is not yet past and that we are necessitated to take hold of it before it be quite gone for about sunrise came into Hatfield one Thomas Reede, a Souldier who was taken captive when Deacon Goodman was slain: He Relates y<sup>t</sup> they are planting at Deerfield and have been so these three or four days or more. Saith further that they will at the falls on both sides of the River; are a Considerable number; yet most of them old men and women. He cannot judge that there are both Sides of the River above 60 or 70 fighting men. They are secure high and comfortable boasting of great things they have done and will do. There is Thomas Eames his daughter and children hardly used: one or two belonging to Medfielde I thinke two children belonging to Lancaster. The night before Last they came down to Hatfield upper meadows have driven away many horses and Catall to the number of fourscore and upward as they judge: many of these this man saw in Deerfield meadow: and found the bars putt up to keep them in. This being the State of things we think the Lord calls us to make some try and what may be done against them suddenly w<sup>th</sup>out further delay; and therefore the Concurring resolution of men here seems to be to goe out against them too morrow at night so as to be w<sup>th</sup> them the Lord assisting before break of day...

Armed with this new information the militia committees of the upper river towns along with men from Springfield and Westfield prepared for an attack on the encampments at Peskeompskut at the Great Falls. Most of the English in the Hadley area were refugees from the destroyed Springfield, Deerfield and Hatfield settlements and many had friends or family killed, captured,

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<sup>96</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

or tortured during the attacks and harbored a great deal of resentment toward the tribes gathered at the falls. The deaths over a hundred English soldiers and settlers in the upper valley contributed to a growing desire of Hadley inhabitants to attack the Native people gathered at Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut. Reed joined Captain Turner's forces for the planned expedition to the falls.

The Reverend Russell essentially informed Secretary Allyn that the upper river towns were going to take immediate action against the Native encampments around Peskeompskut whether Connecticut was willing to assist or not, and regardless of any ongoing peace negotiations. He added:

It would be strength and rejoycing to us might be favo<sup>rd</sup> w<sup>th</sup> some helpe from yourselves, but if the Lord deny that to us you Cannot or see not your way to assist or go before us in the undertaking, I thinke or men will go with such of or own as we can raise trusting him w<sup>th</sup> the issue; rather than to set still and tempt God by doing nothing...<sup>97</sup>

The Hatfield and Hadley men distrusted Connecticut's Native allies and requested that Secretary Allyn not share the plans with their Mohegan and Pequot allies as "they may be under temptation to give intelligence of it to the enemy."<sup>98</sup> In the final paragraph of the letter Captain Turner, John Lyman, and Isack Graves testified that the English did not know the total number of Natives located around Great Falls and confessed that "they may be many more for we perceive their number varies and they are going and Coming."<sup>99</sup>

As the Connecticut Council was being informed of the actions of the upper river towns Captain Turner assembled an attack force comprised of settlers and garrison soldiers from Hatfield, Hadley, Northampton, Springfield, and Westfield (Appendix II – Historical Context: English Order of Battle).<sup>100</sup> Most of these men, including Turner had little or no combat experience and some of the men were youths no older than sixteen. Over the next two days, English settlers and garrison troops from the several towns assembled at Hatfield by May 18. The English were about to face a very experienced and determined enemy of unknown strength and Turner's relatively inexperienced force was counting on the element of surprise to even the

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<sup>97</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

<sup>98</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

<sup>99</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

<sup>100</sup> On May 17, 1676 one Soldier Japhet Chapin of Northampton, inscribed in his account book that "I went to Volentear against the ingens the 17<sup>th</sup> of May, 1676 and we ingaged batel the 19<sup>th</sup> of May in the moaning before sunrise" in *The Chapin Genealogy* (Northampton, MA: Metcalf & Company, 1862) P. 4.

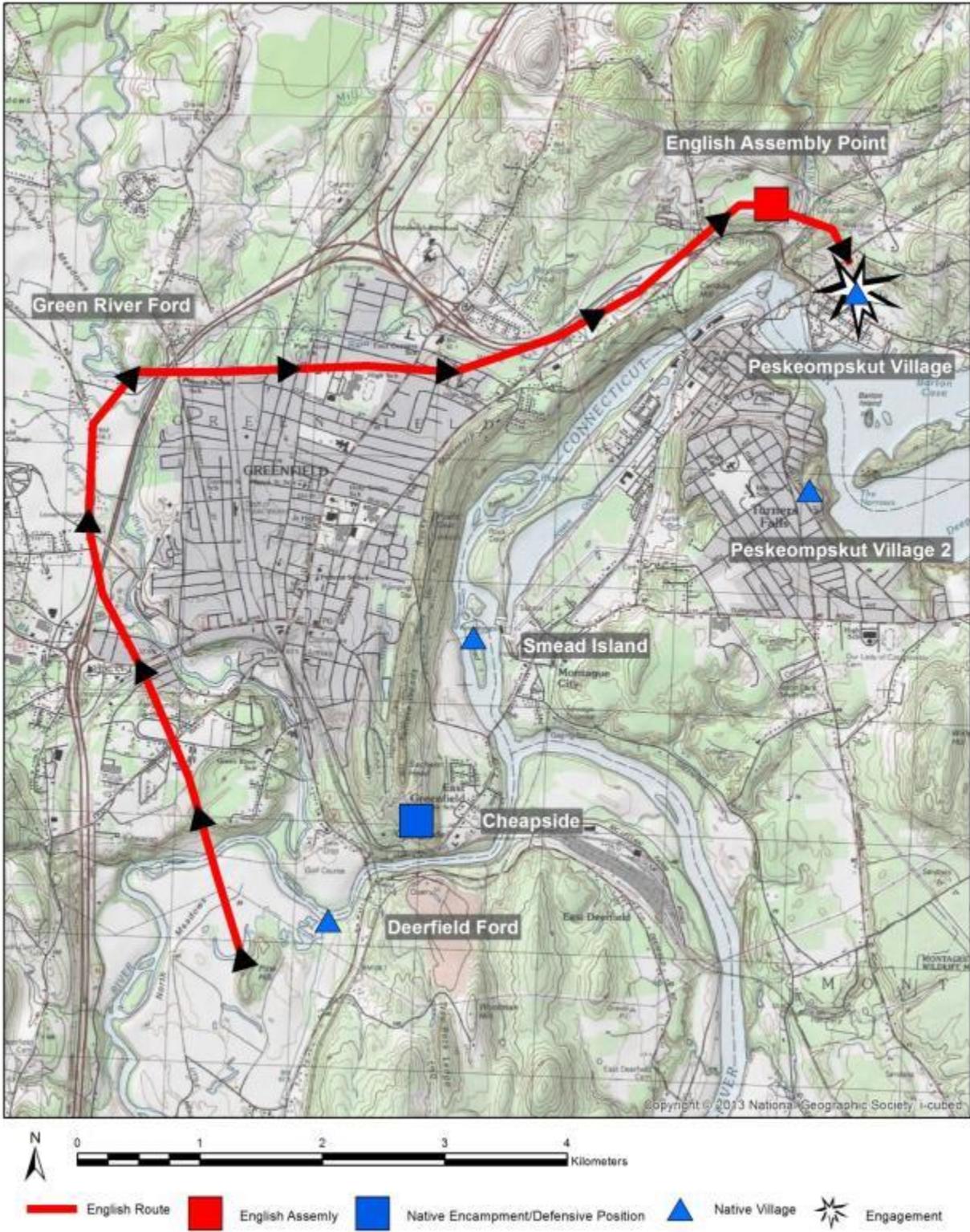
odds. Benjamin Wait and Experience Hinsdale of Hadley were selected to serve as guides due to their experience and knowledge of the region.<sup>101</sup> Captain William Turner's command included Lieutenant Samuel Holyoke, Ensigns Isaiah Toy and John Lyman, Sergeants John Dickinson and Joseph Kellogg, accompanied by Reverend Hope Atherton.<sup>102</sup> Still not having received a reply from Connecticut, the English forces under Captain Turner prepared to advance on Native encampments at Peskeompskut with a mounted force of 150-180 Dragoons mounted infantry.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 171; Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

<sup>102</sup> Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245

<sup>103</sup> Troop estimates as described in the primary sources: "One hundred and four score" in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49; "two or three hundred of them" in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86; "One hundred fifty rank and file" in Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245; "About 150 or 160 mounted men" in Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 171.



**Figure 13** *English Route of Approach.*

The known encampments around Peskeompskut were located in the vicinity of the Great Falls and the two main villages were located above the falls on the north and south banks of the Connecticut River. The English were aware of the general disposition of enemy forces thanks in part to intelligence gathered from Thomas Reed a few days earlier who related that “they dwell at the falls on both sides of the River.”<sup>104</sup> Additional encampments were located a mile south at Cheapside and Smead’s Island and 20 miles further north at Squakeag. According to the Puritan historian Increase Mather, before English commanders left Hadley they “were earnestly admonished” to be aware of an encampment of Native warriors on an island (Smead’s) just below the falls.<sup>105</sup> The Native communities at Peskeompskut also were forced to defend against Mohawk attack which would likely come from the northwest or north. Only a month earlier they had suffered attacks in which, according to Massachusetts Bay officials, “the Mohawks have taken & slew twenty six” of their number.<sup>106</sup> It is likely that Native soldiers from the several communities encamped at Peskeompskut deployed to the north as well to defend against additional Mohawk attacks.

The English began their march just after dark on May 18. Turner’s force traveled north through Hatfield meadows on the road towards Deerfield staying on the west side of the Connecticut River and remaining east of the Deerfield River.<sup>107</sup> The English force likely had prior intelligence of Native sentries positioned at the Deerfield River Ford and Cheapside overlooking the ford. Cheapside is a prominent rock outcrop at the southern end of Rocky Mountain rising several hundred feet above the Deerfield River. Cheapside was used by Native soldiers as an outpost and possible fortification which had a commanding view of the northern Deerfield meadows to the south and two well-known fords to the south (Figures 13 & 14).

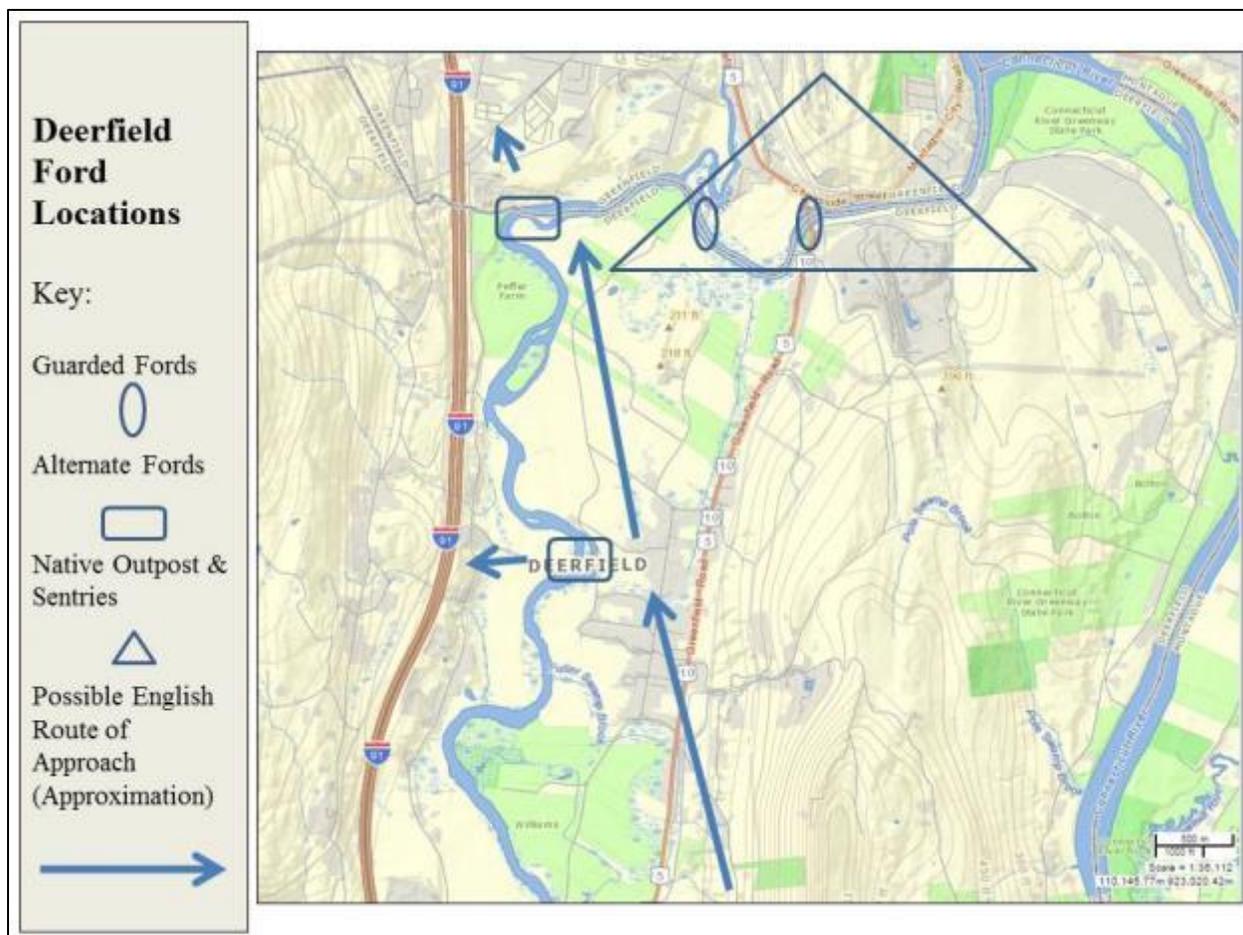
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<sup>104</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 60.

<sup>105</sup> Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

<sup>106</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 60.

<sup>107</sup> Bodge. *King Philip’s War*. P. 245.



**Figure 14** *Deerfield Ford Locations.*

It is clear that English commanders chose to avoid this region and searched for a point to cross the Deerfield River further to the west. The historian George Bodge claimed in 1906 that “they crossed the river at the northerly part of the meadow (a late high authority says “at the mouth of Sheldon’s brook”), and thus eluded, the Indian outpost stationed at the place “now called Cheapside,” to guard the usual place of crossing.”<sup>108</sup> The “late high authority” Bodge cited may have been George Sheldon of Deerfield although he was alive at the time of Bodge’s writing. Another possible ford location is reported to have been at “Red Rock Ford” just west of

<sup>108</sup> Bodge. *King Philip’s War*. P. 245.

present-day Deerfield, MA.<sup>109</sup> The Red Rock Ford was a well-known crossing point on the Deerfield River which allowed quick access to the western Deerfield meadows. If Turner's company crossed at that point they would have avoided any Native sentries at the Deerfield River Ford and at Cheapside. In any case, it appears that the noise made by Turner's 150 Dragoons may have been detected by Native sentries in the vicinity even though they forded the Deerfield River well to the west. The historian George Madison Bodge claimed that:

These Indians, it is said, overheard the crossing of the troops and turned out with torches, and examined the usual ford, but finding no traces there and hearing no further disturbance, concluded that the noise was made by moose, crossing, and so went back to their sleep.<sup>110</sup>

If this was the case, Native soldiers deployed to the usual fording locations along the upper branch of the Deerfield River with torches to search for the cause of the noise but not noticing anything out of the ordinary they concluded that it may have been caused by an animal, such as a moose, and returned to their positions. The English may have been aided by a heavy thunderstorm which began to downpour at some point during their march.<sup>111</sup>

Once Turner's company had passed the Native sentries deployed around Cheapside and the Deerfield River they continued north through Greenfield Meadow and remained along the west side of the Green River. According to the preeminent local historian, George Sheldon, Turner's command crossed the Green River "at the mouth of Ash-swamp brook to the eastward, skirting the great swamp."<sup>112</sup> The Ash-swamp brook Sheldon identified is the present-day Cherry Run Brook which runs in an easterly direction and eventually connects to the White Ash Brook and Swamp. While it is not part of the Ash Swamp drainage, its eastern terminus is only a few hundred yards from the White Ash Brook and Swamp a mile or so to the east. On their approach the English forces could have skirted the swamp either the north or south, but the north affords a much easier route of march as it consists mainly of dry, high plains as the south contains more

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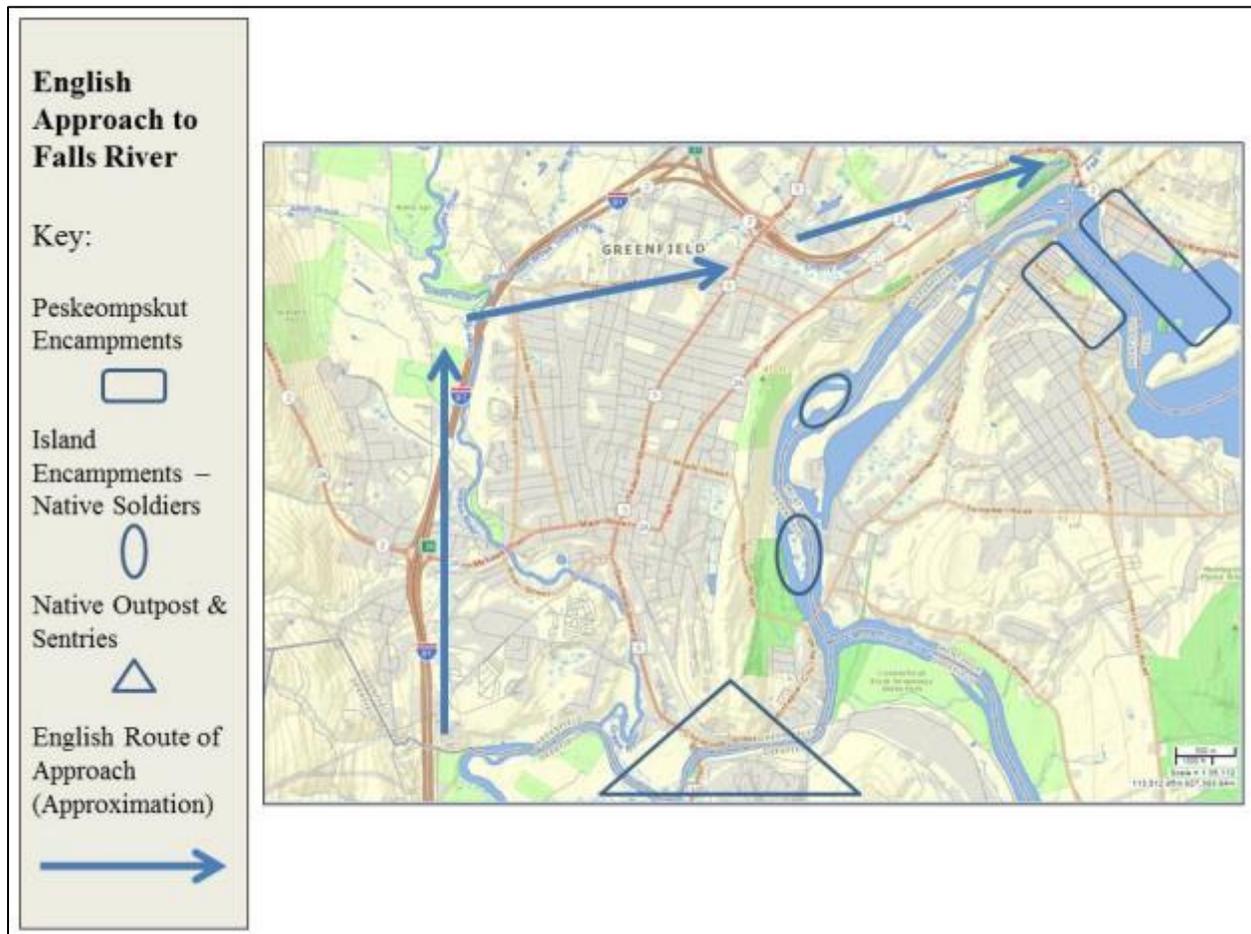
<sup>109</sup> David Graci, *Standing on History: Deerfield – Northampton – Hadley – Hatfield – Northfield – Springfield & The Valley Indians* (West Springfield, MA: Class A Graphics, 2006). P. 6; Personal correspondence with Suzanne Flynt, Curator, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, September 2015.

<sup>110</sup> This account of Native soldiers mistaking the noise of the English for a Moose only appears in Bodge's *Soldier's in King Philip's War*. It is possible that it is local Yankee / Native oral history recounted by Sheldon. Again, there is no indication where this account originated. Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

<sup>111</sup> As with the Moose account, the only reference of Turner's Company riding north through a rain storm is found in Bodge's *Soldier's in King Philip's War*. It is possible that it is local Yankee / Native oral history recounted by Sheldon. Again, there is no indication where this account originated. Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

<sup>112</sup> This quote may come from an interview with Sheldon as he was alive until 1916. Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

wetlands, valleys, and mountainous terrain (Figure 15). Native sentries or guards in the vicinity, including the encampments at Peskeompskut, apparently did not deploy sentries or were not as alert due to the heavy storm and not having any indication of English activities in the area.<sup>113</sup> The lack of guards could be due to a reliance on the lookout post at Cheapside to alert them of any danger, or it may also be the case that without Connecticut troops and their Native allies operating near Peskeompskut area felt they had nothing to fear from the inexperienced settlers and garrison troops in their part of the valley.

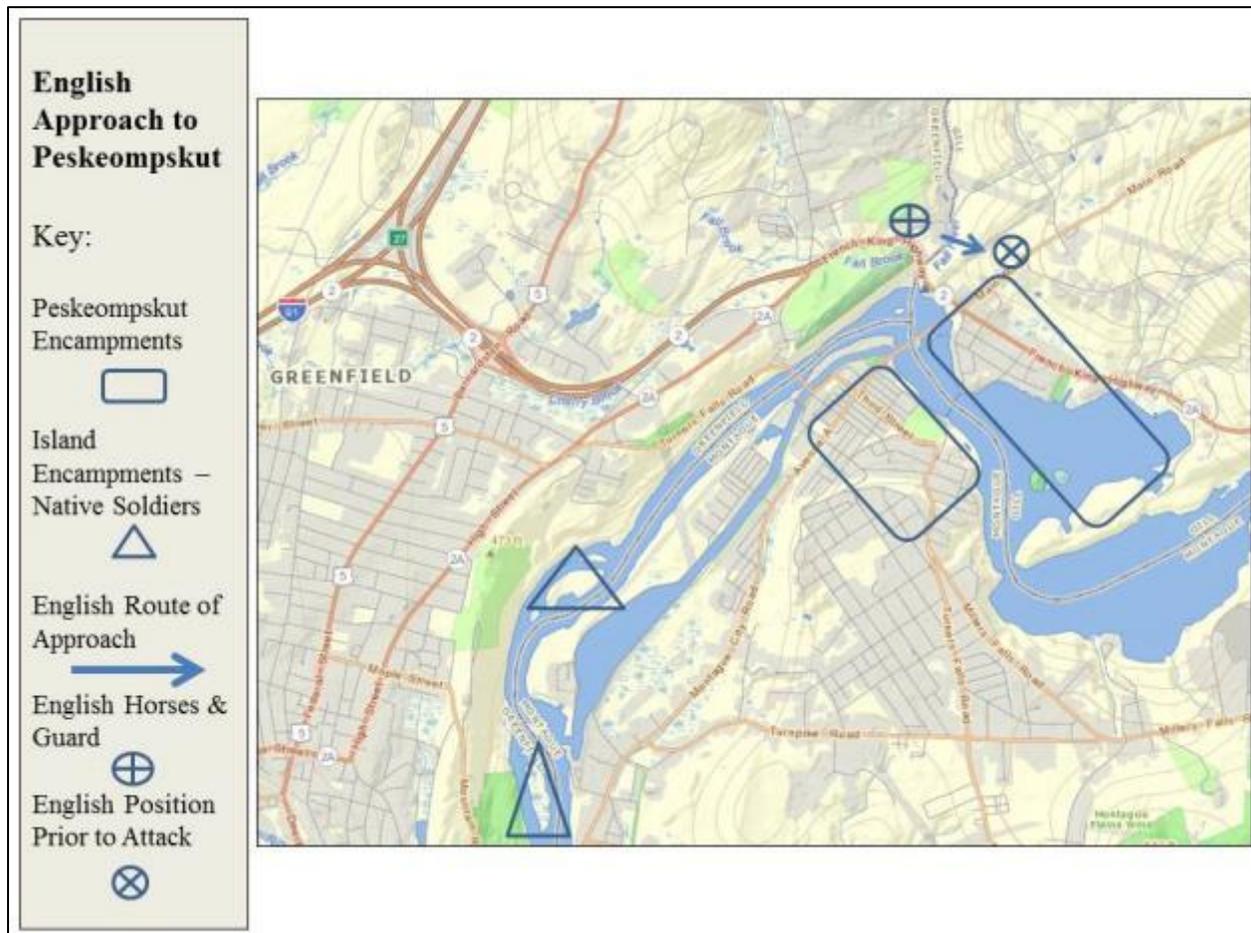


**Figure 15** *English Route of Approach to Falls River.*

In the midst of a thunderstorm Turner’s command continued eastward on horseback along the brook and swamp until they came to a high terrace overlooking Fall River. The English

<sup>113</sup> L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12; Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49; Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 85; Bodge. *King Philip’s War*. P. 245.

guides knew they were in close vicinity of the falls and the mounted troops likely heard the noise of the falls at that distance. According to William Hubbard, “When they came near the Indians rendezvouze, the alighted off their horses, and tyed them to some young trees at a quarter miles distance.”<sup>114</sup> Turner stationed an unknown number of soldiers to guard the horses while the rest of the company crossed the Fall River at a ford below the terrace and the English ascended the steep slope on the east side of the river to the hill above (Figure 16).



**Figure 16** English Route of Approach to Peskeompskut.

The English gathered their forces on the slope of a high hill now overlooking one of the encampments at Peskeompskut directly to their south. One source states that the “souldiers got

<sup>114</sup> Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

thither after a hard March just about break of day.”<sup>115</sup> Captain Turner and Lieutenant Holyoke likely planned the upcoming assault at that moment now that they had a rough visual in the early morning hours of the Native encampment on the northern side of the Great Falls and stretching east for some unknown distance. The English launched their attack before daybreak. According to most accounts the village was undefended at the time of the attack and that the English:

...came upon them before day-break, they having no Centinels or Scouts abroad, as thinking themselves secure, by reason of their remote distance from any of our Plantations...<sup>116</sup>

In addition to a possible rainstorm one English source later attributed the undefended camp to the fact that the evening before “they had made themselves merry with new milk and roast beef, having lately driven away many of their milch cows, as and English woman confessed, that was made to milk them.”<sup>117</sup> The English woman, perhaps liberated during the attack along with at least one other captive boy, could have been Thomas Ames’s daughter who Thomas Reed identified as being at the falls.<sup>118</sup>

By all accounts, English forces were able to advance within point-blank range of the village without being detected. Roger L’Estrange reported that Turner’s men found “the *Indians* fast asleep” and that some of the men were able to “put their guns even into their Wigwams” as they moved into position.<sup>119</sup> Mather similarly described how the soldiers found the Native encampment “secure indeed, yea all asleep without having any Scouts abroad; so that our Souldiers came and put their Guns into their Wigwams, before the *Indians* were aware of them.”<sup>120</sup> The English likely had an attack plan to try to encompass as much of the encampment as possible but there is no indication of how they proceeded. All that is known is that on a given signal English forces opened fire and fell upon the unsuspecting inhabitants of the village and began to indiscriminately kill all Native peoples they encountered (Figure 17).

Once account describes how English forces “fell in amongst them, and killed several hundreds of them upon the place, they being out of posture or order to make any formidable

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<sup>115</sup> L’Estrange, *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 3.

<sup>116</sup> L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12.

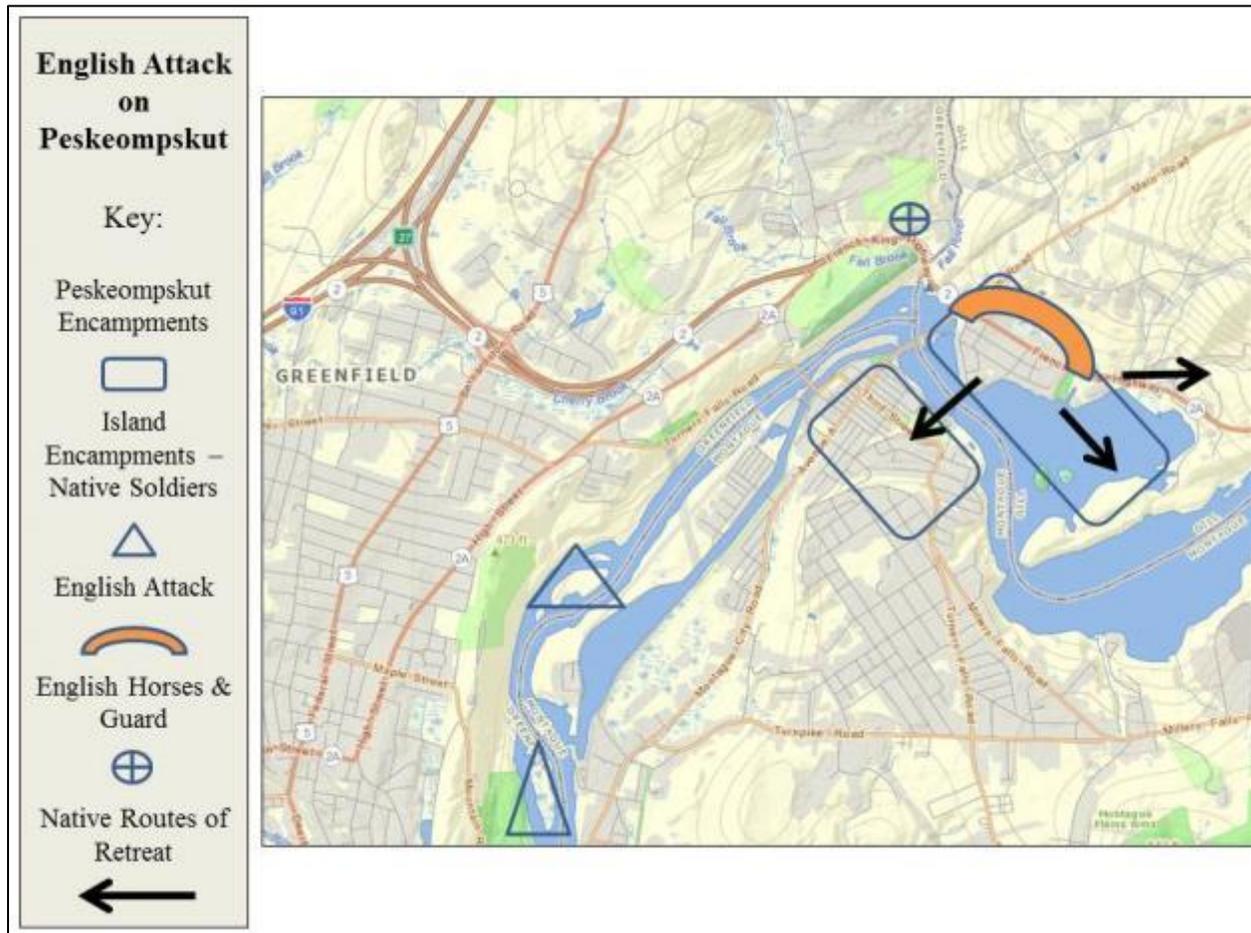
<sup>117</sup> Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 85.

<sup>118</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 60.

<sup>119</sup> L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12.

<sup>120</sup> Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

resistance, though they were six times superior to us in number.”<sup>121</sup> L’Estrange described how the English “poured in their shot among them” while Mather simply wrote how English forces “made a great and notable slaughter amongst them.”<sup>122</sup> In the terror and confusion some armed Natives fought back as best they could against their unknown attackers and inflicted some casualties. In one account the author described how “the *Indians* that durst and were able did get out of their Wigwams and did fight a little (in which fight one *Englishman* only was slain).”<sup>123</sup> As non-combatants (unarmed old men, women, and children) ran away from English soldiers towards the banks of the Connecticut River armed Native men engaged the English.



**Figure 17** *English Attack on Peskeompskut Encampment.*

<sup>121</sup> L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12.

<sup>122</sup> L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12; Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

<sup>123</sup> L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12.

The shock of the initial gunfire and sustained English volleys caused one Narragansett man, John Wecopeak, to recall how “the Shott came as thick as Raine.”<sup>124</sup> In the darkness the Native villages initially thought they were under assault from the Mohawk: “When the Indians were first awakened with the thunder of their guns, they cried out *Mohawks, Mohawks*, as if their own native enemies had been upon.”<sup>125</sup>

It is unclear how large the encampment on the northern side of the Connecticut River was at the time of the assault but it appears to have run the length of the shoreline from the Great Falls southeast towards present-day Barton Cove. Today, low lying lands which have once contained a large portion of the encampment presently lays under water below the cove. This land was exposed until 20<sup>th</sup> century dam and canal construction backed up the Connecticut River, flooding the area and forming the present cove and the unexposed land became known as Barton Island. If Turner’s attack focused on the portion of the encampment closest to the falls, which would have been the first they encountered, this may have allowed Native peoples further to the southwest to escape. In his testimony following his capture by English forces, John Wecopeak described how he had “run away” once the fight began “by Reason the Shott came as thick as Raine, but said alsoe, that he was at a great Distance” indicating that he may have further south or east near present-day Barton Cove.<sup>126</sup>

Wananaquabin, a Narragansett soldier who was at the encampment under attack by the English testified that “he was at the Fight with Capt. Turner” and during initial attack “and there lost his Gun, and swam over a River to save his life.”<sup>127</sup> Wananaquabin’s account suggests that he may have been an active combatant firing upon his attackers but quickly he lost his firearm. Wananaquabin was strong enough to swim across the Connecticut River, to the other Native encampment on the southern shore but others trying to escape were not successful. Several English accounts describe how in the panic of the attack many Native people attempted to escape across the Connecticut River either by swimming or by canoe. English soldiers who took up positions at points along the shoreline opened fired on the swimmers and paddlers hitting some and causing others to be swept by the force of the river over the falls.

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<sup>124</sup> John Easton, Franklin B. Hough, Editor, *A Narrative Of the Causes which led to Philip’s Indian War, of 1675 and 1676*, by John Easton, of Rhode Island. (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1858). P. 179.

<sup>125</sup> Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

<sup>126</sup> Easton, *Narrative of the Causes*. P.p. 180-181.

<sup>127</sup> Easton, *Narrative of the Causes*. P.p. 179.

One English soldier, William Draw, testified that during a lull in the attack he noticed:

...two or three Soldiers to stand in a secure place below the banke, more quiet than he thought was [illegible] for the time; he asked them why they had stood there saith they answered that they had seen many goe down the falls and thy would endeavo<sup>r</sup> to tell how many. Here upon he observed w<sup>th</sup> them : until he told fifty; and they S<sup>d</sup> to him that those made up Six score and ten.<sup>128</sup>

Roger L'Estrange described the scene as well:

...others of the *Indians* did enter the River to swim over from the English, but many of them were shot dead in the waters, others wounded were therein drowned, may got into Canoes to paddle away, but the paddlers being shot, the Canoes over-set with tall therein, and the stream of the River being very violent and swift in the place near the great Falls, most that fell over board were born by the strong current of that River, and carried upon the Falls of Water from those exceeding high and steep Rocks, and from thence tumbling down were broken in pieces; the English did afterwards find of their bodies, some in the River and some cast ashore, above two hundred.<sup>129</sup>

The survivors of the initial attack who were not able to escape or swim across the river tried to hide and were tracked down by English soldiers: “others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great river, were espied by our men and killed with their swords; Capt. *Holioke* killing five, young and old, with his own hands from under a bank.”<sup>130</sup>

During the attack English soldiers encountered two anvils, bars of lead, blacksmith tools and other war materials indicating firearm repairs and musket ball production were taking place on site. L'Estrange described the importance of these materials as “in some respect more considerable than their lives”:

...we there destroyed all their Ammunition and Provision, which we think they can hardly be so soon and easily recruited with, as possibly they may be with men: We likewise here demolish Two Forges they had to mend their Armes, took away all their materials and Tools, and drove many of them into the River, where they were drowned, and threw two great Piggs of Lead of theirs, (intended for making of bullets) into the said River...<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74.

<sup>129</sup> L'Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. Pp. 3-4.

<sup>130</sup> Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

<sup>131</sup> L'Estrange. *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12.

In addition to the forges and munitions Turner's soldiers encountered large stores of dried or smoked fish which they destroyed on site. One account described "several loads of dried fish the English found, and were forced to consume there."<sup>132</sup>

When the attack concluded some soldiers attempted to assess the casualties. The English had suffered one man killed and two wounded during the assault.<sup>133</sup> Native casualty figures were uncertain at the time but according to Increase Mather "Some of the Souldiers affirm, that they numbered above one hundred that lay dead upon the ground, and besides those, others told about an hundred and thirty, who were driven into the River, and there perished, being carried down the Falls."<sup>134</sup> Turner's men rescued at least one captive and possibly more.

One of the captives that Turner's men rescued was an English boy who told the English soldiers that Philip (Metacom) was nearby along with a thousand troops. The boys warning spread through the English ranks who believed the rumor that a thousand Native soldiers were on the march and a panicked withdrawal began. The report was believed by the English soldiers and at the same moment, or within a few minutes of the report, they were attacked by Native soldiers who had arrived from various points including the village on the south side of the Connecticut River. The coincidence of the report and the attack spread panic and fear through the English ranks and the retreat quickly turned into a rout with every man for himself. The timing and sequence of the events that took place over the next few minutes is unclear but the end result was that fear and panic quickly spread throughout the English force (Figure 18).

The English quickly retreated from the Native encampment in several groups back towards the assembly point and their horses. Mather wrote of this "tragical issue of this Expedition" describing how "an *English* Captive Lad, who was found in the Wigwams, spake as if *Philip* were coming with a thousand *Indians*: which false report being famed...among the Souldiers, a pannick terror fell upon many of them, and they hasted homewards in a confused rout."<sup>135</sup> L'Estrange related how "as the English were coming away with the plunder they had got, there was a noise spread among them, of *Sachem Philip's* coming down upon them; with a thousand men: which not being weighted as it might have been by the English, whether it were

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<sup>132</sup> L'Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4.

<sup>133</sup> Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

<sup>134</sup> Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

<sup>135</sup> Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

true or false; a fear possessed some part of the English, whereby they fell into a disorder.”<sup>136</sup> At the same time Native soldiers from the southern encampment and survivors from Peskeompskut attacked the English at the assembly point further adding to the panic:

...some of the enemy fell upon the Guards that kept the horses, others pursued them in the rear, so as our men sustained pretty much damage as they retired...”<sup>137</sup>

William Hubbard wrote that the Natives around the falls mounted a counterattack soon after the main English assault had ended. Hubbard did not appear to be aware of the rumor inspired panic that resulted in a disorderly retreat but places the blame of the disorganized retreat on the health of Captain Turner. His account also indicates that the Native counterattack may have begun as the English retreated towards their horses:

The Indians that lay scattering on both sides of the river, after they recovered themselves, and discovered the small number of them that assailed them, turned head upon the English, who in their retreat were a little disordered, for want of the help, of the eldest Captain, that was so enfeebled by sickness before he set out, that he was no way able for want of bodily strength (not any way defective for want of skill or courage) to assist or direct in making the retreat...”<sup>138</sup>

The Indian soldiers encamped on Smead Island and perhaps Cheapside moved north to intercept the English as they retreated west along the White Ash Swamp, setting ambushes to their front and attacking their flanks. Increased Mather related how “a party of Indians from an Island (whose coming on shore might easily have been prevented, and the Souldiers before they set out from Hadley were earnestly admonished to take care about that matter) assaulted our men.”<sup>139</sup> Jonathan Wells, a sixteen year old soldier from Hadley, was with a group of twenty soldiers who were “obliged to fight with the enemy to recover their horses.”<sup>140</sup> These men were late getting back to the assembly point either because they were among the group counting Native casualties or perhaps looting the encampment. Wells and his party continued to be attacked from the rear as they tried to reach the main body of the retreating English. Nearly sixty years after the battle he recalled that “He was w<sup>th</sup> the 20 men y<sup>t</sup> were obliged to fight w<sup>th</sup> the

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<sup>136</sup> L’Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4.

<sup>137</sup> Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

<sup>138</sup> Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

<sup>139</sup> Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

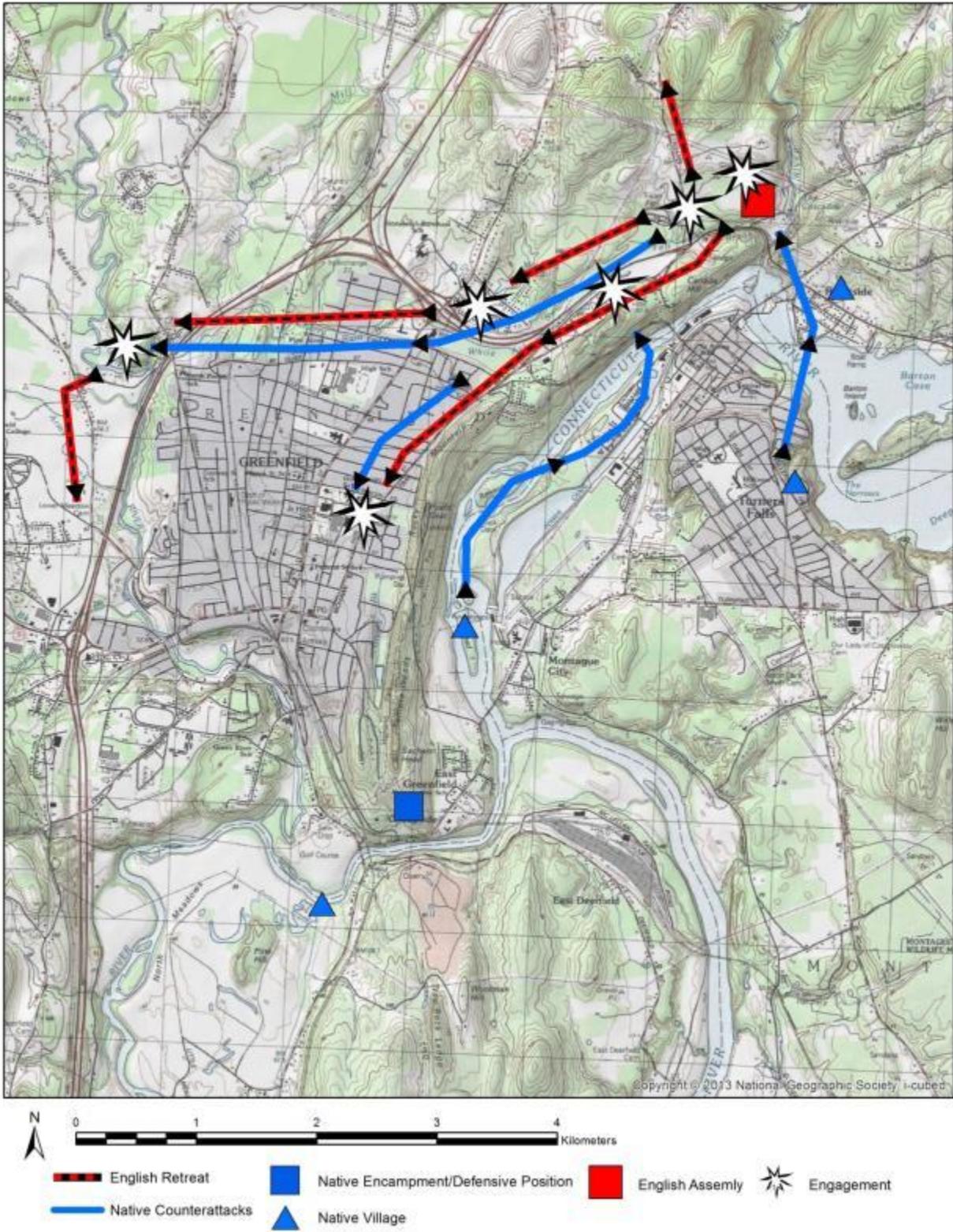
<sup>140</sup> *History of Hatfield*, P. 463.

enemy to recover their horses.”<sup>141</sup> As he may have been among the last of the men to arrive and how “he mounted his horse a little while” and that he was “then in the rear of y<sup>e</sup> company.”<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 463.

<sup>142</sup> Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 463.



**Figure 18** *Native Counterattack and English Retreat.*

Native soldiers advanced from the south up to engage the English along the White Ash Swamp and from the rear pursuing the English as they retreated from the assembly point. Native soldiers converged on Turner's company who fled west probably along their earlier approach route possibly along the north and/or side of White Ash Swamp to reach the Green River. It was along this retreat that the combat intensified as Native soldiers took positions at various locations in front of the English and along the White Ash Swamp to set ambushes easily anticipating the English route. In the face of concerted Native attacks the English command and organization began to break down and the retreat turned into an unorganized rout (Figure 19).

Captain Turner appears to have led the column of English troops for several miles from where they mounted their horses at the assembly point. Jonathan Well's account of the battle provides one of the only surviving English accounts of the combat along the retreat. Well's was at the rear of the column as they began their fighting retreat. He recalled how he was only mounted on his horse in the rear of the company "a little while" before "he was fir<sup>d</sup> at by three Indians who were very near him; one bullet passed so near him as to brush his hair another struck his horse[ 's] behind a third struck his thigh...and the bone shattered by ye bullet."<sup>143</sup> Wells nearly fell from his horse but grabbed the animal's mane and pulled himself upright in his saddle. Three Native soldiers charged him but Wells aimed his weapon at them several times forcing them to keep their distance.<sup>144</sup> Wells then followed another young soldier, Stephen Belding, towards the front of the English column and he was able to make it safely back to his company only to be separated again. At this time Wells and Belding witnessed Isaac Harrison of Hadley fall wounded from his horse. Another soldier, John Belcher of Braintree, took up Harrison's horse leaving him for dead.<sup>145</sup> Sometime after this Wells separated from Belding and did not see him again during the retreat but would meet again safely days after the battle.<sup>146</sup>

At this time the English column was becoming disorganized in the hasty retreat, many of the men were wounded or killed in the process. Well's moved from the rear towards the head of

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<sup>143</sup> Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 463.

<sup>144</sup> Wells often mentions his musket but never speaks of firing it. It may have been unloaded when he mounted his horse due to having to fight to regain the horses.

<sup>145</sup> This information is taken from a complaint of Martha Harrison filed in court against John Belcher in which Wells and Belden testified. Judd, *History of Hadley*. P. 164.

<sup>146</sup> Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 463.

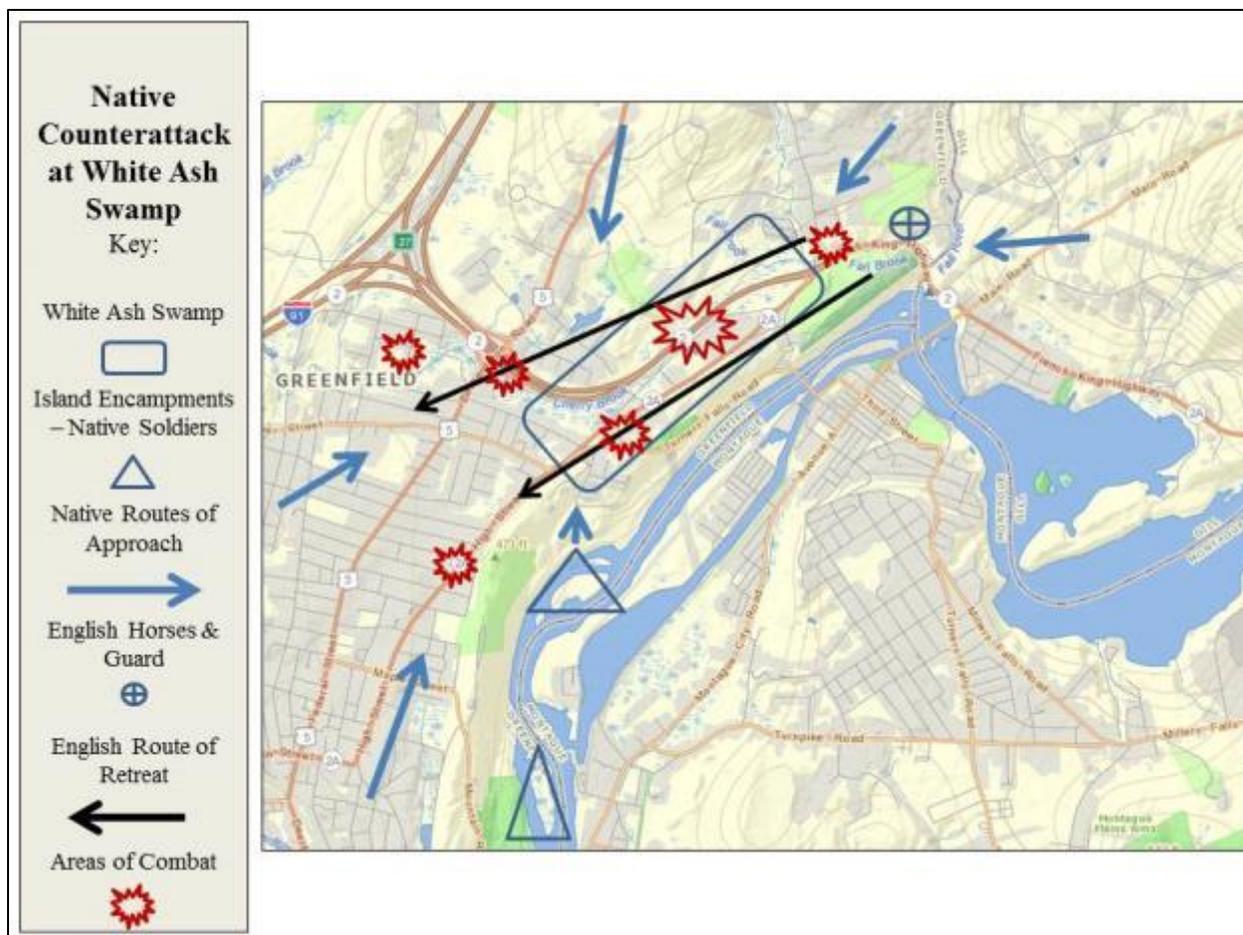
the column and found Captain Turner there. There he “represented y<sup>e</sup> difficulties of y<sup>e</sup> men in ye rear & urgd y<sup>t</sup> he either turn back to y<sup>r</sup> relief, or tarry a little till they all come up & so go off in a body.”<sup>147</sup> According to Wells “y<sup>e</sup> Capt. replid he had ‘better save some, than lose all,’ and the English column began to break apart.”<sup>148</sup> Wells described how “ye army were divided into several parties” as Native soldiers struck the English from the cover of White Ash Swamp and overwhelmed men that separated from larger groups. It appears that some men may have following officers such as Turner, Holyoke, or non-commissioned officers while others stayed close to the two guides. Groups of men followed chose to follow either Benjamin Wait or Experience Hinsdale who presumably knew the route to the Green River. This was described by Well’s who recalled how the company fractured with “one pilot crying out ‘if you love your lives follow me’: another y<sup>t</sup> was acquainted w<sup>th</sup> ye woods cry<sup>d</sup> ‘if you love your lives follow me.’”<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 463.

<sup>148</sup> Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 464.

<sup>149</sup> Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 464.



**Figure 19** *Native Counterattack at White Ash Swamp.*

After witnessing a total breakdown in command, Wells “fell into the rear again and took w<sup>th</sup> a small company y<sup>t</sup> separated from others” and made their way toward a swamp, perhaps following a trail or simply hoping to push through to the other side. This group “run upon a parcel of Indians near a swamp” and in the ensuing combat it appears that Wells “then separated again & had about ten men left with him” and continued their retreat. He mentioned that the rest of the company who were engaged by the “parcel” of Native soldiers “was most of y<sup>m</sup> killed.”<sup>150</sup> It is possible that this company of men were the same soldiers described by William Hubbard who was informed by “one present at the fight, that seven or eight in the rear of the English, through haste missed their way, and were never heard of again; and without doubt fell into the

<sup>150</sup> Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 464.

Indians hands.”<sup>151</sup> Roger L’Estrange wrote of a similar group of English soldiers lost in the battle but it is unclear if it is a description of simply another ambush elsewhere in White Ash Swamp as he described how:

...the Souldiers so cut off were surpriz’d by a Party of the Enemy belonging to the *Indians* at *Deer-field-falls*, who having gotten before our forces had laid and Ambush, the chiefest execution of which was through too much fear of our Men whereby the disordered themselves...<sup>152</sup>

It is unclear if these different accounts reference three separate incidents of the same ambush as it is difficult to verify and likely that several groups of English were taken “in the rear” of the main body at this time.

This combat near “a swamp” (presumably a branch of White Ash Swamp) where the above described group of soldiers were overrun by Native soldiers occurred within two miles of the Great Falls as Wells noted that “He had now got about 2 miles from ye place where y<sup>y</sup> did y<sup>e</sup> exploit in” which is presumed to be the Peskeompskut encampment. At this two mile mark he further recalled that “now y<sup>y</sup> had left y<sup>e</sup> track of y<sup>e</sup> company & were left both by y<sup>e</sup> Indians y<sup>t</sup> persue<sup>d</sup> y<sup>m</sup> and by their own men that should have tarried with y<sup>m</sup>” while both he and Stephen Belding “were unacquainted w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> woods & without any track or path.”<sup>153</sup> The battle continued to move forward without Jonathan Wells, Stephen Belding, and undoubtedly other wounded or missing English soldiers fleeing throughout the landscape.

It is unclear exactly how the English command structure broke down or exactly how many parties they divided their forces into during the unorganized retreat. During this phase of the battle it appears that several distinct parties emerged based on cross-referencing the several primary accounts. It is possible that the English column did break into three or four large groups lead by Turner, Holyoke, Wait, and Hinsdale but there is no indication in the primary accounts that Captain Turner or Lieutenant Holyoke separated during the retreat. Nearly all accounts described the “bodily weakness of Capt. *Turner* in one way or another and it is not clear if he was in any condition to be an effective leader at this time. If he had not become separated from

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<sup>151</sup> Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

<sup>152</sup> L’Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4

<sup>153</sup> Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 464.

Lieutenant Holyoke it seems like that the officers would remain close to one another to coordinate the retreat.

Lieutenant Holyoke was credited by several English sources as man who maintained some order among the retreating soldiers as the men moved west through heavy Native toward the Green River. Hubbard believed the following:

...if Capt. *Holioke* had not played the man at a more than ordinary rate, sometimes in the Front, sometimes in the flank and rear, at all times encouraging the Souldiers, it might have proved a fatal business to the assailants. The said Capt. *Holiokes* horse was shot down under him, and himself ready to be assaulted by many of the Indians, just coming upon him, but discharging his pistols upon one or two of them, who he presently dispatched, and another friend coming up to his rescue, he was saved, and so carried off the souldiers without any further loss...

Native forces continued to strike English forces as the emerged from the vicinity of White Ash Swamp along their route to the ford they crossed hours earlier at Green River. Native forces had converged on the English soldiers at the Green River and directed a heavy fire on them. It was at the Green River that Captain Turner was struck in the thigh by musket fire as he was crossing the river on horseback. Increase Mather described the scene from eye witness accounts:

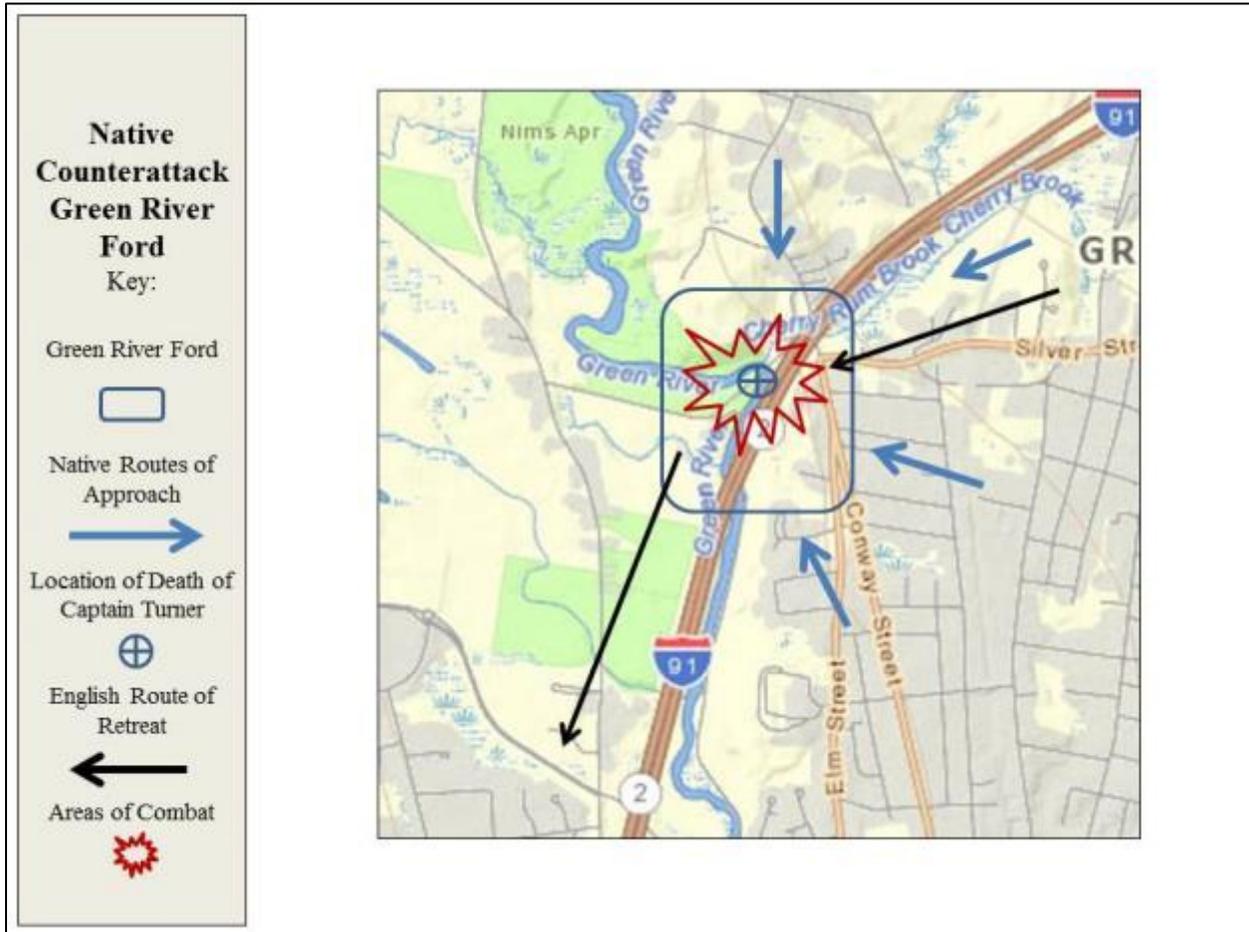
...In this *disorder*, her that was at this time the chief Captain, whose name was *Turner*, lost his life, he was purused through a River, received his Fatal stroke as he passed through that which is called the *Green River*, & as he came out of the *Water* he fell into the hands of the *Uncircumcised*, who stripped him, (as some who say they saw it affirm it) and rode Away on his horse;<sup>154</sup>

It appears that Native soldiers quickly overran the ford and took possession of a mortally wounded Captain Turner. The Narragansett soldier, John Wecopeak, who had “run away” during the initial moments of English attack “by Reason the Shott came as thick as Raine” had rearmed and long since fallen in with other Native warriors fighting the English when he witnessed Turner fall (Figure 20). Months after the battle Wecopeak was captured and may have bragged to two Englishmen who later testified that “Wecopeak told them, that he saw Capt. Turner, and that

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<sup>154</sup> Mather, *A Brief History*. Pp. 49-50.

he was shott in the Thigh, and that he knew it was him, for the said Turner said that was him name.»<sup>155</sup>



**Figure 20** *Native Counterattack at the Green River Ford.*

Days after the fight at the ford English forces were able to recover Captain Turner’s body. The men described how “Capt. Turners dead Corpse was found a small distance from the River; it appeared that he had been shot through his thigh and back, of which its judged he dyed speedily without any great torture from the enemy.”<sup>156</sup> In any case, it is unlikely that it was anyone but Native soldiers that dragged his body “a small distance from the River” unless the wounded Turner was able to crawl there himself. If Wecopeak spoke to Turner it appears that the Native soldiers not only took his horse but had taken him into captivity for a time. Wecopeak

<sup>155</sup> Easton, *Narrative of the Causes*. Pp. 180-181.

<sup>156</sup> Mather, *A Brief History*. Pp. 49-50.

clearly identified the wound to Turner's thigh but did not describe any gunshot wound to his back as English soldiers later noted days after the battle. It is entirely possible that Captain Turner was wounded and captured by Native soldiers who later executed him with a shot to the back, and John Wecopeak witnessed the event. It is also possible that Wecopeak simply did not notice a gunshot wound to his back when Turner identified himself.

Roger L'Estrange's report indicates that Holyoke was with Turner and the main body of soldiers when their commander fell. According to L'Estrange, Lieutenant Holyoke rallied the remaining soldiers and "exhorted them not to be terrified, saying God hath wrought hitherto for us wonderfully, let us trust in him still."<sup>157</sup> After taking command Holyoke drew the men into in closer order to fight as infantry and is credited with preventing the complete destruction of the remaining English troops. It was said that his actions of "reducing his men into close order made a safe and valiant retreat, and preserved the Souldiers under him; that here were but few of them slain."<sup>158</sup> It is unclear how many men were now under Lieutenant Holyoke's command, or what portion remained mounted, but now on the west side of the Green River they advanced south under sustained fire. These soldiers under Holyoke's command maintained some degree of cohesiveness as a fighting force and safely made it to Deerfield and later Hatfield. It appears that much of the fighting had stopped as the men reached the remains of Deerfield. Native soldiers may have held their positions around the Deerfield River while others hunted down English soldiers now cut off from the main group.

Not all men followed the main body under Captain Turner to the Green River. As mentioned earlier, several ambushes and combat actions occurred along the White Ash Swamp. At least one party of English soldiers was cut off in the swamp completely. Another group which Jonathan Wells briefly joined as the English column broke apart made contact with "a parcel" of Native soldiers who killed or captured those men. Wells escaped as that engagement began and along with a wounded John Jones the two men lost the main body of English soldiers and tried to avoid capture. Well and Jones parted ways and soon after he recalled growing weak from his wound and "once when y<sup>e</sup> indians prest him, he was near fainting away, but by eating a

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<sup>157</sup> L'Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4.

<sup>158</sup> L'Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4.

nutmeg...he was revived.”<sup>159</sup> It appears that this incident occurred as Wells was trying to make his way to the Green River, possibly somewhere in present-day northern Greenfield.

Other soldiers, both in small groups and singularly, made their way south towards the Deerfield River only to be intercepted by Native soldiers. This could account for the discovery of a King Philip’s War era carbine during the filling of wetlands in 1896 and the subsequent construction of Lincoln Street in present-day Greenfield.<sup>160</sup> Other men became lost and arrived in Hadly several days later after “wandering on the West mountains.”<sup>161</sup> A wounded and severely weakened Jonathan Wells arrived in Hatfield on Sunday, May 21, 1676 while the Reverend Hope Atherton returned on Monday after surviving his own harrowing escape.<sup>162</sup> By the evening of Monday, May 22, 1676, the Reverend Jonathan Russell wrote to the Council in Connecticut with a report of thirty-eight or thirty-nine English soldiers still missing. He hoped that “Providence may yet guide them in or noe we know not, we are not quite without hopes of some of them” but no other English soldiers made it back.<sup>163</sup>

Jonathan Wells was later told by Native peoples in the region that eight English soldiers from Turner’s command surrendered themselves to Native soldiers somewhere around Peskeomskut if they were given quarter. Wells testified to the fate of the eight soldiers:

The Indians have given the account following to Jonathan Wells, Esq., viz.: That the Monday after the fight, 8 Englishmen that were lost came to them and offered to submit themselves to them, if they would not put them to death, but whether they promised them quarter or not, they took then, and burnt them; the method of Burning them was to cover them with thatch and put fire to it, and set them a running: and when one coat of thatch was burnt up, they would put on another, & the barbarous creatures that have given this account of their inhumanity, have in a scoffing manner added, that the Englishmen would cry out as they were burning, ‘Oh dear! oh dear!’ The Indians themselves account it very unmanly to moan or make ado under the torments and cruelties of their enemies who put them to Death.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 464.

<sup>160</sup> The Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Museum is in possession of a small bottle of gunpowder attributed to this recovered 17<sup>th</sup> Century Carbine. The provenience is as follows: “Gun Powder taken from the old carbine found by James Porter, June 1896, four feet below the surface in a swamp on Lincoln Street in Greenfield, where it had probably lain for 220 years.” Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Accession number MRC 137.

<sup>161</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74.

<sup>162</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74; Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 466.

<sup>163</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74.

<sup>164</sup> Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 466.

In the days and weeks after the battle English scouts recovered the remains of some fallen English soldiers and found evidence that some had been captured and tortured. According to William Harris of Rhode Island, there were reports that:

...Four of five men (some say more) the Indians caught alive, and tortured them as follows: They tied their hands up spreading [torn] upon the one [torn] and the other upon another, and likewise set two stakes at a distance, to which they tied their feet. Then they made a fire under each of them, gashing their thighs and legs with knives, and casting into the gashes hot embers to torment them. This also somewhat stanches the blood so that they do not bleed to death so soon, but remain alive to torment longer...<sup>165</sup>

By May 22, 1676 it was clear that Captain Turner's company had suffered a total of thirty-eight casualties (killed), including the commanding officer.<sup>166</sup> An exact tally of English wounded cannot be determined but it is likely that a large percentage of the survivors of Turner's company, like Jonathan Wells, were wounded in the engagement. It took some of these wounded men months to recover from their wounds while others died a year or two later from complications related to the experience.<sup>167</sup> It is also unclear exactly how many Native soldiers and combatants lost their lives in the engagement as accounts varied over time. Also, like the English casualty figures, there is no accounting for those who died of their wounds or as a result of the May 19, 1676 attack. Based on the accounts of two soldiers who tallied the dead at Peskeompskut, Reverend Russell estimated that "we Cannot but judge that there were abov<sup>e</sup> 200 of them Slain" while most other estimates generally average around 200 killed.<sup>168</sup>

English forces were able to reorganize in Hadley and sent out scouting parties to investigate Native positions and to presumably search for any missing English soldiers. They

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<sup>165</sup> Leach. *Second William Harris Letter*. Pp. 80-81.

<sup>166</sup> English Casualty Figures as reported in primary accounts are as follows: "eight or nin[e] and thirty" (38-39) in CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74; "two and thirty" (32) in L'Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4; "about thirty-eight" (38) in Leach. *Second William Harris Letter*. P. 80; "thirty and eight" (38) in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 50; "thirty eight" (38) in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 85; "Los of 37 men and the Captin Turner" in Chapin. *Chapin Genealogy*. P. 4.

<sup>167</sup> Jonathan Wells was bed-ridden for a full year and by his account it took him up to four years to fully recover. The Reverend Hope Atherton's death on June 4, 1677 was blamed in part to the exposure he suffered while lost in the woods. Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 85, 466.

<sup>168</sup> Native Casualty Figures as reported in primary accounts are as follows: "abov<sup>e</sup> 200" (200+) in CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74; "several hundreds" (200+) in L'Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12; "four hundred" (400) ) in L'Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4; "hundreds" (200+) in Leach. *Second William Harris Letter*. P. 80; "above one hundred that lay dead upon the ground...about an hundred and thirty, who were driven into the River" (230+) in" (38) in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 50; "two or three hundred" (200-300) in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 85.

reported that the Native still resided at both Peskeompskut encampments at on the island below the falls. On May 22, 1676 the Reverend Russel reported this information to the Connecticut Council at Hartford:

Our Scouts being out his this night have discovered that the enemy abide Still in the place where they were on both Sides y<sup>e</sup> River and in the Island; and fires in the Same place where o<sup>r</sup> men had burnt the wigwams. So that they judge either that Philip is com to them or some Souldiers of his Company from Squakeaheags, Paquiog and other places ...<sup>169</sup>

Russell again called for Connecticut to send troops to disperse the settlements around the falls. He added that their scouts reported that “they hav<sup>e</sup> planted as Is judged 300 acres of choice ground at Deerfeild : their fish is there not yet fit to Carry away.”<sup>170</sup> Based on this information Russel was convinced that the Native groups at the falls would remain in the region for some time to come.

Eleven days after the English attack on Peskeompskut, approximately 150 Native soldiers organized an attack on the English settlement at Hatfield on the east side of the Connecticut River. Prior to the assault the Native soldiers laid two ambushes on anticipated routes of approach upon which English reinforcements would likely travel to assist Hatfield. One ambush was set on the road leading north out of Hadley and another in the meadows on the eastern banks of the Connecticut River where the ferry from Hadley would land.<sup>171</sup> The main body of Native soldiers then advanced south from the falls and struck Hatfield destroying houses, barns, and other outbuildings outside of the town’s fortifications in addition to killing cattle and driving away sheep. Reinforcements arrived from the Hadley crossed the Connecticut River and landed under fire to relive Hatfield. Five English soldiers were killed in the ensuing fighting and others were wounded.<sup>172</sup> Native forces fell back after destroying many undefended buildings in town and prepared for an English counterattack which did not occur. It is unclear if the Native soldiers suffered any casualties. The May 30, 1676 attack on Hatfield can be seen as a retaliatory attack for Turner’s assault on Peskeompskut or a continuation of the spring 1676 campaign in the

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<sup>169</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74

<sup>170</sup> CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74

<sup>171</sup> Judd. *History of Hadley*. Pp. 175-176.

<sup>172</sup> Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

upper Connecticut River Valley. In either case, it was the last major confrontation between English and Native forces in the Great Falls region during the war.

## **Battle of Great Falls Study & Core Areas**

### *Study Area*

The Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area is defined by the Avenues of Approach and Withdrawal of the Colonial and Native forces, Key Terrain, ancillary sites, and the several battles and actions associated with the English attack on Peskeompskut Village and the subsequent Native counterattacks on the fleeing English forces (Figure 21). The Study Area encompasses approximately 52 square kilometers (20 square miles) characterized by several major and minor rivers and associated floodplains (Connecticut, Deerfield and Green Rivers) locally rugged terrain including the Rocky Mountain that rises 350' above the west bank of the river, and numerous streams, brook, and wetlands such as the White Ash Brook and Swamp and the Cherry Run Brooks. The Study area is bounded on the south by Deerfield Meadow which primary sources indicate was how far south the retreating Colonial forces were pursued by Native forces. The western boundary of the Study Area is defined by the Deerfield and Green Rivers which the English crossed at various places during their approach and withdrawal/retreat, as did Native forces during their counterattack. The northern boundary is defined by the English Assembly Point west of the Falls Bridge River and the hill behind the Peskeompskut Village which was used by the English as their main avenue of attack on the village. The Eastern boundary of the Study Area is defined in part by Barton's Cove which, at the time of the battle, included a large portion of the village site attacked by the English. Included within the Study Area are several Core Areas (areas of engagement and fire between combatants), Key Terrain features (ground that must be controlled in order to achieve military success), and Ancillary Sites (villages, forts, encampments that provided direct support during the battle).

The Study and Core Areas are not as yet well-defined given the paucity of primary sources that provide specific information on the locations of the many engagements that took place during the battle and the number of English units spread throughout the battlefield. It is

expected that the Study and Core Areas will better defined when the fieldwork portion of the battlefield study has been completed.

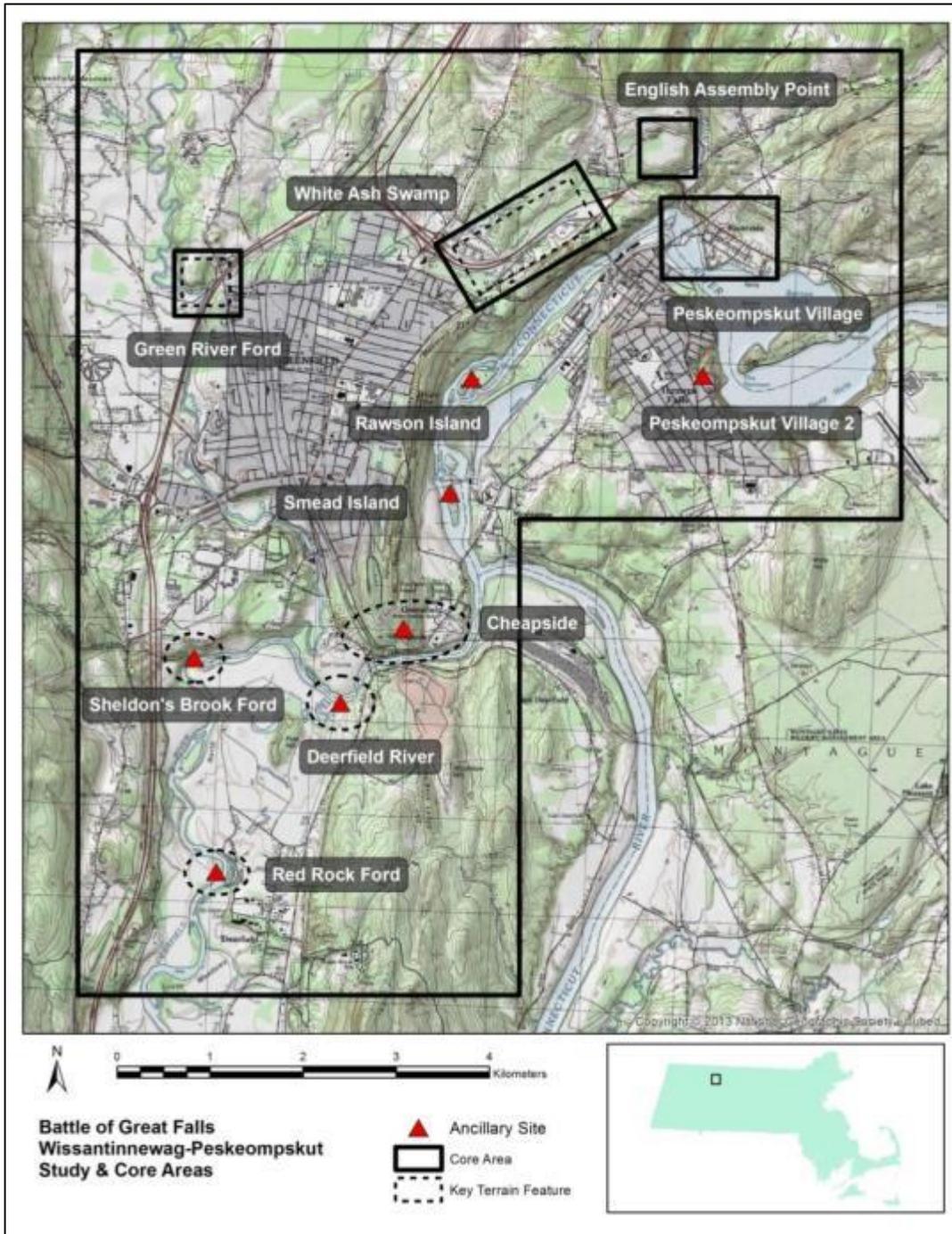
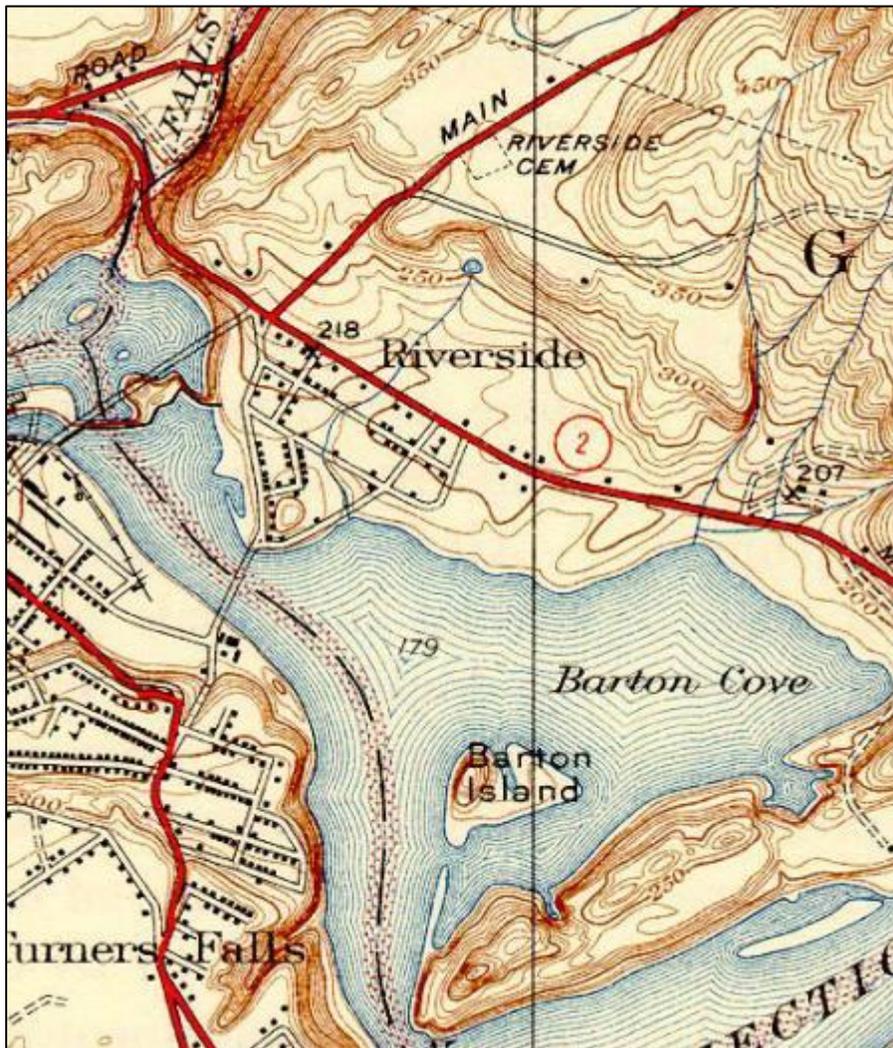


Figure 21 Study and Core Areas.

## Core Areas

Four Core Areas were identified within the Study Area, English Assembly Point Core Area, White Ash Swamp Core Area, Green River Ford Core Area, and Peskeompskut Village Core Area (see Figures 21-25). These Core Areas were identified based on analysis of primary sources associated with the battle and in the case of the Green River Ford Core Area, and limited archeological evidence. In these instances primary sources provided only general information on their locations to place the core areas on a U.S.G.S. 7 ½ minute topographic map (Figure 21). A visual inspection of the core areas indicated that they all maintained a degree of visual and physical integrity. Although only four Core Areas were defined at this time it does not preclude identifying additional areas of combat as the battlefield archaeology survey progresses.



**Figure 22** *Peskeompskut Village Core Area.*

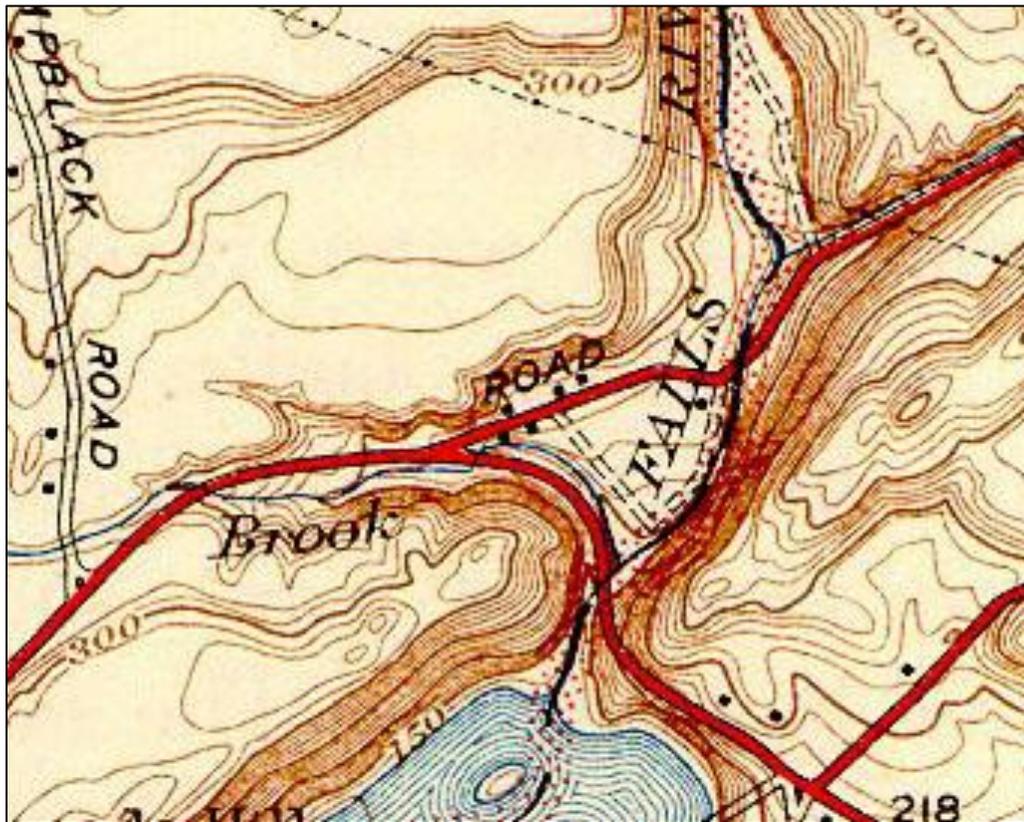
**Peskeompskut Village Core Area:** The core area is defined by a broad flat plain that extends along the banks of the Connecticut River east of the falls and uphill and north of the Connecticut River for 200-300 meters (Figure 22). The core area lies within the Riverside District, a fairly dense concentration of residential homes and streets. In spite of the potential visual and physical impacts the Riverside area is still considered to retain a moderate degree of visual and physical integrity.

It is estimated that between twenty and thirty wigwams / wetus were located within the core area, housing between 200-300 people. The English approached the village from the northwest after crossing the Falls River and then proceeded east deploying along the crest of the hill overlooking the village. The attack began at dawn from the crest of the hill and proceeding downhill to the banks of the river. The English achieved complete surprise and were able to approach the northernmost groups of wigwams without alerting the defenders. English sources state that the soldiers put the muzzles of their guns into the wigwams and fired their muskets into the sleeping men, women, and children, leaving a recognizable signature of concentrations of small shot. As the battle progressed, with increasing resistance by defenders, and as villagers fled to the hoped for safety of the river, the entire complexion of the battlefield changed. The element of surprise was gone as were the opportunities to fire volleys of musket fire at close range against defenseless people. Sleeping and confused villagers began to defend themselves and disperse, and the English responded accordingly, targeting individuals over an increasingly widening battlefield. The progression of the battle has implications for the nature and distribution of musket balls across the battlefield

The signature of the village and potentially individual wigwams, should be fairly recognizable given that seventeenth century Native occupations tend to have high concentrations of brass and iron domestic objects and debris from reworking objects of metal brass, and lead. English sources also mention two anvils that were thrown into the river, indicating forges whose signatures of reworked iron objects and iron slag have been well documented. Two large bars of lead were also thrown into the river indicating that the village was likely melting lead to make musket balls. Drops of molten lead are very common in such contexts. It would be difficult to distinguish the presence/positions of English soldiers on the battlefield based on dropped or

discarded equipment, weapons, or personal items as the Native people within the village were using similar items.

**English Assembly Point Core Area:** The English arrived at a location ½ mile from the Peskeompskut Village and immediately west of the Falls River just before dawn on May 19<sup>th</sup> to make their final preparations to begin the attack (Figure 23). They tied their horses to saplings and probably left a small group of men to watch over them. Based on the few locational clues provided by English sources, and examination of the topography in the general area a broad terrace overlooking the Falls River was identified as the most likely location. The terrace is

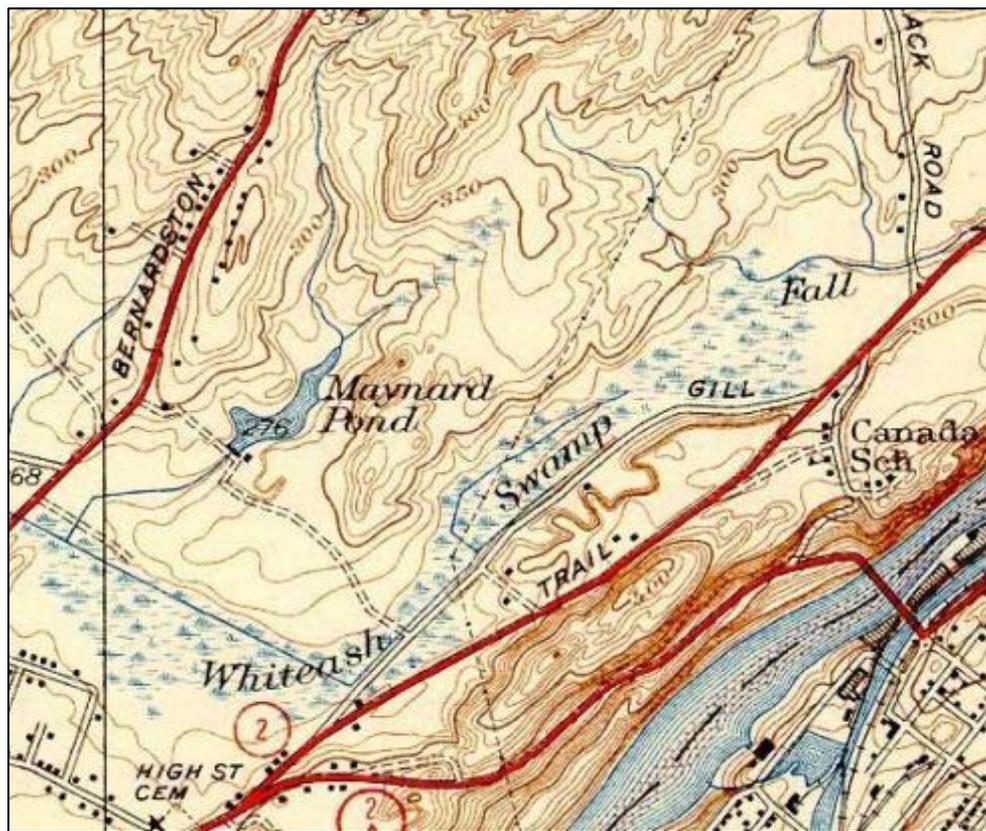


**Figure 23** *English Assembly Point Core Area*

approximately ½ - ¾ mile from the Peskeompskut Village site and has topography for horses to traverse and broad enough for 160 horses. The initial Native counterattack occurred at this location when the English returned to mount their horses and begin the retreat. A combination of the attack and a rumor that King Philip was about to arrive with 1,000 men spread panic through the English as they rushed to get away as quickly as possible. The area should have a fairly visible archeological signature characterized by musket balls fired by Native and English forces,

English dropped and broken equipment and personal items and horse tack (buckles) and perhaps horseshoe and horseshoe nails. The panicked retreat may have resulted in a higher frequency of these objects than would normally be expected under other circumstances.

**White Ash Swamp Core Area:** English sources indicate that the English split into at least 5-6 separate groups in their panicked retreat between the time they were attacked at the English Assembly Point and the White Ash Swamp (Figure 24). The main body may have followed Captain Turner along an as yet undetermined route, but several smaller groups of 8-15 men split off from the main body in their rush to escape and took as many different routes. At least one or two of the groups are known to have passed close enough to the swamp to be ambushed. Other groups may have taken routes that would not have passed as close to the swamp but still received fire from other locations. Whatever routes were taken, and perhaps some taken to avoid the swamp,



**Figure 24** *White Ash Swamp Core Area.*

the English would have to pass through a half-mile wide corridor with the swamp in the center. It is likely that paths and trails ran through the core area used by the English along their routes of approach and retreat. The boundaries of the core area are defined by the eastern and western

ends of the White Ash Swamp, the Rocky Mountain on the south and other wetlands and streams to the north. Relatively flat terrain, easily traversed by horses, is present on both sides of the swamp. It is not clear from English sources whether the ambushes occurred on the north or south side of the swamp, but likely both. Other actions occurred all along the route(s) of English retreat to the Deerfield meadows but English sources do not provide sufficient information to locate them. It is anticipated that additional combat actions will be identified when fieldwork commences. Archeological signatures of combat actions that took place along the core area will be distributions of musket balls fired from and into the swamp as well as dropped and broken English equipment and horseshoes and horseshoe nails.

**Green River Ford Core Area:** The Green River Ford is located at the confluence of the Cherry Rum Brook and the Green River (Figure 25). The ford was used by retreating English forces to cross the Green River on their way south to cross the Deerfield River. Primary sources identify this location as the place where Captain Turner was killed just as he crossed the Green River. Several musket balls were recovered by a metal detector hobbyist where the Cherry Rum Brook enters the Green River confirming the location as an area of combat.



**Figure 25** *Green River Ford Core Area.*

## *Key Terrain Features*

Key terrain is any ground which, when controlled, affords a marked advantage to either combatant. Two factors can make terrain key: how a commander wants to use it, and whether his enemy can use it to defeat the commander's forces. Decisive Terrain is ground that must be controlled in order to successfully accomplish the mission. In the context of the Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut, the most significant key terrain features are the swamps, particularly the White Ash Swamp, which provided cover and concealment for Native men to ambush the retreating English, and the fords over the Green and Deerfield Rivers which served as predictable choke points funneling the retreating English into narrow lanes providing ideal opportunities to set ambushes (Figure 1).

**White Ash Swamp Key Terrain Feature:** The swamp is a seasonally wet area approximately two miles long and a half mile wide with the White Ash Swamp Brook meandering through the middle of the wetland. The swamp lies between two fairly level terraces rising just a few feet above the wetland, making ideal cover and topography to ambush English soldiers riding along the terraces. The southern terrace is a relatively narrow and constricted landform only 100-150 meters wide bounded on the east by the high ground of Rocky Mountain and on the east by the swamp, forcing any retreating English close to the swamp and the waiting ambush.

Swamps were used very effectively by Native forces throughout the war for cover, concealment, and refuge. Swamps and wetlands typically described as thickets, dense concentrations of brush that completely obscured views into the swamp but provided excellent opportunities for Native soldiers hiding just inside for setting an ambush. The English often used adjectives such as “dismal” and “hideous” to describe swamps and generally avoided them at all costs, reluctant to risk their lives in terrain easily commanded and traversed by Native forces. James Cudworth, a Plimoth Colony soldier, expressed English fears and dislike for fighting in swamps “The place we found was a hideous swamp. Now so it is, that we judge it not our work to assault him [Native enemy] 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.”<sup>173</sup>

**Red Rock Ford, Deerfield Ford, and Green River Ford Key Terrain Features:** The control and access to fords across major and minor rivers and streams greatly influenced the avenues of approach and withdrawal by the English during the attack, and provided Native soldiers opportunities to anticipate English movements to the fords to make their escape and set ambushes. The preferred route for crossing the Deerfield River was the Deerfield Ford as it provided the most direct route for moving north and south along the west side of the Connecticut River. This key terrain feature was controlled by Native forces at Cheapside, a high elevation with a commanding view of the Deerfield River and ford below. Although the English believed the Native people at Peskeompskut felt secure enough not to post a guard, the Native position at Cheapside suggests otherwise. Native sentries were also positioned along the north side of Deerfield Ford to gather intelligence about English movements and perhaps defend the ford if necessary. The English may have assumed that Native forces continued to control this ford during the retreat which may be why they crossed at the Green River Ford even though it was not the shortest route to Deerfield and Hatfield. The English were likely aware of the Native guard at the Deerfield Ford and Cheapside and prudently used the Red Rock Ford to cross the Deerfield River. The Red Rock Ford several miles south of the Deerfield Ford, and made for a much longer distance for the English to travel if they wanted to avoid detection. The English rode ?? miles out of their way to cross the Green River Ford on their way to Peskeompskut.

The Native forces could obviously anticipate the route(s) the English would use during their retreat and set ambushes at several key terrain features such as the White Ash Swamp and the ford at the Green River. The Native forces knew the terrain well and used the key terrain features very effectively as they mounted their counterattacks against the retreating English. It is anticipated that battlefield archaeology surveys will identify additional actions along the retreat and other key terrain features used by the Native forces.

**Cheapside Key Terrain Feature:** This feature is a prominent topographic feature at the southern tip of the Rocky Mountain between the 200’-225’ contour interval. The feature rises

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<sup>173</sup> James Cudworth, “James Cudworth Letters”, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. VI, First Series. (Boston, MA: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1799). Pp. 84-85.

150' or more above the Deerfield and Connecticut Rivers with a commanding view of the surrounding landscape for miles around, including the Deerfield Ford. The feature is ideal for defense and observation and was fortified by Native forces at the time of the attack on Peskeompskut. The Native occupation and control of Cheapside prevented English forces from crossing the Deerfield River at Deerfield Ford during their approach to and retreat from Peskeompskut, forcing them to go miles out of their way and exposing themselves to additional Native attacks.

### *Ancillary Sites*

Ancillary sites are defined as villages, encampments, field hospitals, observation posts, etc. that were not directly involved in the battle but nonetheless played an important supporting role which influenced the eventual outcome of the battle. For example, the Peskeompskut Village Site on the north side of the Connecticut was directly involved in the battle as it was attacked by the English (Core Area). The Peskeompskut Village II Site on the south side of the Connecticut River was not directly involved in the battle but played a supporting role in the ensuing battle as men from this village crossed the Connecticut River to attack the retreating English in the rear.

**Peskeompskut Village II Ancillary Site:** The location, size, and configuration of this village are not known but it is reasonable to assume that it was similar in size and composition to the Peskeompskut Village on the north side of the Connecticut River. Although the village was not attacked by the English the men quickly mobilized after the attack commenced on the north side of the Connecticut and may have been among the first to attack the English at their Assembly Area. It was likely that men from this village continued to attack the English from the rear as they retreated to the Deerfield River.

**Smead and Rawson Islands Ancillary Sites:** English sources mention a Native fishing village at Smead Island and it is likely there was an encampment at Rawson Island as well. These encampments were not attacked by the English but the men from these villages played a significant role in the ensuing battle attacking the English along their flanks as they retreated along the White Ash Swamp and set ambushes in front of the retreating English.

**Cheapside Ancillary Site:** Cheapside is a rocky promontory rising 300' feet above the surrounding landscape at the southern end of Rocky Mountain overlooking the Deerfield River

and the Deerfield River Ford. This terrain feature is an excellent defensive and observation position with commanding views to the east, south, and west. English sources mention a “fortification” at Cheapside, but nothing specifically is known about the nature and size of the defensive works. It appears that an unknown number of Native men occupied Cheapside as well as a position closer to the Green River Ford. Although English sources do not specifically mention Native forces from Cheapside participating in the retreat battle, it is reasonable to assume they did, and may also have continued to hold the Deerfield River Ford.

Table 3: *Critical Defining Features. Battle of Great Falls*

Name	Location	Relevance to Battle	Field Comment	KOCSA Analysis	Integrity Assessment	Remarks
<b>Terrain and Topographical Features</b>						
Connecticut River	The Connecticut River runs south from Fourth Connecticut Lake in New Hampshire to Long Island Sound at Old Saybrook, Connecticut.	The Great Falls on the Connecticut River attracted Native settlements at Peskeompskut to take advantage of the Spring fishing season and to plant crops. Native encampments were situated on both sides of the Connecticut River.	Wooded, Open Space, Land Conservation, Moderate Residential Development., Significant Industrial Development	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment, Key Terrain Feature	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association,	Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Key Terrain
Rocky Mountain	The Rocky Mountain ridge runs north from the confluence of the Deerfield and Connecticut River to Fall River just below the Great Falls. To the west of the mountain was Greenfield Meadows at the time of the battle.	On the southern end of the ridge overlooking the Deerfield River is a rocky promontory known locally as “Cheapside.” There Native soldiers had an observation post and possible fortification overlooking the plains and two fords to the south. The English sought to avoid this location.	Wooded, Open Space, Land Conservation, Moderate Residential Development.	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach (Native) Key Terrain Features include heavily glaciated landscape and wetlands and ridges	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Cheapside Ancillary Site & Key Terrain
Pisgah Mountain	Pisgah Mountain is located immediate north, northeast of Great Falls and is east of Fall River.	English forces massed on the southern slope of Pisgah Mountain prior to their assault on Peskeompskut village.	Wooded, Open Space, Land Conservation, Moderate Residential Development.	Key Terrain, Observation, Key Terrain, Avenues of Approach (English allied), Avenue of Retreat (English)	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Key Terrain

White Ash Swamp	White Ash Swamp is a large wetland that runs in a northeasterly direction to the north of Rocky Mountain. It is fed by Cherry Rum Brook.	Native soldiers occupied White Ash Swamp and struck English forces as they retreated towards the Green River after their attack on Peskeompskut. Several groups of English were ambushed in the swamp as they tried to escape.	Moderate Residential Development., Moderate Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment (Native), Obstacles, Avenues of Approach (English), Avenue of Retreat (English)	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; White Ash Swamp Core Area & Key Terrain Feature
Deerfield River	The Deerfield River is located south of Rocky Mountain and north of the Deerfield Meadows. It runs easterly until it empties into the Connecticut River.	Native Soldiers were positioned along the northern banks of the Deerfield River guarding the fording areas against English incursions.	Moderate Residential Development., Moderate Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles.	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Key Terrain
Green River	The Green River is located to the west of Rocky Mountain and the present-day Town of Greenfield. It runs southerly until it empties into the Deerfield River.	The English advanced along the west side of the Green River and forded it during their route of approach where the Mill River emptied into it. The English returned to this location during their retreat and it was at the ford where Captain Turner was killed.	Minimal Residential Development., Moderate Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles, Avenues of Approach (English), Avenue of Retreat (English)	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Green River Ford Core Area & Key Terrain Feature.
Cherry Rum Brook	Cherry Rum Brook is located in present-day Greenfield and runs easterly between Mill Brook and feeds the White Ash Swamp.	English forces general followed Cherry Rum Brook after fording the Green River. The brook brought the to the White Ash Swamp and the Falls River further east.	Moderate Residential Development., Moderate Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles, Avenues of Approach (English), Avenue of Retreat (English)	Location, Association, Feeling, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Key Terrain

Falls River	Falls River runs south between the present-day towns of Greenfield and Gill. It empties south into the Connecticut River.	English forces tied their horses in a location just west of Falls River and stationed some soldiers to guard them. Turner's company crossed the Falls River and advanced east towards their objective.	Minimal Residential Development., Moderate Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach (English) & Retreat (English). Key Terrain	Location, Association, Feeling, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; English Assembly Point Core Area; Key Terrain
The Great Falls	The Great Falls is a large waterfall system that runs north and south across the Connecticut River between the present-day towns of Gill and Montague. A large bedrock outcropping historically split the waterfall. Today there is a modern dam to regulate water levels.	The Great Falls attracted Native peoples to the region for thousands of years. In 1676 Native peoples congregated at Great Falls to plant and fish. The English quickly became aware of large Native communities around Great Falls at Peskeompskut.	High Industrial Development, Wooded.	Key Terrain, Obstacles.	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Peskeompskut Village Core Area
Smead Island	One of two major islands about three miles below the Great Falls in present-day Greenfield.	One of two islands south of the Great Falls upon which an undetermined number of Native soldiers were encamped. These men mobilized after the English attack and counterattacked the English near Falls River and along White Ash Swamp.	Wooded, Open Space, Land Conservation	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment (Native), Avenues of Approach (Native)	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Smead Island Ancillary Site
Rawson Island	One of two major islands about three miles below the Great Falls in present-day Greenfield.	One of two islands south of the Great Falls upon which an undetermined number of Native soldiers were encamped. These men mobilized after the English attack and counterattacked the English near Falls River and along White Ash Swamp.	Wooded, Open Space, Land Conservation	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment (Native), Avenues of Approach (Native)	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Rawson Island Ancillary Site

Miscellaneous						
Peskeompskut Encampment (North)	One of two known Native encampments surrounding the Great Falls. One encampment was located on the north side while the other was on the southern shore.	A large village site where Native peoples from multiple communities had lived since the late winter in anticipation of planting and fishing. The northern village was attacked by English forces on the morning of May 19, 1676.	Minimal Residential Development., Moderate Industrial Development, Moderate Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach (English), Avenue of Retreat (Native)..	Location, Association, Feeling, Avenue of Approach (English), Avenue of Retreat (Native) Material Culture.	Native Village; Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Peskeompskut Village Core Area
Peskeompskut Encampment (South)	One of two known Native encampments surrounding the Great Falls. One encampment was located on the north side while the other was on the southern shore.	A large village site where Native peoples from multiple communities had lived since the late winter in anticipation of planting and fishing. Victims of the English attack fled to the southern village. Men from the southern village rallied and counterattacked soon after.	High Residential Development., High Industrial Development, High Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach (English), Avenue of Retreat (Native)..	Location, Association, Feeling, Avenue of Approach (Native), Material Culture	Native Village; Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Peskeompskut Village Core Area

## **VI. Research Design: Future Site Identification & Documentation Phase**

The historical and archeological research design to guide future archeological fieldwork associated with the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut will initially focus on the four Core Areas identified in the Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Plan Technical Report: English Assembly Core Area, Peskeompskut Village Core Area, White Ash Swamp Core Area, and the Green River Ford Core Area. It is anticipated that additional combat actions will be identified outside these primary core areas as the battlefield survey progresses. The primary objective of future fieldwork associated with the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut project will be to locate and document battlefield actions and related sites such as the Peskeompskut Village, English Assembly Point, and Cheapside through a program of archeological and historical research. A second, but no less important goal, will be to eventually prepare National Register of Historic Places registration forms to nominate significant or potentially significant sites and battlefields to the National Register of Historic Places.

The future battlefield project will consist of five tasks, which will often occur simultaneously: 1) Re-analysis of primary sources to construct a more detailed timeline and additional location(s) of battlefield events and sites with anticipated archeological signatures; 2) Continued evaluation of the military significance of the terrain through KOCOA (Military Terrain Analysis); 2) Hold regular meetings with landowners to secure additional permissions to conduct fieldwork, inform them of the progress of fieldwork, and get them directly involved in the process of battlefield survey and reconstruction; 3) Conduct a fieldwork program of metal detection, remote sensing and archeological survey and excavation to locate, define, and assess the integrity of battlefield actions and sites, and obtain a representative sample of battle-related objects; 4) Conduct ongoing laboratory analysis and conservation of recovered battle-related objects; 5) integrate battlefield terrain, and historical, and artifactual data into Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to reconstruct battlefield events and sites across time and space.

The Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut must be viewed in the broader context Native and Colonial military strategy and tactics, technological, individual, and command capabilities of Native and Colonial forces, and the wider strategic goals and objects of the Native combatants. The Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut is unique in that it was one of the first times in King Philip's War that such a broad coalition of Native

leaders assembled at one place to pursue their as yet poorly understood war aims. The many actions between the Native coalition and English forces that took place in the central Connecticut Valley occurred in two phases, the early period of the war between August-November 1675, and the later phase between March and June 1676. These two periods document the nature and evolution of Native and English strategy and tactics within a relatively circumscribed geographic area and over a prolonged period of time. Careful analysis of relevant primary sources of all actions and battles throughout the broader region may provide important insights into the broader native strategies in the war.

### **Battlefield Archeology**

The discipline of Battlefield Archeology is concerned primarily with the identification and study of sites where the conflict took place, and the archeological signature of the event. This requires information gathered from historical records associated with a battlefield including troop dispositions, numbers, and the order of battle (command structure, strength, and disposition of personnel, equipment, and units of an armed force during field operations), as well as undocumented evidence of an action or battle gathered from archeological investigations. The archeology of a battlefield allows battlefield archeologists to reconstruct the progress of a battle, assess the veracity of historical accounts of the battle, as well as fill in any gaps in the historical record. This is particularly important with respect to the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut, as the historical record is often incomplete, confusing, and biased. Battlefield archeology seeks to move beyond simple reconstruction of the battlefield event, and move toward a more dynamic interpretation of the battlefield.

A dynamic reconstruction of battlefield events requires an ongoing assessment of the congruence of historical and archeological data in an effort to identify discrete group or individual actions and movements on the battlefield in order to place them in a temporal framework. An integral part of this process is to place the battlefield(s) and related sites in a broader cultural and battlefield landscape to better understand, interpret and identify battlefield events and sites. A cultural landscape is defined as a geographic area, encompassing cultural and

natural resources associated with the historic battlefield event.<sup>174</sup> The key aspect of this analysis is the reconstruction of the historic landscape and battlefield terrain associated with the battle to identify natural and cultural features present in the battlefield space and determine how they were used by the combatants.<sup>175</sup> While Battlefields are situated within the broader cultural landscape, battlefield reconstructions focus only on those cultural and natural features directly related to the battlefield.

### **Battlefield Pattern Analysis**

Traditional battlefield interpretations and reconstructions rely primarily on historical information (battle accounts, narratives, diaries, etc.), occasionally augmented by oral histories and random collections of battle-related objects. These reconstructions tend to focus only on the spatial distribution of battlefield events which result in a static reconstruction of the battlefield, referred to as Gross-Pattern Analysis. Douglas Scott, Richard Fox, and others have advocated an approach to battlefield archeology that moves beyond the particularistic and synchronic approach characteristic of Gross-Pattern Analysis in battlefield reconstructions.<sup>176</sup> This approach, known as Dynamic-Pattern Analysis, interprets and reconstructs battlefields by integrating discrete battlefield events and their archeological signatures into a cohesive spatial and temporal sequence.

Using both Gross-Pattern and Dynamic-Pattern Battlefield Analyses, the spatial and temporal dimensions of a battle are better defined by integrating the historical and archeological record into a process of battlefield reconstruction that seeks archeological and historical correlates of individual and unit behaviors. The historical record associated with battlefield

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<sup>174</sup> Loechl, Susan K., Susan L. Enscoe, Megan W. Tooker, and Samuel L. Batzli. *Guidelines for Identifying and Evaluating Military Landscapes*. Washington, DC: Legacy Resource Management Program, Army Corps of Engineers, 2009.

<sup>175</sup> Carman, John & Patricia Carman. "Mustering Landscapes: What Historic Battlefields Share in Common" in Eds. Douglas Scott, Lawrence Babits, and Charles Haecker. *Fields of Conflict: Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2009. P. 42.

<sup>176</sup> Scott, Douglas D., Richard A. Fox, Jr., Melissa A. Connor and Dick Harmon. *Archeological perspective on the Battle of the Little Bighorn*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989; Carlson-Drexler, Carl G. "Finding Battery Positions at Wilson's Creek, Missouri" in Eds. Douglas Scott, Lawrence Babits, and Charles Haecker. *Fields of Conflict: Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2009; Fox, Richard A and Douglas D. Scott. "The Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern: An Example from the Custer Battlefield." *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 1991: Pp. 92-103.

events can be used to inform and test hypotheses of individual and unit actions and movements which can then be tested against the archeological record.

If individual and unit actions can be identified in battlefield accounts and their archeological signatures identified and tracked across the battlefield, a temporal dimension (sequencing) can be added to the battlefield analysis. Sequencing battlefield behaviors and actions requires constructing a detailed timeline of battlefield events and actions based on historical accounts. This timeline can then be used to develop hypotheses regarding the archeological correlates (signatures) of discrete battlefield events and behaviors. Once the beginning and end points of a behavior or action can be identified, individual and unit behaviors can be sequenced and the movement of individuals and units across the battlefield can be reconstructed. It is the ability to reconstruct battlefield events in both space and time that allows for a dynamic reconstruction of the battlefield.

Individual actions and movements must be viewed in the aggregate, as unit actions and movements are aggregates of individual actions and movements. As such, individual actions are often subsumed in unit actions and movements, the basic unit of analysis of battlefield actions. While individual actions can be identified on the battlefield, it is generally the units and their actions which are integrated into a cohesive spatial and temporal sequence to reconstruct and interpret the battlefield.

Gross patterns are defined as the spatial aspects of unit behaviors. Dynamic patterns are defined as analytical techniques (primarily firearm signature analysis achieved through comparative analysis of distinguishing attributes of bullets and shell casings of modern firearms) which allow for the identification of individual firearms on the battlefield. Gross patterning relies on a synchronic approach to battlefield reconstruction - a spatial composite of battlefield events achieved by correlating the historical record with the archeological record, but without reference to time (i.e. movement). Battle events, as expressed by discrete artifact distributions are placed in space, but not ordered in time. Dynamic pattern analysis takes the composite of battle events expressed in the archeological record and orders them in time through an ongoing assessment of the congruence of the historical and archeological records and by tracking the movements of individuals and units across the battlefield through firearms identification.

Douglas Scott and Richard Fox developed the Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern Approach during their study of the 1876 Battle of Little Bighorn, which sought to investigate the

behavioral dynamics on the battlefield.<sup>177</sup> The foundation of the Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern Approach is recognizing individual behavioral patterns, which is dependent on identifying singular positions and movements about the battlefield.

The key to a dynamic battlefield analysis as defined by Scott and Fox is modern firearm analysis that “allows resolution of individual positions and movements across the battlefield.”<sup>178</sup> In the case of the Battle of Little Bighorn this was largely achieved through forensic ballistic analysis of thousands of bullets and cartridge cases which allowed researchers to track individual firearms across the battlefield. This integrated model of Gross-Pattern Analysis and Dynamic-Pattern Analysis has been the paradigm for Civil War and post-Civil War battlefield archeology and analysis since 1985.

### **Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut**

The Dynamic Battlefield Pattern Approach, with its focus on modern firearm analysis would not appear to be applicable to the interpretation and reconstruction of seventeenth century battlefields such as the Siege and Battle of Saybrook Fort where the combatants used muskets and brass arrow points – projectile types not amenable to modern firearm analyses. Nonetheless, Scott’s approach has great utility for all battlefield studies which seek to move beyond static historical reconstructions and attempts to identify and interpret the actions and movements which influenced the progression and outcome of the battle. This approach was used very effectively in the study of the Battle of Mistick Fort and will be applicable for the actions and battles at Saybrook Fort during the siege.

The key to this analysis is the ability of battlefield archeologists to integrate the spatial dimensions of unit actions into a temporal framework. This does not necessarily require identification of individual behaviors through modern firearm analysis, such as was done for the Battle of Little Bighorn. In the context of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut this will be accomplished by identifying discrete unit actions and movements in the historic record (battlefield timeline), inferring possible archeological signatures based on the nature and distribution of battle-related objects, and testing the congruence of the recovered

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<sup>177</sup> Scott et al. *Archeological perspective on the Battle of the Little Bighorn*.

<sup>178</sup> Scott et al. *Archeological perspective on the Battle of the Little Bighorn* P. 148.

archeological signatures against the battlefield timeline. In this way, the recovered archeological signature could be placed in a temporal context and integrated into the sequence of battlefield actions and events. The biggest challenge will be to distinguish weapons and projectiles used and fire by Colonial and Native forces as presumably there is no basis to distinguish them other than their spatial context.

## Battlefield Survey

The goals of Battlefield surveys are: 1) locate the historic and geographic extent of the battlefields on modern maps using GIS, 2) assess significance and integrity of battlefields as defined in *National Register Bulletin 40: Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields*, 3) provide an overview of surviving resources and 4) assess short and long term threats to integrity. Battlefield survey methods rely heavily on identification and analysis of a wide range of physical and cultural features using readily available resources such as USGS 7.5' series Topographic Maps, aerial photographs, historic maps and archeological surveys (walkover, remote sensing, subsurface testing) – all of which are used to identify important terrain features and site locations obtained from primary narratives or accounts of battles. There are three steps in this process: 1) Identify battlefield landscapes 2) Conduct battlefield terrain analysis with KOCOA (**K**ey terrain, **O**bservation, **C**over and concealment, **O**bstacles, **A**venues of approach) and 3) Battlefield Survey (research, documentation, analysis, field visits, archeological survey, definition of battlefield Study and Core Areas, assessment of integrity and threats to battlefields, and map preparation). Specific tasks include:

- Research the battlefield event(s)
- Develop a list of battlefield defining natural and cultural features
- Conduct a visual reconnaissance of the battlefield
- Locate, document and photograph features
- Map troop positions and features on a USGS topographic quadrangle
- Define study and core engagement areas for each battlefield
- Assess overall site integrity and threats

The final phase(s) of the entire process will be to “ground truth” battle events in Core Areas once landowner permissions are granted. Fieldwork will consist of walkover reconnaissance and visual inspection of the battlefield followed by archeological surveys in the

form of metal detector surveys and limited subsurface surveys and perhaps limited excavations in some areas. Fieldwork is necessary to pin the battlefield events to identifiable locations and to acquire physical evidence (i.e. musket balls, brass arrow points, military accoutrements, etc.) to documents troop positions, actions and sites, define battlefield boundaries, refine study and core area boundaries, and assess site integrity.

## **VII. Provisional Long-Range Protection Plan**

The next phase of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut will be to implement a long-range protection plan developed by the Battlefield Study Advisory Board upon completion of the Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Plan. The first step in this process will be to apply for a National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program, Documentation and Site Identification grant to conduct battlefield archeological surveys within the core areas identified within the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area.

In addition to any future NPS ABPP funded projects considered by the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield Study Advisory Board there should be a focus on long term efforts to protect the battlefield(s) and inform the public through the development of a cultural park and heritage center. In 2009 a Great Falls Native Cultural Landscape Park was proposed and a conceptual plan is currently under development by town and tribal officials. The proposed park would encompass as much of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut battlefield site as feasible within the context of the 12,000 year indigenous history of the region. The park would be designed to include educational, cultural, and interpretive programs designed to facilitate scholarly research. It would also serve to encourage economic development through a program of heritage and cultural tourism. The Great Falls Native Cultural Landscape Park proposal could also help to build consensus among various stakeholders (town, tribal, land holders, business community, academics, etc.) regarding the importance and historical significance of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut site.

The final step in the process will be to develop a preservation plan for the Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area which may contain some of the following elements:

**Goal 1. – Maintain the Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield in its current or better state of preservation.**

While many areas of the battlefield have been impacted by modern development, hundreds of acres appear to retain a moderate to high degree of visual and physical integrity. Maintaining this landscape in its present, or improved, state of preservation is a primary goal of this preservation plan. The overall goals and objectives of the preservation plan will be greatly facilitated by the current and ongoing support of the project by the towns of Gill, Greenfield, and Montague. Listing of the battlefield sites on the site on the National Register would also contribute to its future preservation.

**Objective 1.** Secure instruments of preservation (e.g. preservation easements, property ownership) for properties within the battlefield, and the properties that provide the battlefield with buffer zones from developed areas.

**Objective 2.** Develop site management plans for property managers.

**Objective 3.** Integrate preservation of the Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield in the planning and management of the larger historic landscape setting of Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut

With regard to Objectives 1 and 2, the property managers are key partners in maintaining the landscape of the battlefield, and their long-term cooperation is essential. The grant partners should inform and educate property owners about the process whereby easements are conveyed, encouraging them to consider the benefits of doing so. Likewise, the development of site management plans should be a process that openly discusses the concerns of the property managers, and educates those managers regarding the historic significance of the landscape. The objective would be long-range plans for each property that would guide the property managers in their decision-making.

No source of funds has been identified at this time for the outright purchase of land within the battlefield study area; the grant partners should continue to look for such opportunities, and should work with local land conservation groups so that properties which contribute to the integrity of the battlefield be recognized as having a historical importance that adds to their worth.

## **Goal 2. Public Interpretation of the Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield**

The Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut is a historically significant event, worthy of public interpretation. If interpretation and education are well-done, and reach a large audience, a little known part of Massachusetts's past will be made public, and outreach regarding the site will also contribute to the likelihood of its long-term preservation. Making public the history and significance of the Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield must be done without jeopardizing its integrity, or harming the site in any way, and must be done in a manner acceptable to the property managers affected by it.

**Objective 1.** Determine if on-site interpretation is desirable and if there is an appropriate location for on-site interpretation.

**Objective 2.** Develop a plan for securing an appropriate interpretive site (including funding) and implementing interpretation.

**Objective 3.** Conduct public education outreach.

Objectives 1 and 2 will require consultation with the grant partners and other interested parties. Issues that will need to be addressed include determining how close to the actual battlefield site we should direct the visitors—too close, and threats to the site from pot-hunting and careless disregard increase, too far, and the interpretation loses meaning. Additionally, the concerns of the property managers are a central issue that will determine the placement of any permanent interpretation in the Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield area.

The grant partners should consider ways of reaching the public beyond a physical installation. Web-based and printed information about the project, the place, and the ongoing study could be created and disseminated. Again, more information available to the interested public means more potential advocates for the preservation of the battlefield area, but may also mean increased visitation resulting in damage, whether intentional or not.

## **Goal 3. – Continue to study Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut as a significant historic and cultural place through research and field investigations.**

The Study Area defined for the Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield is part of a larger cultural, geographic and temporal context. This larger study area is significant not just because of the events that occurred there in King Philip's War, but because of its much longer use by Tribal people, in both a quotidian and a ceremonial way. It is impossible to reasonably

plan for the protection of the greater Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield area without knowing the location and integrity of its associated cultural resources.

**Objective 1.** Continue to Study the Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield and its relation to the larger spatial and temporal Native history of the region

**Objective 2.** Continue to study the Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield as a potentially significant traditional ceremonial place.

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## Appendix I – Primary Source Excerpts

- Connecticut Archives – Colonial Wars, Series I, Doc. 60 : April 6, 1676
- Connecticut Archives – Colonial Wars, Series I, Doc. 67 : April 29, 1676
- Connecticut Archives – Colonial Wars, Series I, Doc. 71 : May 15 1676
- Connecticut Archives – Colonial Wars, Series I, Doc. 74 : May 22, 1676
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**Connecticut Archives – Colonial Wars, Series I, Doc. 60**

April 6, 1676

...being disipatted this day and Cannot sett Untill tomorrow when we intend to Consider what is most expedient we just now have intelligence off three men killed att Hadley where none had so before been donne, also off some scouts sent towards Deerfield who have discovered sundry wigwams with fires not farre from thence what those things will occasion the Bay forces to doe or send to us about we know nott, they sent mr Nowell to us already for our Conjunction to have moved up 20 miles above Quabaug towards Lanchaster where there masters (as they call them) signi fyed that they had intelligence off a 1000 off the enemies Butt we Returned answer to that, we were yet in Capacity to supply our helpfulness then, By reason of the Majors illness and that off exhance of our souldiars, etc.....

**Connecticut Archives – Colonial Wars, Series I, Doc. 67**

April 29, 1676

...Such things will weaken the enemies strength and spirits: and rationall it is to thinke y<sup>t</sup> might [illegible] be undertaken [illegible] against them here in conjunction w<sup>th</sup> what is in other parts it might at such a time sinke thier harts & brake their rage and power; and make them much more reall for peace than yet they are Sundry things are spoken here by those Indian Messeng<sup>ers</sup> now returned to yo<sup>r</sup>selves that give us to understand they take Little heede to the truth in their relations. And that they doe (especially he y<sup>t</sup> belong to these parts) labr<sup>d</sup> to rep<sup>r</sup>sant the enemies stake as much to their advantage as may be whether aggreing w<sup>th</sup> the truth or noe.”

...The spirite of man w<sup>th</sup> us are more than ever heightened w<sup>th</sup> desire & earnestnesse to be going forth against the enemy have bin [illegible] moving for liberty & would Some they might obtaine is this night And shall the Lord incline and direct you to order any volunteers to other help hither; they would [illegible] more of o<sup>rs</sup> than rea son would y<sup>t</sup> we should spare ready to sayn w<sup>th</sup> them in the enterprize [illegible] thoughts are that it would too much to adbantyage to have a paryt of faithfull Indians joyning w<sup>th</sup> the English....

**Connecticut Archives – Colonial Wars, Series I, Doc. 71**

May 15 1676

[71a]

...in the bay that they have Certain intelligence from the Eastward y<sup>t</sup> the Mohawks have taken & slew twenty six of o<sup>r</sup> enemies...As to o<sup>r</sup> moving up to ye Indians at their fishing place I cannot but judge we have sate still when God hath called us to be up and doing & verily feare God will charge it upon us for sloth and neglect if following his guid ding providence whe he hath bin leading to advantageous ways of

coming upon them such as we cannot expect at a nerest time. They sitt by us secure w<sup>th</sup>out watch, busy at their harvest worke storing themselves with food for a yeer to fight against us and we let theme alonge to take the full advantage that ye selves would afford them by there wise nor enemy. They [illegible] the evening thought but

[71b]

But this morning Providence hath alarm<sup>d</sup> us w<sup>th</sup> another voice & call seeming to Speake to us that the Season is not yet past and that we are necessitated to take hold of it before it be quite gone ffor about sunrise came into Hatfield one Thomas Reede, a Souldier who was taken captive when Deacon Goodman was slain: He Relates y<sup>t</sup> they are not planting at Deerfield and have been so these three or four days or more. Saith further that they dwell at the falls on both sides of the River; are a Considerable number; yet most of them old men and women. He cannot judge that there are both Sides of the River above 60 or 70 fighting men. They are secure high and comfortable boasting of great things they have done and will doe. there is Thomas Eames his daughter and children hardly used: one or two belonging to Medfielde I thinke two children belonging to Lancaster. The night before Last they came down to Hatfield upper meadows have driven away many horses and Catall to the number of fourscore and upward as they judge: many of these this man saw in Deerfield meadow: and found the barrs putt up to keepe them in. This being the State of things we thinke the Lord calls us to make some try and what may be done against them suddainly w<sup>th</sup>out further delay; and therefore the Concurring resolution of men here seems to be to goe out against them too morrow at night so as to be w<sup>th</sup> them the Lord assisting before breake of day It would be strength and rejoycing to us might be favo<sup>rd</sup> w<sup>th</sup> some helpe from yourselves, but if the Lord deny that to us you Cannot or see not your way to assist or goe before us in the undertaking, I thinke or men will goe with suche of or own as we can raise truysting him w<sup>th</sup> the issue; rather than to sett still and tempt God by doing nothing. Should yo<sup>r</sup> Indians know anything of this motion they may be under temptation to give intelligence of it to the enemy. We need guidance and help from heaven: We humbly begge yo<sup>r</sup> advice and help if it may be And that w<sup>th</sup> Comitting you to guidance and Hassing of y<sup>c</sup> most High Remain

Yo<sup>r</sup> Worps: in all humble Sarvice J<sup>no</sup> Russell

Altho this man speakes of their numbers as he judath yet: thay may be many more for we perceive their number varies and thay are going and Coming so that there is no trust to his guesse.

Will: Turner  
John Lyman  
Isack Graves

### Connecticut Archives – Colonial Wars, Series I, Doc. 74

May 22, 1676

...Some more of o<sup>r</sup> Souldiers have dropped in there o<sup>r</sup> Last; some on Satturday or & on

Saturday night troo yesterday. And one this morning : and about noon one M<sup>r</sup> Atherto[n] came in to Hadley. So that now the number of those wanting is either eight or nin[e] and thirty. Some were wandering on the West mountains on Saturday who were not wounded whether for Providence may yet guide them in or noe we know not we are not quite w<sup>th</sup>out hopes of some of them.

As to the number of the enemy Slain; many of the Souldiers Say they guessed them to be about fourscore y<sup>t</sup> lay upon the ground. But Serjeant Richard Smith Saith he had time and took it to run them over by [illegible] going from wigwam to wigwam to doe it & also what was between y<sup>r</sup> banke and th<sup>e</sup> water. and found them about an hundred he hath sometimes S<sup>d</sup> SixScore but stande to y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>t</sup> they were above 100 . seventeene being in a wigwam or a two little higher up than the rest.

Likewise Will<sup>m</sup> Draw a souldier y<sup>t</sup> terms to be of good behavior & Credit being two or three Soldiers to stand in a secure place below the banke, more quiet than he thought was [illegible] for the time; he asked them why they had stood there saith they answered that they had seen many goe down the falls and thy would endeavo<sup>r</sup> to tell how many. Here upon he observed w<sup>th</sup> them : until he told fifty; and they S<sup>d</sup> to him that those made up Six score and ten . Some of them also were Slain in their pursuit of or<sup>s</sup> where so many of or<sup>s</sup> fall. Hence we Cannot but judge that there were abov<sup>e</sup> 200 of them Slain

Our Scouts being out his this night have discovered that the enemy abide Still in the place where they were on both Sides y<sup>e</sup> River and in the Island; and fires in the Same place where o<sup>r</sup> men had burnt the wigwams. So that they judge either that Philip is com to them or some Souldiers of his Company from Squakeaheags, Paquiog and other places . Hereupon it seems most probable if not contendable[?] that their purpose is to abide here at least for some spare time as having the advantage of of place best suited to shift for their Safety being on both sides the River on the Islands and their fort those by Deerfield River and amide the deplorable places sitt for time to lurke in & escape by Where we would humbly propose it to you<sup>r</sup> Consideration whether Providence doth not off[?] at and Call to y<sup>r</sup> accepting this opportunity & improving of it speedily before it slip[?]: and whether we may not look y<sup>t</sup> thr taking them here w<sup>th</sup>a Small [illegible] help of English and Indians may not be likely to be a great advantage then greatest number when they are removed hence they hav<sup>e</sup> planted as Is judged 300 acres of choice ground at Deerfeild : their fish is there not yet fitt to Carry away and their place such as they can they can shift almost every way from [illegible] So y<sup>t</sup> we Count them likely to abide a while.

### **Massachusetts State Archives – Volume 69**

April 25, 1676

...the soldiers here are in great distress for want of clothing, both linen and woolen. Some has been brought from Quabaug, but not an eight of what we want.

There is come into Hadley a young man taken from Springfield at the beginning of last month, who informs that the enemy is drawing up all their forces towards these towns, and their head-

quarters are at Deerfield.

**Roger L'Estrange, A 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, UK: F.B. for Dorman Newman, 1676)**

Ca. May 19, 1676

[P. 12]

About a fortnight afterwards, the fore mentioned Captain Turner, by Trade a Taylor, but one that for his Valour has left behind him an Honourable Memory, hearing of the Indians being about Twenty miles above them at Connecticut River, drew out a Party at Hadly and Northampton, where there was a Garrison; and marching all night, came upon them before day-break, they having no Centinels or Scouts abroad, as thinking themselves secure, by reason of their remote distance from any of our Plantations; ours taking this advantage of their negligence, fell in amongst them, and killed several hundreds of them upon the place, they being out of any posture or order to make any formidable resistance, though they were six times superior to us in number; But that which was almost as, much, nay in some respect more considerable then their lives, we there destroyed all their Ammunition and Provision, which we think they can hardly be so soon and easily recruited with, as possibly they may be with men: We likewise here demolish Two Forges they had to mend their Armes, took away all their materials and Tools, and drove many of them into the River, where they were drowned, and threw two great Piggs of Lead of theirs, (intended for making of bullets) into the said River: But this great successe was not altogether without its allay, as if Providence had designed to checker our joys and sorrows; and lest we should sacrifice to our won Nets, and say, Our own Arms or prowess hath done this, to permit the Enemy presently after to take an advantage against us;...

**Roger L'Estrange, A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences that have apned in the Warree Between the English and the Indians in New England, From the Fifth of May, 1676, to the Fourth of August last (London, UK: Printed for Benjamin Billinsley at the Printing-Press in Cornhill, 1676)**

Ca. May 19, 1676

[P. 3]

Upon the same day we had Newes by a Post, of a fight upon *Connecticut* River between *Deerfield* and *Squakheg*, there were about an hundred and sixty of our souldiers under the command of Captain *Holyoke*, and Captain *Turner*: The occasion of the engagement was this, The *Indians* having stolen and driven away much Cattle from *Hatfield* and those Towns adjoining, and our men perceiving by the track which way they went, learned at last where the *Indians* Rendezvous was; and picking out of the several Garrisons, as many souldiers as could conveniently be spared, resolved to Attaque them, it being a great Fishery place called *Deerfield Falls*.

Our souldiers got thiter after a hard March just about break of day, took most of

the *Indians* fast asleep, and put their guns even into their Wigwams, and poured in their shot among them, whereupon the *Indians* that durst and were able did get out of their Wigwams and did fight a little (in which fight one *Englishman* only was slain) others of the *Indians* did enter the River to swim over from the English, but many of them were shot dead in the waters, others wounded were therein drowned, may got into Canoes to paddle away, but the paddlers being shot, the Canoes over-set with tall therein, and

[P. 4]

the stream of the River being very violent and swift in the place near the great Falls, most that fell over board were born by the strong current of that River, and carried upon the Falls of Water from those exceeding high and steep Rocks, and from thence tumbling down were broken in pieces; the English did afterwards find of their bodies, some in the River and some cast ashore, above two hundred.

But as the English were coming away wit the plunder they had got, there was a noise spread among some of them, of *Sachem Philip's* coming down upon them; with a thousand men: which not being weighed as it might have been by the English, whether it were true or false; a fear possessed some part of the English, whereby they fell into a disorder, and thereby Captain *Turner* and several of his Souldiers were slain and others to the number of two and thirty. But Captain *Holyoke* exhorted them not to be terrified, saying God hath wrought hitherto for us wonderfully, let us trust in him still: and reducing his men into close order made a safe and a valiant retreat, and preserved the Souldiers under him; that there were bu few of them slain, and the Souldiers so cut off were surpriz'd by a Party of the Enemy belonging to the *Indians* at *Deer-field-falls*, who having gotten before our forces had laid and Ambush, the chiefest execution of which was through too much fear of our Men whereby the disordered themselves; thus God by this mixture of his Providence would hide pride from our eyes, who perhaps might have been too much lifted up by our success: several loads of dried fish the English found, and were forced to consume there.

They also found and demoslised the *Indian* Smiths Forge, which they had there set up for the mending of their Guns. Some *Indian* Women (since that taken Prisoners) do say and affirm that there were slain in that ingagement with them four hundred of which number were seventy of the *Wampangs*, or *Phillip Sachems* men: and that he had of his own proper Company not any great number left, and that were it not for him and one *Sachem* more, the *Indians* would glady yield to any terms of Peace with the English.

**Douglas Edward Leach, Ed. *A Rhode Islander Reports on King Philip's War: The Second William Harris Letter of August, 1676* (Providence, RI: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1963)**

Ca. May 19, 1676

[P.77]

...One Captain Turner of Boston, a Baptist, with 120 men, he and all of them being volunteers and all Baptists and Baptist sympathizers...

[P.80]

The English came upon the enemy in the morning, found them asleep, and slew some hundreds of them. But very many of the Indians got into canoes, that is, small boats, some made of trees and others of the bark of trees, in order to flee across the river. The English pursued them, firing at those on the river, thereby throwing them into consternation, and killing some who were steering the canoes. the place being near a high waterfall (that is to say, a place in the river where the rocks extend across it, over which the water runs and then falls down a great distance below the above-mentioned rocks onto other rocks), the canoes and the Indians were driven by the force of that great river over the rocks and down the very dreadful drop, to be overwhelmed and dashed to death against the rocks, a loss of many desolate Indian souls. ...

Afterwards a few of the English were going after some other Indians, but being told by a captive English boy that a great party of Indians was coming, the English hastened away. On their route the Indians had laid ambush in a swamp, but as the English were not all together, only part of them went that way. The ambushing Indians slew many of that group, in fact, about thirty-eight. Four of five men (some say more) the

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Indians caught alive, and tortured them as follows: They tied their hands up spreading [torn] upon the one [torn] and the other upon another, and likewise set two stakes at a distance, to which they tied their feet. Then they made a fire under each of them, gashing their thighs and legs with knives, and casting into the gashes hot embers to torment them. This also somewhat stanches the blood so that they do not bleed to death so soon, but remain alive to torment longer...

**Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the Warr With the Indians in New-England* (Boston, MA: John Foster, 1676)**

Ca. May 18, 1676

[P. 48]

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

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of men, but none coming, they raised about an hundred and four score our of their own towns, who arrived at the *Indian Wigwams* betimes in the morning, finding them secure indeed, yea all asleep without having any Scouts abroad; so that our Souldiers came and put their Guns into their Wigwams, before the *Indians* were aware of them, and made a great and notable slaughter amongst them. Some of the Souldiers affirm, that they numbered above one hundred that lay dead upon the ground, and besides those, others told about an hundred and thirty, who were driven into the River, and there perished, being carried down the Falls,...

...And all this while but one *English-man* killed, and two wounded. But God saw that if things had ended thus; another and not Christ would have had the Glory of this Victory, and therefore in his wise providence, he so disposed as that there was at last somewhat a tragical issue of this Expedition. For an *English* Captive Lad, who was found in the Wigwams, spake as if *Philip* were coming with a thousand *Indians*: which false report being famed (*Fama bella stant*) among the Souldiers, a pannick terror fell upon many of them, and they hasted homewards in a confused rout: .... In the mean while, a party of Indians from an Island (whose coming on shore might easily have been prevented, and the Souldiers before they set out from *Hadly* were earnestly admonished to take care about that matter) assaulted our men; yea, to the great dishonour of the English, a few Indians pursued our Souldiers four or five miles, who were in number near twice as many as the Enemy. In this *disorder*, her that was at this time the chief Captain, whose name was *Turner*, lost his life, he was purused through a River, received his Fatal stroke as he passed through that which is called the *Green River*, & as he came out of the *Water* he fell into the hands of the *Uncircumcised*, who stripped him, (as some who say they saw it affirm it) and rode

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Away on his horse; and between thirty and forty more were lost in this Retreat.

Within a few days after this, Capt. *Turners* dead Corps was found a small distance from the River; it appeared that he had been shot through his thigh and back, of which its judged he dyed speedily without any great torture from the enemy. However it were, it is evident that the English obtained a victory at this time, yet if it be as some Indians have since related, the Victory was not so great as at first was apprehended: For sundry of

them who were at several times taken after this slaughter , affirm that many of the Indians that were driven down the Falls got safe on shore again, and that they lost not above threescore men in the fight: also that they killed thirty and eight English men, which indeed is just the number missing. There is not much heed to be given to Indian Testimony, yet when circumstances and Artificial arguments confirm what they say, it becometh and impartial *Historian* to take notice thereof; nor is it to be doubted but the loss of the enemy was greater then those Captives taken by our Forces abroad did acknowledge. Some other Indians said that they lost several hundreds at this time, amongst whom there was one Sachem. I am informed that diverse Indians who were in that battell, but since come in to the English at *Norwich*, say that there were three hundred killed at that time, which is also confirmed by an Indian called *Pomham*, who saith that of that three hundred there were an hundred and seventy fighting men.

**William Hubbard, *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians* (Boston, MA: John Foster, 1677)**

Ca. May 18, 1676

[P. 85]

But the great Company of the enemy, that stayed on that side of the Country, and about *Watchuset Hills*, when the rest went towards *Plymouth*, though they had been disappointed in their planting, by the death of *Canonchet*, were loth to loose the advantage of the fishing season then coming in; wherefore having, seated themselves near the upper Falls of *Connecticut River*, not far from *Deerfield*, and perceiving that The English Forces were now drawn off from the lower towns of *Hadly* and *Northampton*, now and then took advantages to plunder them of their Cattle, and not fearing any assault from our Souldiers, grew a little secure, while they were upon their Fishing design, insomuch that a couple of English lads lately taken captive y the enemy, and making their escape, acquainted their friends at home how secure they lay in those places, which so animated the Inhabitants of *Hadly*, *Hatfield*, and *Northampton*, that they being willing to be revenged for the loss of their cattle, besides other preceding mischiefs, took up a resolution with what strength they could raise among themselves (partly out of garrison souldiers, and partly of the Inhabitants) to make an assault upon them, which if it had been done with a little more deliberation, waiting for the coming of supplys expected from *Hartford*, might have proved a fatal buisness to all the said Indians; yet was the victory obtained more considerable then at first was apprehended: For not having much above an hundred and fifty fighting men in their Company, they marched silently in the dead of the night, May 18. And came upon the said Indians a little before break of day, whom they found almost in a dead

sleep, without any Scouts abroad, or watching about their wigwams at home; for in the evening they had made themselves merry with new milk and rost beef, having lately driven away many of their milch cows, as an English woman confessed, that was made to milk them.

When they came near the Indians rendezvouze, they alighted off their horses, and tyed them to some young trees at a quarter of a miles distance, so marching up, they fired amain into their very wigwams, killing many upon the place, and frightingn others with the sudden alarm of their Gunns, made them run into the River, where the swiftness of the stream carrying them down a steep Fall, they perished in the wa-

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ters, some getting in to Canoes, (small boats made of the barks of Birchen trees) which proved to them a *Charons* boat, being sunk, or over-set, by the shooting of our men, delivered them into the like danger of the waters, giving them thereby a passport into the other world: others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great river, were espied by our men and killed with their swords; Capt. *Holioke* killing five, young and old, with his own hands from under a bank. When the Indians were first awakened with the thunder of their guns, they cried Our *Mohawks*, *Mohawks*, as if their own native enemies had been upon Them; but the dawning of the light, soon notified their error, though it Could not prevent the danger.

Such as came back spake sparingly of the number of the slain; some say there could not in reason be less then two or three hundred of them that must necessarily perish in the midst of so many instruments of destruction managed against them with much disadvantages to themselves. Some of their prisoners afterwards owned that they lost above three hundred in that Camizado, some whereof were principal men sachems, and some of their best fighting men that were kilt, which made the victory more considerable then else it would have been; nor did they seem ever to have recovered themselves after this defeat, but their ruine immediately followed upon it...

The Indians that lay scattering on both sides of the river, after they recovered themselves, and discovered the small number of them that assailed them, turned head upon the English, who in their retreat were a little disordered, for want of the help, of the eldest Captain, that was so enfeebled by sickness before he set out, that he was no way able for want of bodily strength (not any way defective for want of skill or courage) to assist or direct in making the retreat: For some of the enemy fell upon the Guards that kept the horses, others pursued them in the reer, so as our men sustained pretty much damage as they retired, missing after their return thirty eight of their men: And if Capt. *Holioke* had not played the man at a more then ordinary rate, sometimes in the Front, sometimes in the flank and reer, at all times encouraging the Souldiers, it might have proved a fatal business to the as-

sailants. The said Capt. *Holiokes* horse was shot down under him, and himself ready to be assaulted by many of the Indians, just coming upon him, but discharging his pistols upon one or two of them, who he

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presently dispatched, and another friend coming up to his rescue, he was saved, and so carried off the souldiers without any further loss.

It is confidently reported by some that were there present at this engagement, that one told above an hundred Indians left dead upon the place; and another affirmed that he told near an hundred and forty swimming down the Falls, none of which were observed to get alive to shore, save one.

The loss that befell our men in the retreat, was occasioned principally by the bodily weakness of Capt. *Turner*, unable to manage his charge any longer, yet some say they wanted powder, which forced them to retire as fast as they could by Capt. *Tuners* order.

It is said also by one present at the fight, that seven or eight in the reer of the English, through haste missed their way, and were never heard of again; and without doubt fell into the Indians hands, and it is feared some of them were tortured.

About seven dayes after this, they were minded to try the chance of Warr again, and see if they could not recover their loss, by returing the like upon the English: for,

May 30. A great number of them appeared before *Hatfield*, fired a-Boat twelve houses and barns without the Fortification of the town, driving away multitudes of their Cattle, and their Sheep, spreading themselves in the meadow near the town: which bravado so raised the courage of their neighbours at *Hadly*, that twenty five resolute young men ventured over the river, to relieve *Hatfield* in this distress...

**Daniel White Wells and Reuben Field Wells, *History of Hatfield, Massachusetts, in three parts* (Springfield, MA: F.C.H. Gibbons, 1910).**

[**Hope Atherton Account** Pp. 86-87]

[**Jonathan Wells Account** Pp. 463-466]

[P. 463]

I shall give an aount of the remarkable providences of God wards Johnathan Wells Esq then aged 16 yearss and 2 or 3 months who was in this action [at the Falls fight, May 19]. He was w<sup>th</sup> the 20 men y<sup>t</sup> were obliged to fight w<sup>th</sup> the enemy to recover their horses; after he mounted his horse a little while (being yhen in the rear of y<sup>e</sup> company), he was fir<sup>d</sup> at by three Indians who were very near him; one bullet passed so near him as to brush his hair another struck his horse[‘s] behind a third struck his thigh in a place which before had been broken by a cart wheel & never set, but the bones lap<sup>d</sup> & so grew together so y<sup>t</sup> although one end of it had been struck and the

bone shatter<sup>d</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> bullet, yet the bone was not wholly loss<sup>d</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> place where it had knit. Upon receiving his wound he was in danger of falling from his horse, but catching hold of y<sup>e</sup> horse's maine he recovered himself. the Indians perceiving they had wound'd him, ran up very near to him, but he kept y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>s</sup> back by presenting his gun to y<sup>m</sup> once or twice, & when they stoped to charge he go trid of them & got up to some of y<sup>e</sup> company, [In this flight for life, as appears by another scrap of our MSS., he stopped and took up behind him Stepehn Belding, a boy companion of sixteen years, who thus escaped.] Capt. Turner, to whom he represented y<sup>e</sup> difficulties of y<sup>e</sup> men in ye rear & urgd y<sup>t</sup> he either turn back to y<sup>t</sup> relief, or tarry a little till they all come up & so go off in a body; but y<sup>e</sup> Capt. replid he had

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'better save some, than lose all,' and quickly y<sup>e</sup> army were divided into several parties, one pilot crying out 'if you love your lives follow me'; another y<sup>t</sup> was acquainted w<sup>th</sup> ye woods cry<sup>d</sup> 'if you love your lives follow me.' Wells fell into the rear again and took w<sup>th</sup> a small company y<sup>t</sup> separated from others y<sup>t</sup> run upon a parcel of Indians near a swamp & was most of y<sup>m</sup> killed. They then separated again & had about ten men left with him, and his horse failing considerably by reason of his wound, & himself spent w<sup>th</sup> bleeding, he was left with one John Jones, a wounded man likewise. He had now got about 2 miles from ye place where yy did y<sup>e</sup> exploit in, & now y<sup>y</sup> had left y<sup>e</sup> track of y<sup>e</sup> company & were left both by y<sup>e</sup> Indians y<sup>t</sup> persued y<sup>m</sup> and by their own men that should have terried with y<sup>m</sup>. These two men were unacquainted w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> woods, & without anny track or path. J. W. had a gun & J. J. a sword. J. J represented y<sup>e</sup> badness of his wounds, & made his companion think they were certainly mortall, thd therefore when yy separarted in order to find the path, J. W. was glad to leave him, lest he sh<sup>d</sup> be a clog or hindrance to him. Mr. W. grew faint, & once when ye Indians prest him, he was near fainting away, but by eating a nutmeg, (which his grandmother gave him as he was going out,) he was reviv<sup>d</sup>. After traveling awhile, he came upon Green river, and fold it up to y<sup>e</sup> place call<sup>d</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Country farms, and pass doer Green river, & attempted to go up y<sup>e</sup> mountain, but as he assend'd the hill he faint'd & fell from his horse;...

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The Indians have given the account following to Jonathan Wells, Esq., viz.: That the Monday after the fight, 8 Englishmen that were lost came to them and offered to submitt themselves to them, if they would not put them to death, but whether they promised them quarter or not, they took then, and burnt them; the method of Burning them was to cover them with thatch and put fire to it, and set them a running: and when one coat of thatch was burnt up, they would put on another, & the barbarous creatures that have given this account of their inhumanity, have in a scoffing manner added, that the Englishmen would cry out as they were burning, 'Oh dear!

oh dear!' The Indians themselves account it very unmanly to moan or make ado under the torments and cruelties of their enemies who put them to Death.”

**Sylvester Judd, *History of Hadley* (Springfield, MA: H.R. Hunting & Company, 1905).**

June 22, 1676.

[P. 164]

The complaint of Martha Harrison, which was substantiated by testimony before the Commissioners of Hadley, June 22, 1676,

“Martha Harrison of Hadley, widow, makes complaint against John Belcher of Braintree, a soldiers in Capt. Turner’s company, for being the culpable occasion of the death of her husband, Isaac Harrison , a wounded man, riding upon his own horse, who fell from his horse, being faint, and this John Belcher, who was behind him, rode from him with Harrison’s horse, though he entreated him not to leave him, but for God’s sake to let him ride with him.

Stephen Belden of Hatfield testified that he, riding behind Jonathan Wells, saw Isaac Harrison on the ground rising up, and heard him call to the man on his horse, 3 or 4 rods before, to take him up, saying he could ride now; the man rode away, and both Jonathan Wells and I called him to go back, and he would not. This was when we were returning from the fight at the falls.”

**John Easton, Franklin B. Hough, Editor, *A Narrative Of the Causes which led to Philip’s Indian War, of 1675 and 1676*, by John Easton, of Rhode Island (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1858)**

August 24, 1676 (Ca. May 19, 1676)

[P. 179]

Wenanaquabin of Pawtuxett saith, that he was not at the wounding of John Scott, but was at that Time living at Abiah Carpenters, and he could cleer him. Abiah Carpenters being sent for, before his face saith, that he went away form their House some time in May, 1675, and did not see him againe, nor could heare of him till towards Winter, which he saith is true. The said Wenanaquabin further saith, that he did not come to Warwick till Night after the Towne was burned, and after owned that he saw Nechett and Indian there. The said Nechett, to his Face affirmed that he saw him at Warwick at the burning the Towne with his Gun, about Noone. The said Wananaquabin also confesseth, that he was at the Fight with Capt. Turner, and there lost his Gun, and swam over a River to save his Life.

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Voted guilty of the Charge, and that he shall be putt to Death after the same Manner, and Time and Place as Quanopin.

- Note: Quanopin's sentence was "that he shall be shott to death in this Towne on the 26<sup>th</sup> Instant, and about one of the Clock in the Afternoone. P. 23.

John Wecopeak, on his Examination saith, that he was never out against the English, but one Time with other Narragansett Indians about the Month of March last, against a Towne upon Conecticut River called in Indian Pewanasuck, and at that Time their Company burned a Barne and two dwelling Houses, and killed two Englishmen, and that he was not at the burning of Pettacomscutt, but was at that Time with Indian John, William Heiffermans Man, removeinge their Wigwams, but shortly after he was sent downe by the Sachems to fetch off two dead Indians from thence, and saith that Georg Crafts Wife was shott with a Slugg, and chopt in some Parts of her Body with a Hatchett, and saith she did not crye hoe. Also saith, that he was at the Fight with Capt. Turner, and run away

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by Reason the Shott came as thick as Raine, but said alsoe, that he was at a great Distance. Butt John Godfree and William Heifferman saith, that he the said Wecopeak told them, that he saw Capt. Turner, and that he was shott in the Thigh, and that he knew it was him, for the said Turner said that was his name.

Voted guilty of the Charge, and to dye as the others.

**Orange Chapin, *The Chapin Genealogy* (Northampton, MA: Metcalf & Company, 1862).**  
Ca. May 17, 1676

[P. 4]

On May 17, 1676 one Soldier Japhet Chapin of Northampton, inscribed in his account book that

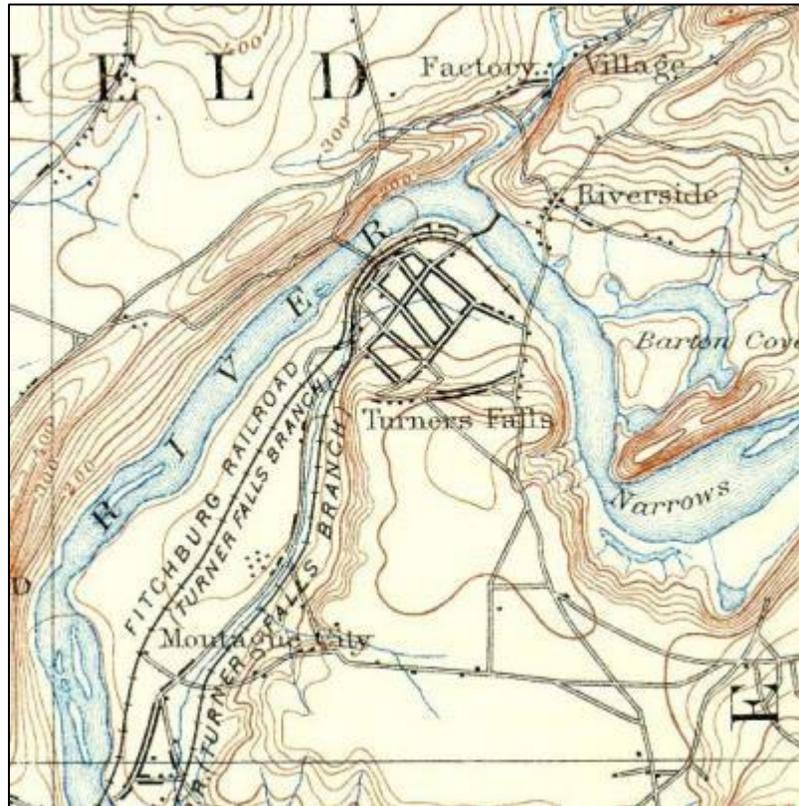
"I went out to Volenteare against the ingens the 17<sup>th</sup> of May, 1676 and we ingaged batel the 19<sup>th</sup> of May in the moaning before sunrise and made great Spoil upon the enemy and came off the same day with the, Los of 37 men and the Captin Turner, and came home the 20<sup>th</sup> of May."

## Appendix II – Great Falls KOCOA Analysis

Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Project

Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut

### *KOCOA Analysis*



### **KOCOA Analysis & Defining Features**

Battlefield landscapes consist of natural features (hills, streams, valleys, etc.) and cultural features (trails, fortifications, villages, etc.) that define the original battlefield landscape and also reflect the evolution of these features over time and their impacts to the original landscape. In order to identify, document, survey and map a battlefield, historians and archeologists must research all relevant historical accounts and identify the historic landscape that defined the battlefield in the field through terrain analysis and identification of natural and cultural features associated with the battlefield [Figure 1].

### **Terrain Analysis**

Terrain analysis is a critical aspect of battlefield surveys, so much so that the NPS ABPP requires all grant recipients to use KOCOA (Key terrain, Observation, Cover and concealment, Obstacles, Avenues of approach), a military terrain model the U.S. Army developed to evaluate the military

significance of terrain associated with a battlefield. By studying the military applications of the terrain using KOCOAs, a battlefield historian or archaeologist can identify the landscape of the battlefield and develop a basis for judging the merits and flaws of battle accounts. The components of KOCOAs include:

*Observation and Fields of Fire:* Observation is the condition of weather and terrain that allows a force to see friendly and enemy forces, and key aspects of the terrain. Fields of Fire is an area that a weapon or group of weapons may cover and fire into from a given position.

*Avenues of Approach and Withdrawal:* An avenue of approach is the route taken by a force that leads to its objective or to key terrain in its path. An Avenue of Withdrawal is the route taken by a force to withdraw from an objective or key terrain.

*Key Terrain and Decisive Terrain:* Key Terrain is any ground which, when controlled, affords a marked advantage to either combatant. Two factors can make terrain key: how a commander wants to use it, and whether his enemy can use it to defeat the commander's forces. Decisive Terrain is ground that must be controlled in order to successfully accomplish the mission.

*Obstacles:* Obstacles are any features that prevent, restrict, or delay troop movements. Obstacles can be natural, manmade, or a combination of both and fall into two categories: existing (such as swamps, rivers, dense wood, town or village) and reinforcing (placed on a battlefield through military effort).

*Cover and Concealment:* Cover is protection from enemy's fire (e.g. palisade, stone wall, brow of a hill, wooded swamp), and Concealment is protection from observation and surveillance (e.g. ravines, swamps, intervening hill or wood).

The four steps in this process include: 1) identify battlefield landscapes; 2) conduct battlefield terrain analysis with KOCOAs (**K**ey terrain, **O**bservation, **C**over and concealment, **O**bstacles, **A**venues of approach); 3) conduct battlefield survey (research, documentation, analysis, field visits, archeological survey and 4) define Study and Core Area, assess integrity and threats related to battlefield sites and map all relevant cultural and physical features on GIS base maps. The battlefield survey methods focused on the identification of relevant physical and cultural features using USGS 7.5" series Topographic Maps, aerial photographs, historic maps, and archeology – all of which are used to identify site locations and positions of combatants.

**Figure 1 - Critical Defining Features  
Battle of Great Falls / Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut: ABPP Phase I**

Name	Location	Relevance to Battle	Field Comment	KOCOA Analysis	Integrity Assessment	Remarks
<b>Terrain and Topographic Features</b>						
Connecticut River	The CT River runs south from the border with Quebec, Canada and discharges at Old Saybrook, CT. The portion relevant to the battle begins: Lat/Long Points: South <u>42.563015</u> , <u>-72.556390</u> ; North <u>42.601187</u> , <u>-72.545404</u>	The portion of the CT River beginning south at Deerfield and running north to Gill served as a major obstacle to English and Native forces	Substantial Industrial development around the towns of Gill and Montague, Open Space, Wooded	Key Terrain, Obstacle (English & Native), Avenue of retreat & approach (Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area
Deerfield Plains	Western side of the Connecticut River, approx. 2.5 miles.	English forces traveled north through Deerfield Plains on their approach to the Deerfield River	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material	Battle of Great Falls Study Area
Deerfield River	Forms a boundary between present-day Deerfield and Greenfield. It is a tributary of the Connecticut River.	English forces need to cross the Deerfield River to proceed north to Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut. There were at least two fords across the river.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material	Battle of Great Falls Study Area
Cheapside Neighborhood	A neck of land on the north bank of the Deerfield River abutted by the CT River to the east and the Green River to the west.	A Native observation outpost and possible fortification was established on this neck of land which forced the English to cross the Deerfield River further to the west. Native forces were alerted to the noise of horses and mobilized on the early morning of May 19, 1676 but did not encounter English forces.	Moderate Residential Development, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Observation (Native), Obstacles, Fortified Place	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area
Petty Plain	Located north of the Deerfield River and west of the Green River	English forces forded the Deerfield River and crossed Petty Plain towards the Green River.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area
Green River	A tributary of the Deerfield River that runs north through the Town of Greenfield, MA.	English forces forded the Green River south of Smead Brook. Captain Turner would later be killed in action during the English retreat while leading his men back across the Green River.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area
White Ash Swamp	White Ash Swamp is fed by Cherry Rum Brook and runs contiguous to Route 2. It is approx.5 mile northwest of the Connecticut River.	English forces likely maneuvered north of White Ash Swamp before dismounting from their horses before Fall River. During the English retreat Native forces held the swamp and decimated fleeing English. One group of English attempted to cut through the swamp and were killed or captured.	Low Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native), Cover & Concealment (Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area

Fall River	A tributary of the Connecticut River which empties just below the Great Falls.	English forces dismounted and left their horses and a small guard west of Fall River. The main force crossed Fall River and continued east.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area
Pisgah Mountain, SW Slope	Dominant landform in the area rising 715' (218 m) above the surrounding landscape.	English forces gathered on the southwestern slope of Pisgah Mountain within site of the Peskeompskut encampment.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Observation (English), Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area
Peskeompskut	A small neck of land immediately east of the Great Falls.	The site of the Native encampment attacked and destroyed by English forces on the morning of May 19, 1676.	Moderate Residential & Industrial Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native), Cover & Concealment (Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area

## Appendix III – Combatants

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
<b>Allis, William</b>		Hatfield	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1
<b>Ashdowne, John</b>		Weymouth	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Atherton, Rev. Hope</b>	Chaplain	Hatfield	Turner, Capt. William		Bodge 1906, 245; Judd 1863, 171
<b>Avis, John</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 9
<b>Barnard, Thomas</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 14
<b>Barill [Bardwell], Sergt.</b>	Sergt.		Turner, Capt. William		Doc. 74 1 Colonial War, CSL; Wells & Wells 1910, 85
<b>Belcher, John</b>		Braintree	Turner, Capt. William	Took the horse of Isaac Harrison, a wounded man, and was brought to court for disorderly conduct	Judd 1905, 164; Judd 1863, 172
<b>Belden, Stephen</b>		Hatfield	Turner, Capt. William		Judd 1905, 164
<b>Bennet, James</b>		Northampton	Turner, Capt. William		usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Bicknell, Joseph</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 22
<b>Brissenden, Thomas</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 32
<b>Bryan, Robert</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 36
<b>Buckley, George</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Burton, Jacob</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Church, John</b>		Hatfield	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001,1; Judd 1863, 172
<b>Chapin, Japhet</b>		Northampton	Turner, Capt. William		Chapin 1862, 4
<b>Clough, William</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 53
<b>Colfax, John</b>		Hatfield	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1
<b>Coniball, John</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 56
<b>Creek, Edward</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 61
<b>Crow, Samuel</b>		Hadley	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1
<b>Cunneball, John</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	Doreski 1982, 64
<b>Dason, Henry</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 65
<b>Davis, Samuel</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 67
<b>Dickenson, Sergeant John</b>	Sergeant	Hadley	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	Bodge 1906, 245; usgennet.org 2001, 1
<b>Draw [Drew], William</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doc. 74, 1 Colonial War, CSL
<b>Drinker, Edward</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 76
<b>Duncan, Jabez</b>		Worcester	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Elgar, Thomas</b>		Hadley	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1
<b>Elliott, Thomas</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 82
<b>Finch, Henry</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 88
<b>Foote, Nathaniel</b>		Hatfield	Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 88
<b>Foster, John</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Fowler, Joseph</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Gallop, Joseph</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 97
<b>Gerin, Peter</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2

<b>Gillet, Samuel</b>		Hatfield	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1
<b>Gilman, Ezekiel</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 102
<b>Hadlock, John</b>		Roxbury	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Harrison, Isaac</b>		Hadley	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2; Judd 1863, 172
<b>Hewes, George</b>		Springfield	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Hinsdell, Experience</b>	Guide	Hadley	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	Bodge 1906, 245; usgennet.org 2001, 1
<b>Hodgman, Edward</b>		Springfield	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Holmes, Samuel</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 128
<b>Holyoke, Samuel</b>	Lieutenant	Springfield	Turner, Capt. William		Bodge 1906, 245; Judd 1863, 171; Hubbard 1677, 85-86
<b>Howard, William</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Jameson, William</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 136
<b>Judkins, Samuel</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 143
<b>Kellogg, Joseph</b>	Sergeant	Hadley	Turner, Capt. William		Bodge 1906, 245; Judd 1863, 171
<b>Lamson, Joseph</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 149
<b>Langbury, John</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Lyman, John</b>	Ensign	Northampton	Turner, Capt. William		Bodge 1906, 245; Judd 1863, 171
<b>Lyon, Thomas</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1
<b>Mann, Josiah</b>		Boston	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Megunneway</b>			Abanaki (Tarratine)		Ellis & Moris, 226
<b>Miller, John</b>		Northampton	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Munn, John</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Everts 1879, 600
<b>Nims, Godfrey</b>			Turner, Capt.	"In 1692 he bought the home lot where his life's tragedies were enacted"	Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association 1908, 62
<b>Orris, Johnathan</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 177
<b>Parsons, William</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 181
<b>Pessacus</b>			Narragansett		Ellis & Morris, 226
<b>Pike, Joseph</b>		Springfield	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Priest, Joseph</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 195
<b>Pumham</b>			Narragansett		Ellis & Morris, 226
<b>Rainsford, Samuel</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Roberts, Thomas</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Roper, Ephraim</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 204
<b>Ruggles, George</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Seares, Robert</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 211
<b>Skinner, Thomas</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 215
<b>Smith, Matthias</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 217
<b>Squire, Philip</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 221
<b>Stewart, H.</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 224
<b>Stiff, Elias</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 224
<b>Sutliff, Nathaniel</b>		Deerfield/Pocumtuck	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1; Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association 1908, 61
<b>Symms, John</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Taylor, John</b>		Hadley	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2

<b>Tay (Toy), Isaiah</b>	Ensign		Turner, Capt. William		Bodge 1906, 245
<b>Watson, John</b>			Turner, Capt. William	Slain	Doreski 1982, 238
<b>Turner, William</b>	Captain	Boston	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	Doreski 1982, 238
<b>Veze, Samuel</b>		Braintree	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Wait, Benjamin</b>	Guide		Turner, Capt. William		Bodge 1906, 245; Judd 1863, 171
<b>Walker, John</b>		Northampton	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Wecopeck, John</b>		Narragansett			Hough 1858, 180
<b>Wells, Jonathan (age 16)</b>		Hadley	Turner, Capt. William	"Johnathan Wells, of Hadley, was wounded, and after much suffering and several narrow escapes, reached Hatfield on Sunday"	Judd 1863, 172
<b>Wenanaquabin</b>		Narragansett			Hough 1858, 179
<b>Whitteridge, John</b>		Salem	Turner, Capt. William	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
<b>Whitwell, Bartholomew</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 252
<b>Wood, Mark</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 257
<b>Wright, Edward</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 259
<b>Wright, Henry</b>			Turner, Capt. William		Doreski 1982, 259

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## Appendix IV: Timeline of Contextual Events

Sequence	Action	Location	People	Event Details	Response	Source:
9 November 1665	Land removal	Warwick, RI Colony	Punham, John Eliot to Sir Robert Carr	Punham and Indians to remove from Warwick and their planting lands. “John Eliot, of Roxbury, to Sir Robert Carr, interceding for Punham” (p. 134)	“Punham and his people have suffered much hard and ill dealings by some English ; and there hath been both force and fraud used towards them, to drive them or deceive them out of their lands. They are in no wise willing to part with that little which they still hold. I beseech you to deale honourably by them, as being one of the Honourable Commissioners of his Majestie. Let them feele and find in you the effects of a noble mind towards the poore and helplesse” (p. 134)	Bartlett 1857, 134
1667	Nipmuc Complain to Massachusetts about Narragansett	Mass Bay	Narragansett Sachem, Nipmuc Old Squaws	Nipmmuc Indians file a complaint against the Narraganstts to Mass Bay officals. Nipmucs acquse the Narragansetts for their “distressed condition” having destroyed their homes, corn, taken 8 guns and hogs, deer skin, wampum, wood, cotton, kettles. Narragansetts enter the Old Squa’s hut, she was blind...[rought transcription] “the meal [?] in it and gave it t her to eat she ded of it...eat it but with in 4 dayes after that squa died...”		Vol. 30: 138a, “Indian Affaires 1603- 1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachu setts Archive Collection</i> , Massachu setts State Library.
May 1667	Indians to be disarmed – leading to KPW	RI Colony	Thomas Willmott of Secunk, King Philip	England at war with the French and Dutch, and Indian hostilities	“Indians, especially of Philip, which giveth great occasion of suspicion of them and their treacherous designs. It is therefore ordered, that the Indians residing upon the Island shall bee forthwith disarmed of all sorts of arms, and that the Captain and militarie officers	Bartlett 1857, 193

					meeting with any Indian armed, they are authorized to seize the armes, and by authority from the magistracie of eyther towne....are to search and seize any armes to them belonging....And it is ordered, that iff in Rhode Island, or any other townes, any Indian shall be walking in the night time, he shall be seized by the watch and kept in custody till morning, and brought before the magistrate” (p.193)	
29 April 1668	Native submission	Mendon, Marlborough, Mass Bay	Nipmuc, Ketuhhunit, Uppekchoktuk, Wubumahekein, Wautesuk, Wussaumaudus, Tuhkomis, Papaumwoit, Wuhompeh	“The humble submission...of the Native indian sagamores & people of Nipmuce inhabiting within the bounds of the pattent of Massachusetts; and neare adjoyning onto the English towne settled f Mendon & Marlborough”		Vol. 30:146, “Indian Affaires 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachusetts Archive Collection</i> , Massachusetts State Library.
1670	Native industry   weaponry	Mount Hope	Hugh Cole’s report to Plymouth Court	“when I came to Mount Hope, I saw the most part of the Indians that I knew of Shewamett Indians, there at Mount Hope. And they were generally employed in making of bows and arrows and half pikes, and fixing up of guns” (p. 211)		Hugh Cole to Plymouth Court, 1670, “Cudworth letters” 1846, p. 211
Spring 1670	Jail   captivity	Newport, RI	John Carr, Quinapint	“The Assembly having well weighted the ill consequences that may ensure from the insolencye of John Carr, late prisoner in the jayle at Newport, where hee with Quinaapint, an Indian		Bartlett 1857, 295

				prisoner, broke the prison the 26 <sup>th</sup> of December last past, at night, and got over to Narragansett, where they both gave out threatening to doe mischief to the English, &c., thereabouts residing ; and in order to put their intentiones in execution, have been some months past preparing to fight, and drawing the Indians into conspiracye soe to keep themselves from justice” (p. 295)		
1 August 1671	Attempt to disarm   peace attempt   rumor	Natick	John Eliot	“We, the poor church at Natick, hearing that the honoured rulers and good people of Plymouth are pressing and arming of soldiers to go to war against the Missogkonnog Indians, (for what cause we know not), though they yet pray not to God, yet we hope they will; and we do mourn and pray for them, and desire greatly that they may not be destroyed” (p. 201)	“Therefore, we do send these our two brethren, Anthony and William, and we request John Sausiman to join them” (p. 201)	Instructions form the Church at Natick to William and Anthony, 1 Aug. 1671, “Cudworth letters” 1846, pp. 201-203
12 October 1671	Burnt infrastructure	Milford, Connecticut Colony	Milford Indians against the English	“Whereas some Indians who have lately or now doe inhabit wthin the bownds of Milford have made some complaint to this Court of some injury that they have received from the English in burning their forte or at least (as they say,) in cutting it down, and they desiring that this Cour would please seriously to consider their case and right them therein, and allo appoint them a place to build their forte upon” (p. 167)	This case is refered to the New Haven County court, “And this Court oth judg it meet that the Milford Sachem should be allowed libery [of] about twenty six men wth their famalys of the Pawgussett Indians, for their farher security till the troubles and wars with the Indians be over“(p. 168)	Trumbull 1852, 167-168
3 June 1674	Farming	Hadley, MA		The Mass Bay “Countrys farme in ye new plantation above Hadley” (p. 9). The plantation is 200 acres and more	Encroachment	Shurtleff 1854, 9

				toward the “remote lands,” settlers encouraged “at such rates as they can” (p. 9)	
7 October 1674	Rape   Slavery   prison	Mass Bay	Tom, the Indian	“In ansr to the petition of Tom, the Indians condemned by the last Court of Assistants to dy for his rape, &c., humbly acknouledging his offenc, pretending ignoranc of the law, &c, the Court judgeth it meet to grant his request for saving his life, but order, that he be sold for a slave for ten years, to be sent to the English living in some parts of the West Indjes, remaining in prison till be he sent away” (p. 25)	Shurtleff 1854, 25
13 May 1675	Pequot Charge   English appointment of Native leaders	Connecticut Colony	Major Talcott	Major Talcott was given the “commission for Robin and Herman Garrett for the governing of the Pequot Indians, and to appoint them some under officers, and to give them some order with some penalties annexed, profanation of the Sabboth, for not attending the lectures of Mr. Fitch amongst them according to this appointment, for theft and drunkenness, & c.; and to empower him in case of difficulty to repayre to Mr. Tho: Stanton and Lnt Avery for counsel, advice and assistance, as the difficulty shall require; and to order Robin some small allowance for his Government, to be raysed upon his people” (p. 257)	Trumbull 1852, 257
24 June 1675	War talk   Native relations	Nipmuc Country	King Philip, Pocomp, Nashavanca, Eshover Indian, Peppeshva, Wawamanit,	“Nipmuc Sachems agree not to aid Philip,”...and to “hold subjection to ye English of Massachusetts”...(169) “the rouler of Chabonakonon” does not agree Philip because “he is become a praying indian the sachems they no Love” (170)	Vol. 30: 169-170, “Indian Affaires 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33.”

			Comblgavas o			<i>Massachusetts Archive Collection</i> , Massachusetts State Library.
25 June 1675	Fear   war   mortality	Swansea, MA	Uncas, King Philip, English	“sad providence that yesterday fell out at Mattapoise (Swansey), of the loss of six men, without doubt, you have from our general, which may, I desire, be an inducement to you to strengthen our towns, that are weakened by our departure ; since the Indians do their exploits on outhouses and straggling persons. It is reported, credibly, that Uncas sent Philip twenty men last Saturday was se’n night ; and sent him word, that if he sent him six English heads, all the Indians in the country were engaged against the English” (p. 87)	“The forces are dispersed to several places to the town, and some to Rehoboth, which this day we intend to draw into a narrower compass ; which, when we have done, we intend to lay ambushment in the Indians’ walks, to cut off their men, as they do to cut off our men ; for their present motion is to send forth scouts to lie in our walks, to make discovery, and cut off our men” (p. 87)	Nathaniel Thomas to Governor Winslow; Cudworth Letters 1846, 86-87
July 1675	Cultural threat	Mass Bay	Narragansetts, Potok	“July, 1675, they complied to a treaty of continuing in peace and friendship with the English. But among other articles, the Narragansetts, by their agent Potuche (Potok), urged that the English should not send any among them to preach the Gospel or call upon them to pray to God. But, the English refusing to concede to such an article, it was withdrawn, and a peace concluded for that time. In this act they declared what their hearts were...But the Lord Jesus, before the expiration of 18 months, destroyed the body of the Narragansett nation” (p. 439).		Gookin 1999, 439
2 July	Native service			Praying Indians recruited by Daniel		Gooking

1675				Gookin, numbering 52, were sent to Mt. Hope under the command of Capt Issac Johnson,” Major Savage’s post (p. 442-443).		1999, 442-443
9 July 1675	Trade Relations	Mas Bay	English-Natives	“Treasurer to license persons to sell any Indian or Indians, not in hostility wth us, powder, shott, lead, guns, hand gunnes, rapier blades, swords, &c, on condition therein exprest” (p. 45)		Shurtleff 1854, 45
Friday, 17(17) July 1675	War   skirmish   mortality rate   WIA   lack of provisions	Mount-Hope Neck	James Cudworth, Old Indian Wittoma	“On Friday last I marched out with about an hundred and twenty men, to search for Philip and squaw sachem; 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, whereabouts the squaw sachem was, and whereabouts Philip was; so we marched to find out the squaw sachem; and in our travel were fired upon of the bushes, and in and out of swamps were fired at, and we had a hot dispute...we lost two men, and four more wounded. On Monday 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 swamp....only one old man, that we took there, who said, Wittoma was there that day, and that Philip had (p. 84), been there the day before...we having dead men and wounded men, that in the skirmish we had with him on Friday, that we killed	Due to the lack of supplies and provisions troops are held at the Pocassett garrison	James Cudworth to Gov. Josiah Winslow, Cudworth Letters 1846, 84

				seven men, and hurt and wounded divers others...another garrison at Pocasset; and to have flying army, to be in motion to keep the Indians from destroying out cattle, and fetching in supply of food; which being attended, will bring them to great straights; 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 straights; 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, and so to fly from one town to another, whose constant motion keep the enemy in fear" (p.85).	
Ca. 24 August 1675	Mortality WIA   KIA	"Hatfield side"	Captain Lothrop and Beers, then stationed in Hadley	Ventured on the Hatfield side to disarm the Indians, some the Indians flee, expect an old Indian man who refused and was killed by his Indians. Lathrop and Beers follow the Indians with 100 men (1/2 sent back to defend Hadley). In parley, 40 Indians lay fire followed by an English volley. Natives drop luggage and retreat into the swamp. The fight lasts for three hours resulting in the death of six English (one English shot in the back by friendly fire); 7 <sup>th</sup> died of wounds on way home, and two died the following night; of the Natives 26	Judd 1905, 134

				were killed (p. 134).		
25 August 1675	War   Native alliance	Sugar Loaf Hill, “10 miles above Hatfield”	Norwottucks , Pocomtucks	The August 25 <sup>th</sup> battle of 1675	The Norwottucks, Pocomtucks and the Deerfield Indians unite sometime thereafter to the English (p. 163)	Judd 1905, 136
1 September 1675	Mortality   burnt infrastructure	Deerfield – Pocumtuck	James Eggleston of Windsor, left at Deerfield by Capt. Watts	Garrison soldier James Eggleston was shot while looking for his horse, and Indians burn most of their houses and barns, and killed two more English “by their forts” (p. 135).		Letter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Nothampton to Increase Mather, Judd 1905, 133-136
1 September 1675	Raid   Concealment	Hadley	Rev. John Russell, Generals Edward Whalley and William Goffe	Generals Whalley and William Goffe concealed in the home of Rev. John Russell in Hadley for as early as 1664. Goffe rallies the town’s people of Hadley to defend themselves (p. 138).		Judd 1905, 138-139
2 September 1675	Mortality			Natives from the Squakheag fort kill 8 Englishmen (p. 135)		Letter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Nothampton to Increase Mather, Judd 1905, 133-136
3-4 September 1675	Mortality   hunger   captive   drunkenness	Squakeag	Capt. Beers and men	On September 3 “Capt. Beers set forth [from Hadley] with about 36 men and some carts to fetch off the garrison at Squakheag, and coming within three		Letter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard,

				miles of the place, the next morning [Sept. 4 <sup>th</sup> ] were set upon by a great number of Indians from the side of a swamp, where was a hot dispute for some time. They having lost their Captain and some others, resolved at last to fly, and going to take horse, lost several men more, I think about twelve; the most escaped got to Hadley that evening; next morning another came in, and at night another had been taken by the Indians, and loosed from his bonds by a Natick Indian; he tells that the Indians were all drunk that night, that they mourned much for loss of a great captain, that the English had killed twenty-five of their men. Six days later, another soldier came in, who had been lost ever since the fight, and was famished, and so lost his understanding that he knew not what day the fight was on” (p. 135)		of Nothhamp ton to Increase Mather, Judd 1905, 133-136
5 (Sunday) - 6 (Monday) September 1675	Mortality   WIA   Zoonosis   burial practice	Squakeag	Major Treat	Troops come to the site where Capt. Beers was executed; “his men were much daunted to see the heads of Capt. Beers’ soldiers upon poles by the wayside,” and were fired upon by 14 Indians, Major Treat wounded in the thigh (superficial non-critical wound), by the time they make it to the fort the 6 <sup>th</sup> , then men left the cattle and the bodies unburied (p. 135)		Letter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Nothhamp ton to Increase Mather, Judd 1905, 133-136
6 September 1675	Burnt infrastructure	Northfield	Major Treat	After Major Treat leaves Northfield, Natives attack and destroy Northfield (p. 137)		Judd 1905, 137
September 1675	War   Native population	Maine		War in Maine begins, Judd says different war than that of KPW. The		Judd 1863, 135

	statistics			Indians in New England, excluding Maine may have numbered 21,000. In 1675, King Philip had 850-900 men, 3500 including women and children. These Natives were mostly Nipmucks (nearly ½), and the rest were Mass Bay Indians (p. 135)		
Sunday September 12 1675		Pocumtuck		Indians attack 22 men at Pocumtuck that were making their way from one garrison to the next. Not one man killed. One man captured (pp. 135-136). After the Indians meet on the hill “in a Meadow” (Dearfield Meadow) burnt two homes, killed “many horses” and took away horse-loads of beef and pork” (p. 136).		Judd 1905 125-136.
15 September 1675	War   living relations   infrastructure	Hadley vicinity	Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northhampt on, Increase Mather, Wappaye, Deac. Goodman	“Wamppaye told Deac. Goodman of Hadley, before the war broke out, that there would be war between the Indians and English this summer. 4. Before tidings of the war in Plymouth colony had been received, our Indians, who in all times of danger and war, had been wont to seek shelter by crowding into our homelots, as near our houses as possible, and begging house-room for their stuff and themselves, now, on a sudden, plucked up their wigwams, and took away the goods they had laid up in our houses. 5. They shot bullets at our men five several times, in diverse places,-one at John Clary as he was passing by the fort in the road, between Northampton and Hatfield” (p. 133).		Letter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northham ton to Increase Mather, Judd 1905, 133-136
Saturday 18 September 1675	Mortality   provisions   Turners Fall connection	Guard provisions from Deerfield to	Capt. Lathrop	Lothrop ordered to move supplies from Deerfield to Hadley, MA for safety and was attacked by Indians coming out of the swamp. Many of the	All 64 English that were killed were buried the next day (p. 141)	Judd 1905, 140-141

		Hadley, MA		men left their arms in the carts while they went to gather grapes...”killed Capt. Lothrop and above three score of his men, stripped them of their clothes, and left them to lie weltering in their blood. Capt. Mosely, who was gone out [from Deerfield] to range the woods, hearing the guns, hastened to their help, but before he could come, the other captain and his men were slain” (p. 140). Shortly after, Treat and Uncas’s Indians (above 100 men) aided; few (11 slain and or wounded) of Mosely’s men died (p. 140). Later intelligence of One-eyed John to James Quannaphoit states that 96 Indian died, above 40 wounded (many of these died shortly after) and those of slain removed by the battlefield from fellow Native combatants (p. 140)		
20-21 September 1675	Abandoned Relocation	Deerfield abandoned		Deerfield Abandoned	Inhabitants remove to Hatfield, etc.	Judd 1905, 142
26 September 1675	Burnt infrastructure   provisions	“west side of the river”	Major Pynchon	Pynchon’s farm house, barns with grain and hay set afire and destroyed by Indians (p. 143)	The following winter Pynchon keeps cattle and supplies at Lyme, CT (p. 143)	Judd 1905, 143
28 September 1675	English scouting turned bad   Mortality	Northampton	Praisever Turner, Uzackaby Skackspeer	Major Pynchon writes that he has been sending out English scouts, however they are “Awk” and we have no Indian friends to scout for us, and two English men Turner and Shackspeer “being gone out in the morning to cut wood, and but a little from the house, were both shot down dead, having two bullets a piece shot into their breasts. The Indians cut off their scalps, took their arms and were off in a trice” (pp. 142-143).		Judd 1905, pp. 142-143
Fall 1675	Subsistence			100 men under the command of		Gookin

	threat   Eco-military tactic			Plimoth Captain Gorham and Lieut. Upham of Mass, sent to “Nipmuck Country to destroy the enemy’s cornfields that they had deserted, and to hinder their relief thereby in the winter” (p. 467).		1999, 467
Monday, October 4, 1675	Indian captivity	Naick, Punkapoag petition	Peter Indian, John Kingley of Milton, Samell umpatuin, Mist Waban, Ninacow, Daniell Tokouwompt, Captain Jon Hum_, William hahaton, James Rumnymars h, Thomas Rumnymars h	Petition of several Indians from Natick and Punkapoag for the release of Peter Indian (one among the five praying Indians) that was taken captive by enemy forces and discovered by the English in lat August Plimoth and since sold to John Kingley of Milton whm he served well. Peter at some point was committed to prison, and it is asked that he be able to return home to his wife and children.		Vol. 30: 229, “Indian Affaires 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachusetts Archive Collection</i> , Massachusetts State Library.
Tuesday 5 October 1675	Burnt Infrastructure   Relocation   Provisions	Springfield, MA	Mr. Glover, Mr. Hitchcock, Goodman Stewart, John Pynchon	The destruction of Springfield resulting in the loss of several barns burnt and stored corn, Pynchon’s grist mill and corn mill, and other buildings he had leased to tenants. Two buildings spared, two garrison houses at the “lower end of town” (p. 144). Total of 32 buildings and barns. John Russel in his letter states there are 13 homes standing (p. 144)		Judd 1905, 144
Tuesday 5 October 1675	Engagement   Mortality rate   Native warrior statistics   Population	Springfield, MA vicinity	Lt. Cooper, Thomas Miller, Wequogon	Lt. Coppers visits the “Springfield” Native fort and Wequogon gives his word of friendship only to be shot down a quarter mile “out of town” and he was killed with Thomas Miller of		Judd 1905, 145

	statistics Quabaug Assoc.   WIA			Springfield (p. 144). In this engagement four wounded (Nathaniel Browne and Edmund Pringridays, died a few days after(p. 145) It is reported that there were 100 Indians with Wequogon, and one of his captains declared that he had also burnt Quabaug (p. 144). Reported that there are 50 families “left alone at Hadley” (p. 144).		
Wednesday October 1675	Destruction of Springfield  mortality	Springfield, MA	John Russell	13 houses left standing at Springfield; two men and one women killed		Judd 1905, 144-145
13 October 1675	Fear	Boston, MA		“Whereas, notwithstanding the councils former prohibition of all Indians coming to, or remaining in, the toune of Boston, wee finde that still there remaines ground of feare that, unless more effectuall care be taken, we may be exposed to mischief by some of that barbarous crew, or any strangers, not of our nation, by the coming into or residing in the toune of Boston” (p. 46)	Ordered that no one in the town of Boston can entertain an Indian, Indians must be escorted by two musketeers upon entering the towne, but not allowed to stay unless the prison. All Indians found without a guard are to be “apprehended” (p. 46). Military watch, Charlestown Ferry not to admit any Indians (p. 47)	Shurtleff 1854, 46- 47
13 October 1675	War   Military Laws	Boston, MA	Mass Bay Officials	Commanders to keep their soldiers on duty, no “blaspheme” against God or “upon pain to have his tongue bored wth a hot iron;” negligent duty shall be punished, no soldiers must argue or strike their superiors or risk penalty of death, no solider shall leave his position without license or fear death, silence is mandatory upon lodging and when marching to battle (p. 49). “No man shall utter any words of sedition or mutiny, upon pajne death;” no drunkenness, no “Rapes, ravishments, unnaturall abuses, & adultery shall be punished by death;” no theft and no		Shurtleff 1854, 49- 50

				murder, when called to assemble must be done fully armed, “none shall presume to spoyle, sell, or carry away any ammuniion committed unto him, upon payne of death” (p. 50).		
13 October 1675	War   Indian removal	Braintree, Milton	Puncapaug Indians	Puncapouge Indians are given the freedom to remove with their possessions near Braintree and Milton and must not be disrupted in their removal but aided to such place (p. 53)	Punckapauge nearly complete a fort for “securing southern passages & inlets upon our plantations” and that Major Suffolke “appoint out of the towns of Dorchester, Milton & Braintry 16-20 soldiers, well armed to reside at Punkepauge, under the command of a meete person wch souldiers together wth the Indians of the place, use all diligence by scouting and ranging in the woods between Weymouth & Naticke to prevent or give intelligence of the approach of the enemy or any strange Indians” (p. 55)	Shurtleff 1854, 53, 55
13 October 1675	War   Indian removal   Fear	Sherburne, MA	Nattick Indians and Henry Lealands of Sherburne	“Upon information given to this Court of three Indians of Naticke that are separated from the rest of the Indians there, and now resyding with HenryLealands, of Sherburne, wth drawing themselves as suspecting those Indians to have some designe against the English, the Court doeth order & hereby appoint Mr William Avery, Ensign Thomas Fuller, & Serjant Ellis, forthwith to convent the sajd three Indians before them, & strictly to examine them as to” (p. 56)		Shurtleff 1854, 56
13 October 1675	War   Indian acquisition   Fear   Indian removal	Wamesicke, near Chelmsford, MA	Indians at Wamesicke, old man Mannapaugh and his young man Mannanesit, Uncas, William	“It is ordered, that the major general forthwith take order to secure the Indians at Wamesicke, & about Chelmsford. Upon the Courts hearing the evidences produced against Wm Hawkins, Indian, as to the firing the haystack at Chelmsford, sentenct him to be sent away by the Treasurer. Two Indians, one an old man named		Shurtleff 1854, 58

			Hawkins	Mannapaugh, & Mannanesit, a young man, his sonn, pretending themselves to belong to Uncas, being found at Chelmsford, where the haystack was fired, giving no reason to their coming & staying here, was judged to be spyes, and ordered to be sent away by the Treasurer” (p. 58).	
14 October 1675	Men recruited	Connecticut Colony		Of those men levied Capt. James Avery for New London to raise 40 English with Pequots, Captain John Mason 20 English from Norwich with Moheags (p. 268)	Trumbull 267-269
16 October 1675	Native warrior statistics   Captivity   torture	Springfield, Vernon, Vermont vicinity		Letter from Capt. Appleton, captured Indian squaw of Springfield informs that there were 270 Indians that attacked Springfield, and 600 warriors total now at Coasset, a place 50 miles from Hadley (p. 146)	Judd 1905, 146
Tuesday 19 October 1675	Hatfield attacked   Native warrior statistics   Turner’s Fall connection	Hatfield, MA	Capt. Mosely and Capt. Poole	700-800 Native warriors attack Hatfield, took two/three scouts taken, and 7 of Mosley’s men taken; Capt. Appleton’s sergeant “mortally wounded just be his side; Natives that night recover their dead (p. 147)	Judd 1905, 147
1675	Hatfield attack	Hatfield		27 people at Hatfield, burnt homes and took 23 captive to “French territories.” Captives included Ben Wait and Jenings. In May the following six months 19 of the English captives were returned....and about that time “French Indians carried away Wannalantet and his small party from Patuxet, Wee never heard since what became of them, for to the French they were not brought, nor yet among the Easterne Indians: therefore it is conjectured that the Moquas and met them and seized them all and put them to death, or kept them in bondage”	“94. Accounts of Indian Raids on New England,” <i>Egerton Collection</i> 2395, ff. 518, 520. British Museum.

20 October 1675	Burnt infrastructure	Northampton, MA		A few Indians left over from the Hatfield attack, burn 4-5 houses and 2-3 barns on the outer parts of Northampton (p. 148)		Judd 1905, 148
20 October 1675	Dislocation  impoverishment  imprisonment			Joseph Cook of Cambridge ordered to Mass Bay Court to inform them of the “Wamesitt Indians were upon the way coming down to order, and that they might be there on the morrow...number about one hundred and forty-five men, women, and children, whereof about thirty-three were men that were all unarmed; that many of them were naked, and several of them decrepit with age, sundry infants, and all wanted supplies of food, for they were fain to leave most they had behind them, except some matters their carried upon their backs” (Gookin 1999, 472). All were sent back to their inhabitants, except the 33 able men that were due in Charlestown Court for inspection, kept in prison (p. 472).		Gookin 1999, 472
29 October 1675	Mortality rate	Meadow, Northampton vicinity	John Roberts, Joseph Baker and son Joseph, Thomas Salmon	Joseph Baker and his son Joseph, and Thomas Salmon were killed while working the field; John Roberts a wounded soldier dies in Northampton about the same time (p. 148)		Judd 1905, 148
30 October 1675	Relocation			Samuel Shrimpton of Boston, owner of Deer Island, grants permission to use his Island as a place to home to the Natick Indians (about 200 in number) under the premise that no wood be cut and none of his sheep injured (p. 473).		Gookin 1999, 473
1675	Disease causation			“these poor Christians lost their lives by war, sickness, and famine ; and some were executed that came in to us		Gookin 1999, 477

				: it was a great scandal to the Christian religion professed” (p. 477).		
November 1675	Conscription	Essex County	John Loughton	“John Loughton, complained of for running away after being impressed for the service against the Indians, and alleging that another man was sent to serve in his room, who was accepted by him who had the present command, but court considering that he ought to have brought his discharge under the officer’s hand, ordered that he had freed from the penalty that law requires, but pay all the charges of this prosecution” (p. 89)		Essex Country Recs 1917, 89
3 November 1675	Captivity	Mass Bay, islands		“Whereas this Court have, for weighty reasons, placed sundry Indians (that have subjected to our govern) upon some islands for their and our security...It is orderd, that none of the said Indians shall presume to goe off the said islands voluntarily, upon pain of death; and that is shallbe lawfull for the English to destroy those that they shall finde stragling off from the said places of their confinement” (p. 63)		Shurtleff 1854, 63
3 November	Provisions conscription	Mass Bay		Men impressed to help gather corn; and due to the difficulties of the Indian War the “Judge meete that the law prohibiting importation of wheat, bisket, & flower be suspended as to the particulars above mentioned, until this Court take further order” (p. 64). ...”This Court, considering the great danger of a famine, or at least a scarsity of break and other provisions, by reason of this war, if the Lord gratusly prevent not” (p. 64)	To prevent famine men conscripted to gather corn, exports prohibited, such attemps to export will be confinscated (p. 64)	Shurtleff 1854, 64
3 November 1675	Abandonment	Mendon, Mass Bay		“Inhabitants of Mendon not to quit their habitatin on penalty,” those who leave forfeit their stakes at Mendon (p.		Shurtleff 1854, 65

				65)		
3 November 1675	Native wrongfully accused	Mass Bay	Wannalauset s 2 Indians	“Wheras two Indians, that came in from Wannalauset, upon a safe conduct from the council, have, through some mistake, been sentenced by this Court to be sold, which now appearing, it is ordered, that the said sentence by reversed, & that they be otherwise disposed of for thri owne and the countrys security. The nakes of the Indians are Monnipaugh & Mannassett. And although the sajd persons should be sold, yt the keeper shall not deliver them without order of this Court or council” (p. 68)		Shurtleff 1854, 68
24 November 1675 (though on old Calendar may be Jan. 24, 76)	Native settlements   WIA   KIA   Native ritual   French relations	Around Lancaster	Native James Quanapaug, Job Indian, spies	300 Native soldiers situated 30 miles from Lancaster at a place called Menemesseg “twenty miles to the northward of Connecticut Path” where they have “bark wigwams for shelter, and some mats; have pork, beef, and venison plenty. Their corn, he thinks, will fall short” (p. 205); Native Tuckup was appointed by Philip to kill James Speen, Andrew Pitimy, captain Hunter, Thomas Quanupu and Peter Ephraim if “they came into their hands; and said, I was one of the worst, and they would kill me, because I went up with the army to Swansey, where Pebe and one of Philip’s 165ounselors were killed, and that I helped to cut off their hands, and bade me look to myself. Next morning I went to one-eyed John’s wigwam. He said he was glad to see me; I had been his friend for many years, and had helped kill Mohaug; and said, nobody should meddle with me. He said if any body hurt me they shoud		James Quanapau g’s Informatio n, 24. 11 mo., 1675, “Cudwort h letters” 1846, pp. 205-208

				<p>die. Then came Matoonus his company and others, went dancing; we painted our faces and went dancing with them, and were very good friends. The dance continued two or three nights, after which they looked badly upon me again.....I asked one-eyed John, how many men he lost; he said, but two. I asked him how many he lost about Hatfield: he said, he lost one in the fight with captain Beers; another in fight with captain Lathrop. He had about forty men under him” (p. 206). I asked him how many Philip and Northhampton Indians (p. 206) lost: he said, but two. I asked him how much ammunition he had : he said, half a peck of powder, and shewed me it. He said, he had it from the soldiers that were slain, some, and some from the fort of Orania. They have in these towns about twice so many women and children as are persons upon Deer island. He said, he expected help from the Wampaugs and Mohegins. The Frenchmen, that went up from Boston to Norwuthick, were with the Indians, and shwed them some letters, and burnt some papers there, and bid them they should not burn mills nor meeting-houses, for there God was worshipped; and told them that they would come by land, and assist them, and would have Connecticut river, and that ships would come from France and stop up the bay, to hinder English ships and soldiers coming. And this Indian told me, they would fall upon Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury and Medfield; and that first</p>		
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				<p>thing they would do should be to cut down Lancaster bridge; so to hinder their flight, and assistance coming to them; and that they intended to fall upon them in about 20 days's time from Wednesday last. The Narragansetts sent up one English head to them by two of their men; and they shot at the Narragansetts, told them they had been friends to the English, and that the head was nothing. Afterwards they sent up two more men, with twelve scalps; then they received them, and hung the scalps on trees....messenger came,...said, they lost but forty fighting men, and three hundred old men, women and children; and said they had a great English captain among them, who had killed five Englishmen; that captain Mosely was killed, and that the Narragansetts were drawing to Quantisick; tow hundred men were come then; that they are in three companies; Pomham is by himself, and Quananshet by himself; Ninegret is parted from them. They said Ninegret's men pretended to help the English, but were false, and did not shoot against the Indians; but the Mohegins killed more (p. 207) than the English. They said, there is an Englishman called Williams about Mr. Stanton's, who, after the fight came to the fort of the sachems to beg for his life, and he life of his wife and children, tendered them is cattle, corn, and foods, and to bring them powder he could. Robert Pepper is a prisoner among the Indians where I was; was</p>		
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				wounded in the fight in the leg, and got into a tree and lay there, and Sam of Mashaway took him, dragged him away, and abused him. After two days, Sam took him into his wigwam, and told him, if he did not doe of his wound he should not be killed, and doth now use him kindly. Pepper fold me, his master Sam said he should go home in the Spring. Philip hath two prisoners of the English, one Greenleaf's man, a ship carpenter, and a Barbados boy. Philip is well, and within half day's journey of the fort of Orania on that side; Hadley Indians on this side, a little distant one from the other. Sancumucha, Hadley Sachem, was ready to kill Philip; told him he had brought all this trouble on them. They lived very well by the English; two Mohaug's have been with them the last summer, and buy powder for them at Orania. Two Wampaug's are with them. The Old men are weary of the war, but the young men are for the continuance of it. They say, they have a good store of arms. Marlborough Indians are with them....it is reported, there is seven hundred fighting men, well armed, left of the Narragansetts" (p. 208)		
December 1675	Foodways   Impoverishment   relocation	Deer Island		Deer Island "For they lived chiefly upon claims and shell-fish, that they digged out of the sand, at low water : the Island was bleak and cold, their wigwams poor and mean, their clothes few and thin; some little corn they had of their own" (p. 485).	Gookin 1999, 485	
Winter of 1675/Febr	Native captives	Albany, NY	Benjamin Wait of	Benjamin Wait, having suffered from the 1675 Indian raid on Hatfield, was	Edgerton Collection	

uary 1676	redeemed captives		Hatfield, MA	given permission in 1675 by the Governor of Quebec to pursue his wife, children and 23 captured English into the French Territories (Edgerton Collection 1675, ff. 518). Having meet with other English in Mohawk country, and information from French Jesuits, six months later Wait and his small party, including accompanying French men, returned back to Hatfield with 19 of the captured persons (Edgerton Collection 1675, ff. 518).		1675, ff. 518, British Library   Judd 1905, 148
26 December 1675 (Bill of doc. Filed 17 May 1676)	Morality Medical treatment	Swamp Fight Injuries   Narraganset	Doctor Simon Cooper of Newport, RI, Captain Mason, Edward Shippy, Jacob Pierce, Joseph Ginings, Joseph Wheeler, John Sergeant, Joshua Baasham, Mark Makins	Captain Mason of Norrodg broke his skull, took out pieces, not cured; Edward Shippy of Seabrook shot through mouth and broke upper jaw “which the Surgions would not dress because ye said he was a deade man,” CURED; Jacob Pierce was wounded in the leg; Joshua Baasham wounded “in the breast,” left before Simon knew if cured; Mark Makings of Stratford “his shoulder blade shot to peese Cured”; Joseph Ginings of Wethersfield “shot into the heade his Jaw Brocke & many pieces taken out Cured”; “Joseph Wheeler of Milford wounded in ye arme Cured”; John Sergant of Gilford wounded in the back: Cured”(doc. 72)	The fact that these guys lived, even with delayed treatment – probably sent to Newport	Colonial War 1: 72a, CSL
December 1675- January 1676	Weather conditions	North of Brookfield, MA		Snow “mid-thigh deep”		Judd 1905, 150
28 January 1676	War pursuit   Mortality Rate	Wickford northwesterly to Nipmuc Country	Major Treat and his 200-300 troops with some	English in this pursuit killed and took an estimated 70 Natives (p. 154)		Judd 1905, 154

			from Wickford (p. 154)			
1676	War	Syllery, New France	English Jesuits	KPW expands to New France Jesuits at Syllery a Mission of the Abnakis report 400 English soldiers that had gone out, and only 7-8 that returned and that portions of the towns were destroyed and sacked killing male and women English and made them slaves (p. 231)		Thwaites 1900, 231
10 February 1676	Mortality   Captivity   brunt infrastructure	Lancaster, MA	Mary Rowlandson and children	Nipmucks from Wenimesset and Narragansetts attack Lancaster, estimated about 400 (p. 154)	Killed or captured 42 English; burnt nearly all infrastructure (p. 154). The place after a few weeks was abandoned (p. 154)	Judd 1905, 154
6-9 February 1676	Mortality   Captivity   Burnt infrastructure	Mass Bay[?]	Mr. Stanton, Pequots, Patomtoo Indians	The Pequots and English pursue the Narragansett Indians – slew “four score and followed them neare about thr score and ten Mille the Enemies having Noties of our Armyes approaching the Sachems fleed and their Wimen and Children and lefte sixty Patomtook Indians three hundred fitteing Men to way lay the army by the Ambuscadoes...they wounded five English men in the Rear of the Army after they weare beaten in the Fronte by our English and our Endyans. We slew at that Time five of the Uplanders and killed on of there chefe Captains (p. 140) the same Day took ye Towne and layed there all Night, the next day burned the Towne and then marched to the Metropolitente Place and found it deserted so fired nere five hundred Widgwames. This scalpe cared by the Bearer was a Endyon of greate Accounte and was taken with 25 persons more by the Pecoites Indyons		Stanton’s Letter on “Indyan News” Hough 1858, 140-141

				upon their returning home after they parted with the English....and his men killed two Men nere Noradg and took away a Boy alive this 6 February” (p.141).		
21 February 1676	Limited War Funds	Mass Bay		“Indians, who are found by experience to be very serviceable & necessary, & have binn imployed in a full proportion to the ffoote, it is hereby ordred, that that part of the order concerning troopers be repealed. Whereas the present war with the Indians hath so farr exhausted the country treasury, that there is not sufficiency to prosecute the said war to effect” (p. 71)		Shurtleff 1854, 71
21 February 1676	Dislocation   slavery	Mass Bay	Authorizatio n by Major Richard Walderne and Major Nicholas Shapleigh	“Whereas severall Indians that belong to the eastern parts that had withdraune themselves lately come in & rendred themselves to mercy, & divers others are dayly expected in...to procure a peace with them & the English” and if no peace terms can be reached then the Indians are to be shipped elsewhere to prevent damage (p. 72)		Shurtleff 1854, 72
21 February 1676	War rewards	Mass Bay		Due to the actions and fear caused by “many sculking Indians” the English are encouraged to seize, kill and take prisioner of any Indian “on south side of Piscataqua River, he or they shallbe allowed three pounds p head, or the prisoners so taken, making it appeare to the committee of milia of that towne to wch they are brough” (p. 72)		Shurtleff 1854, 73
21 February 1676	Native spies	Deer Island[?] to Roxbury	John Curtice of Roxbury	“This Court order Jn Curtise, of Roxbury to be a guide to the forces now going forth, & he is impowered to take sixe Indians from the island for (p. 74) his assistance, wth their arms,		Shurtleff 1854, 74-75

				some of wch Indians may be improved for spies as the commander in cheife shall appoint” (p. 75)		
15 February 1676	Great Riot of Hadley	Hadley, MA	Young men of Hadley, leader Edward Grannis	Riot	Edward Grannis was whipped 12 times, Jonathan Gilbert Jr. and Joseph Selding on bond for 10 pounds for good behavior, Thomas Dickinson was fined 3 pounds, Nehemiah Dickenson, William Booker, Thomas Croft, and Jonathn March were fined 5 pounds. Samuel Bernard whipped 12 times.	Judd 1863, 98
25 February 1676	Captivity mortality Torture	Hatfield, MA	Thomas Warner	Thomas Warner had been taken October 19, 1675 when Hatfield was raided by 7-800 Indians, Hatfield at that time was under the command of Captain Moseley and Poole. He travel to Albany, and arrived back home February 25, 1676, upon which he was examined for details (p. 143)	Intelligence gathered: Hatfield raided shot down five officers, and took three captive (one killed outright and one was a Indyan that escaped); they lay still for two days, and then marched along with additional 30 north east toward Oasuck. The next night the rest of the Native army gathered and burnt two more towns taken one captive “cutting a Hole below his breast out of which they pull’d his Gutts, and then 172ot off his Head. That they putt him so to Death in the Presence of him and his Comrade, and threatened them alfo with the like. That they burnt his Nayles, and put his Feet to scald them agst the Fire to pin him to the Ground. The Stake about the Bignesse of his Finger” (p. 144). They progressed toward Oasmuk (p. 145) and about five weeks in, Warner witnessed the gathering of 2100 Native warriors, with 5-600 being French Indians with “Strawes in their Noses” (p. 145). Most of these warriors were young men no older than the age of 40, supplied with powder by the French Indians (p. 145).	“The Examinati on of Tho. Warner, that had been a Prisoner with the Indians.” Hough 1858, 143-145
4 March 1676	Soldier Disease provisions/tain	Hadley, MA	Capt. Wm Turner	Capt William Turner who came from Marlborough Feb. 29 <sup>th</sup> with 89 foot soldiers however he left 11 of these		Judd 1905, 155

	ted			men at Quabaug; arrives March 4 at Hadley (p. 155)...Provisions from Marlborough were sent on horse to Brookfield (p. 155)		
8 March 1676	Soldier Meeting	Hadley, MA	Major Savage	Major Savage and 4 companies arrive to Hadley, after Wm Turner (p. 155)		Judd 1905, 155
14 March 1676	Weather correlation   Northampton attacked   Turners Falls   WIA   KIA	Hadley, MA	John Russell	2000 Natives attack Northampton (violence increases with Spring conditions); burnt five homes, 5 barns (one fortified), 5 killed, 5 wounded; 12 Natives killed (p. 156)	Intelligence immerges “Above Deerfield a few miles is the great place of their fishing which must be expected to afford them their provisions for the year. We must look to feel their utmost rage. My desire is, we may be willing to do or suffer, to live or die, remain in or be driven out from our inhabitations, as the Lord out God would have us” (p. 156)	Judd 1905, 156
26 March 1676	Mortality   KIA   Native warrior statistics	Woodcock’s House, 27 miles from Dedham, near Pawtucket River	Capt. Peirce	“Capt. Pierce, with his company, were cut off by the enemy, within eight miles of Woodcock’s, only three men escaping to Woodcock’s house, and some Indians; the report is, the enemy was about a thousand” (p. 89)	Capt. Pierce of Situate had a company of 50 English and 20 Natives from Cape Cod. In this skirmish most died (Native and English), by did kill 140 of the enemy later reported by a captives	Gov. Leverett to Gov. Winslow, “Cudworth Letters” 1846, 89
Night of 26 March 1676	Burnt infrastructure	Simsbury, CT		Buildings at Simsbury burned (p. 156)		Judd 1905, 156
26 March 1676	Captives  Mortality   wounded	Longmeadow – Springfield area	John Keep, wife Sarah and some Jabez	People of Longmeadow (16-18 men with women and children) attached by 7-8 Native in bushes on way to worship, colony troopers in company, resulting in the death or severe wounds of six (p. 157). Two women and two children captive (p. 157).		Judd 1905, 157
28 March 1676	Captives   Mortality rate   WIA   Native trade with French & Dutch	Springfield, MA	Thomas Savage, James Taylor, Nashuway Captives, Major Pinchon,	James Taylor whom was taken captive by Natives, has not been rescued; on the 26 <sup>th</sup> of March Springfield Indians, or eight Indians assault 16 or 18 men, women and children on their way to a meeting place called Long Meadow – the Indians kill a man, a maid and wound two men and carried captive 2	“one of the weomen remains still senceles by reason of her wounds, the other is very sencible and rational, and both say that the Indians were very free in their speech to them that night they were with them.” The intelligence gathered was that there are 300 Indians at Deerfield, and that they were acquiring powder from the Dutch	Doc. 189, 28 March 1676, Vol. 68, Military, MSL

			Dutchman Jerrards, Dutchman Jacobs	women and children. Major Pinchon sends out a horse of 16 to recover them, the Indians seeing them kill the two children and wound the women in the heads with their hatchets and run into the swamp.	brought in by horses, having two Dutch men in their company (Jacobs and Jerrards) whom dwell at Fort Albany, and the French urge them not to burn dwellings/wigwams about Deerfield for they have plans to settle – but to “slaughter they can of people.”	
1 April 1676	Captives   Turners Falls connection	Hockanum	Thomas Reed (age 19 later soldier Turner’s Falls)	Hadley workers with some soldiers venture to Hockhanum to do some work, and kill Richard Goodman, two soldiers and take Thomas Reed captive (p. 157)		Judd 1905, 157
1 April 1676	Captives   mortality   Turners Falls connection	Hockanum	Thomas Reed	Account from Mary Rowlandson “About this time they came yelping from Hadley having killed three Englishmen, and brought one captive with them, viz. Thomas Read. They all gathered about the poor man, asking him may questions. I desired also to goe and see him; and when I came he was crying bitterly, supposing they would quickly kill him. Whereupon I asked one of them whether they intended to kill him, he answered me, they would not : He bing a little cheered with that” (p. 40)		Rowlands on 1828, 40
Ca. 1 April 1676	Captives   sickness	Wachuset vicinity	John Gilbert of Springfield   Mary Rowlanson	“I went to see and English youth in this palce, one John Gilbert, of Springfield. I found him lying without doors upon the ground ; I ased him how he did ; he told me he was very sick of a flux weith eating so much blood. They had turned him out of the wigwam with him an Indian Papoos, almost dead, (whose parents had been killed) in a bitter cold day, without fire or cloaths : The young man himself had nothing on but his shirt and waistcoat” and Mary made him a fire		Rowlands on 1828, 42

				(p. 42)		
6 April 1676	Mortality Rate   Response to 1 April 1676 incident   sickness	Hadley, Deerfield, MA	William Leete, the Major	On April 6, 1676 in response to the 1 April incident, the CT War Council writes; CT learns of Mass Bay's eagerness to march against the enemy, however their Major is sick and unable for service. CT cannot send men till the 7 <sup>th</sup> of April, and that they are also sorry for the three men that were killed at Hadley and are glad in response that scouts were sent toward Deerfield to disvoer wigwams with fires not far off. Mr. Nowell has been sent 20 miles toward Lancaster having received news of 1000 warriors about that way but "we were yet in Capacity to supply our helpfulness then, By reason of the Majors illness and hat off exchange of our soldiers &c: so that theire expedition (as it is supposed) is over for yt expedition from us now" (doc. 60)		Letter from, Dep. Gov. Leete to Assistants in Mass Bay April 6, 1676, Hartford, Doc. 60, 1 Colonial War, Connecticut State Library
25 April	Sickness provisions   Captivity   Turner's Falls connection	Deerfield   Hadley, MA	Capt. Wm Turner	Captain Turner writes "the soldiers here are in great distress for want of clothing, both linen and woolen. Some have been brought from Quabaug, but not an eight of what we want...I should be glad if some better person might be found for this employment, for my weakness of body and often infirmities will hardly suffer me to do my duty as I ought" (p. 160) "There is come into Hadley a young man (John Gilbert, solder captive, recorded by Mary Rowlandson at Northfield as sick and cold) taken from Springfield at the beginning of last month, who informs that the enemy is drawing up all their forces towards these towns, and their head-quarters are at	Wife Mary Turner, writes a letter – mentions William Turner Jr., soldier at Hadley (petition April 27, MSL Recs)	Judd 1905, 160-161

				Deerfield” (p. 161)		
27 April 1676	Mortality	Springfield, MA	Capt. Samuel Holyoke	Capt. Holyoke and some men from Springfield shot at 4 Natives, two died in river, and “one was taken, who died of his wounds. He said the Indians had 1000 fighting-men up the river, and three forts this side of Squakeag” (p. 161)		Judd 1905, 161
29 April 1676	Prep. For Turners Falls	Hadley, MA	Wm Turner, and others from Hadley, Northampton and Hatfield signed	“They are daily moving for it, and would saine have liberty to be going forth this night. The enemy is now come so near us that we ought we might go forth in the evening and come upon them in the darkness of the same night” (p. 161)		Judd 1905, 161
3 May 1676	Soldier conscription   Fines	Mass Bay		Mass Bay Court states the colony is suffering because men are no showing up for military service, so the court imposes a fine “ffoote souldiers to pay 4lbs & troopers 6lb” (p. 78)		Shurtleff 1854, 79
3 May 1676	Wounded soldier petition	Mass Bay	John Braudon	“Peticon of John Braudon, a wounded soulder, for relief, there being many in the nature that stand in like need” (p. 80)	“Mr. Edard Ting, Mr. Joseph Dudley, Capt Hugh Mason, & Mr Wm Parkes to be standing committee to consider of peticons of this nature, and make their report of what they judge meet to be donn to this Court and to continue till the Court take further order” (p. 80).	Shurtleff 1854, 80
3-5 May 1676	Native Spy	Mass Bay	Indian Tom Dublett with Mr. Seth Perry	“Instructions for Mr Seth Perry, our messenger to the sachems at Wachusets Yow shall, in the company of Tom Dublett, the Indian guide, repaire to Concord on Saturday, &, on Monday following, by his guidance, goe up to the Indians quarters, and there deliver the letter to the said sachems, desiring their speedy answer” (p. 82)	An answer in regards to English captives. Dated May 5, 1676 Mr. John Hoare went up with the Indian messengers Tom and Peter being sent by Mr. Rowlandson	Shurtleff 1854, 82
5 May 1676	Provisions   poor living	Mass Bay, islands		“This Court, considering the psent distressed condition of the Indians at		Shurtleff 1854, 84

	conditions			the island, they being ready to perish for want of bread, & incapacitated to make provision for the future, doe orderm that there be a man with a boate provided, who, with some of the Indains, shall be employed in catching of fish or their supply, and that if any of the English towns doe move for some of the them to imply in scouting, laboring, or otherwise, with some of their owne men, they shallbe accommodated in that respect, the which improovment of them may tend much to their supply, & much more to our security, and that the rst may be improved in planting the island or islands where they now are” (p. 84)		
5 May 1676	Provisions	Quabaug, MA	Lieut. Clarke, Capt. Wm Turner	Lieut. Wm Clarke given charge to see too it that the towns “upon the river” secure needed provisions to them, and Catpain Turner is to “appoint a sufficient guard for the provisions above said to Quoboag” (p. 84)	“The garrison of Quopaug being out of provisions, and the supply ordered from Hadley not being likely to be with them for their present reliefe, it is ordered, that forthwith with provisions for one weeke be speedied up to them” (p. 84)	Shurtleff 1854, 84
5 May 1676	Displacement   provisions	MA & RI Colonies	Council of RI, Mr. Joseph Carpenter	“News being brought from Roade Island by Mr. Joseph Carpenter, of the great Number of people flockt thither from their Habitations destroyed by the Indyans, insomuch that the Inhabitants are very much straitened by their numbers and will quickly want provisions” (p. 160).		Hough 1848, 160
5 May 1676	Native-English muster	Mass Bay	Major Gookin and Cpat Samuel Hunting	Gookin and Hunting “to provide & provide a seventy able Indians, fit & reay, by the 30 <sup>th</sup> instant , to march out with the forces on the countrys service” (p. 85)		Shurtleff 1854, 85
5 May 1676	Dislocation	Long Island		The Indians at Long Island to be removed to “convenient places for their planting, i.e. Ponkapaug Indians		Shurtleff 1854, 86

				at Brush Hill, or as neere as they may with safety to their owne planting fields, and that they palce their wigwams in or neere some English garrison there;- Nashobah Indians & a part of Natick Indians to Patucket; and the remainder of Natick Indians to their owne plantations, or such lands of the English as may be procured for them” (p. 86)		
5 May 1676	Order servitude	Mass Bay		“That the Indians lodge constantly in the English garrisons, as they shall be appointed by those that are or shall, from time to time, be their overseers, on pain of deah” (p. 86)	These natives are mostly women and children, but the men should be used for service (p. 86)	Shurtleff 1854, 86
5 May 1676	Disease Provisions	Marlboroug h, Quabaug	Capt. Henchman	“The Court, considering the want of provisions for their garrisons of Marlborow & Quoboag, who are in distresse, together wth the wants & sicknes in the army, doe order, that all the sicke or nesessitous persons in the army be licensed to repaire to their own homes for ten days, and that forty or fifty of the ablest be reteyned & quartered in Sudbury & Concord, & be employed to guard Quoboag, Marlborow, & other magazines, which are with all expedition, and every regiment enjoyed to make up the full number of soldiers now to be licensed be enjoyed to appeare at Concord with the recruits on Wednesday, the last of May, at their utmost perrill; what remains of force bdesides convoys, Capt Hinchman is ordered to improve them for the security of the frontiers, until the prefixed time of recruite” (p. 93)		Shurtleff 1854, 93
6 May 1676	Disease	Village of Agnié, New	Father Jacques de	Death of two adults, “slow fever” (p. 179)		Thwaites 1900, 179

		France	Lamerville			
11 May 1676	Wounded	Rhode Island and Lyme	Mrs. Abigail Lay, Captain Cranston, John Lay	Mr Abigail Lay petitions for her wounded son John Lay to be released from Rhode Island and allowed to return home, and “order that the Treasuerer send to Captain Cranston the thanks of this Court for his care and paynes about or wounded men, and desire him to release the sayd Lay’s son that he may com home” (p. 276)	John Lay was wounded at the Swamp Fight	Trumbull 1852, 276
11 May 1676	Healer wounded soldiers	Connecticut Colony	Mr. Bulckly	“This Court informed that sundry wounded men are come to Mr. Bulckly, this Court desired Mr. Bulckly to take the care and trouble of dressing the sd wounded soldiers till God bless his endeavoures with a cure; and Mr. Stone is desired and ordered to assist Mr. Bulkley in the worke of the ministry so long as Mr. Bulkly shall be imporved as before” (p. 277)		Trumbull 1852, 277
11 May 1676	Provisions	Connecticut Colony to Mass Bay		“Court considering the many complaynts and urgencies from sundry persons, of the want of corn in the neighbor Colonys, and their importuneties for liberty to export corn out of the Colony of Connecticut, as they have lately permitted the Council to grant lycenses” (p. 277)		Trumbull 1852, 277
11 May 1676	Execution provisions	Connecticut Colony	Nanantioe	“This Court order that four coates be payd out of the publique Treasurie for two Indians that were taken by the Indians and put to death by order of the Councill of Warr, at that time when the volunteers took Nanantioe” (p. 280)		Trumbull 1852, 280
11 May 1676	Medical treatment medical	Connecticut Colony		“This Court orders that all wounded soldiers who have been wounded in the country service, shall have cure		Trumbull 1852, 285

	compensation			and dyet on the country accot, and halfe pay till they are cured” (p. 285)	
11 May 1676	Native surrenders	Connecticut Colony		“This Court doe grant that all such Indians as have been in hostility against the English, as shall at any time within in hostility against the English, as shall at any time within the space of thirty six days after the date hereof come and surrender themselves to the English for mercy, such persons as shall so come and surrender their arms and ammunition, viz. all such armes as they have used in this present war, submit themselves to the government of the English, as the Pequots &c., and shall dwell where they are appointed by the Councill” (p. 285)	Trumbull 1852, 285
11 May 1676	Wounded soldiers   Medical compensation	Connecticut Colony		“Whereas there are many soldiers that doe complain of great damage that they have recived in the late wars by wounds and disabilitie thereby to attend their occasions, which will prove too long and too many for the Court to heare and determine, this Court doe therefore appoint and empower the Councill to hear and determine all such cases as shall be brought before them, and to alow some equitable reparation as they shall judg meet, and order to the contrary notwithstanding” (p. 288)	Trumbull 1852, 288
11 May 1676	Hunting   the enemy	Connecticut Colony		“This Court upon petition granted the Pequots and or Narrogancett Indian friends liberty to hunt in the conquered lands in Narrogancett Country, provided they sett not traps to prejudice English cattell, and that they doe their best to attacque and destroy the enemie, and continually	Trumbull 1852, 289

				upon all such occasions they make reporte thereof ot the next Authority of the English in this Colony” (p. 289)	
11 May 1676	Land use   Native relations	Connecticut Colony		Sunk Squa, the daughter of Ninicraft and her men are given permission (in accord to Hermon Garrad) to palnts and live at Moshowungganunck, if remain friendly to the English and open offer not to any “stange Indians”...also that Nawwahquannoë and “one or two more granted liberty to live upon the Shannuck lands and to palnt” as long as they are to “prosecute enemeies” (p. 289)	Trumbull 1852, 289
11 May 1676	Indian servants   sickness			“This Court granted to Robin Cassacinamon six of the (p. 289) Incomers or Captives, to keep them as servants, provided he take such as are not already engaged or disposed by the English. Nenaquabin and old squa with him and his wife’s uncle Grasheacow and his wife and a pawpoose of Grasheacow, and an Indian that is sick, Sasabenewott, as those desired by Robin, and allowed to him by the Cort” (p. 290)	Trumbull 1852, 290
11 May 1676	Muster	Connecticut Colony	Connecticut Colony forces	“This Court doth impower Major John Talcott to rayse such volunteer forces as shall be necessary and willing to prosecute, seize and captivate, kill and destroy all such Indians as are in hostility against the English, and all such who have already surrendered and are runn away from the English” (p. 293)	Trumbull 1852, 293
11 May 1676	Terms of Surrender for the Natives   forced assimilation	Connecticut Colony		For those Indians that surrender; those that are not murdres will not be sold out of colont for slaves; that they may serve with English and after ten years (p. 297) (“grown person considered	Trumbull 1852, 297-298

				aged 16”), if good work, shall have the freedom to live and work for themselves in English manner...and if the English for whom under they worked under does not provide certificate the Native may petition” (p. 298) “All that are under sixteen years of age are to serve until they be twenty six years of age” (p. 298)	
12 May 1676	Foodways   herb-plant use			“The next day a youth of about 11 years of Age, made his escape from the Indians, who was taken prisoner when his father’s house was burnt, and his mother murdered on the first of February last; and the boy knew not a step of the way to any English Town, and was in continual danger of the skulking Indians in the woods, and far from the English, yet God directed him aright and brought him to the sight of Plantane, (the Herb which the Indians call English-foot, because it grows only amongst us, and is not found in the Indian Plantations) whereupon he concluded he was not far from some English Town, and accordingly following of the Plantane he arrived safe amongst us” (p. 3).	Anonymo us 1676, 3
15 May 1676	Disease	Hadley	John Russel	“The general visitation of sickness which you wrote of hath passed unto us also, most of our people being sorely exercised therewith” (p. 161)	Judd 1905, 161
15 May 1676	Hadley Security   Disease			“We have yet no return from the Indians: and are not past expectation of anything farther from them when the Account of yet message The general visitation by sickness wch you wrote of hath passed unto us alsoe most of our people sorely exercised”	Letter from John Russell and others at Hadley, Doc. 71a, 1 Colonial War,

				News that Thomas Reed has also been recovered and brings word that the Indians are planting at Deerfield, and that they will be present at the falls (on both sides of the river) and it is judged there is not more than 60-70 warriors present....letter also signed by Wm Turner		Connecticut State Library
15 May 1676	Turners Falls intelligence	Hatfield, MA	Thomas Reed	Thomas Reed escapes and makes his way to Hatfield where he relates intelligence that the Natives "are now planting at Deerfield and have been so these three or four days or more-saith further that they dwell at the falls on both sides of the river-are a considerable number, yet most of them old men and women. He cannot judge that there are on both sides of the river above 60 or 70 fighting men (p. 162)		Judd 1905, 162
17 May 1676	Captivity	Turners Falls vicinity	Edward Stebbins and John Gilbert	"May 17, 1676, two boys named Edward Stebbins and John Gilbert returned to their friends, having escaped from Indian captivity. They reported that several hundred Indians were encamped at a place now (p. 144) called Turners Falls" (p. 145)		Indian History, Biography and Genealogy: Pertaining to the Good Sachem Massasoit of the Wampanoag Tribe, and His Descendants, by Ebenezer Weaver Peirce,

						1878. North Abington, MA: Zerviah Gould Mitchell.
17-20 May 1676	War   Turner's Fall's campaign begins   Mortality	Turners Falls	Japhet Chapin	Scribed in Japhet's original account book "I went to Volenteare against ingens the 17 <sup>th</sup> of May, 1676 and we ingaged batel the 19 <sup>th</sup> of May in the moaning before sunrise and made a great Spoil upon the enemy and came off the same day with the Los of 37 men and the Captin Turner, and came home the 20 <sup>th</sup> of May" (p. 4)		The Chapin Genealog y by Orange Chapin, 1862. Northham pton, MA: Metcalf & Co.
18-19 May 1676	Turners Fall's men gathered	Hatfield, MA	150-160 mounted men, Capt. Turner, Samuel Holyoke, John Lyman of Northhampto n, Rev. Hope Atherton, Benjamin Wait, Experience Hinsdale, etc.	150-160 mounted men from the towns of Springfield, Westfield, Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield gather and begin march Tuesday evening, May 18, 20 miles....cross Deerfield and Green Ricers, halt a little west of Fall River, ½ mile from the Indian camp where the horses were left with small guard..."They then crossed Fall River, climbed up an abrupt hill, and came upon the back of the camp about day-break" (p. 163)		Judd 1905, 163
Night May 18, 1676	Turners Falls Fight	Montague, MA		"For not having much above an hundred and fifty fighting men in their Company, they marched silently in the dead of the night, May 18. and came upon the said Indians a little before		Hubbard 1677, 85- 86

				<p>break of day, whom they found almost in a dead sleep, without any Scouts abroad, or watching about their wigwams at home, for in the evening they had made themselves merry with new milk and rost beef, having lately driven away many of their milch cows, as an English woman confessed, that was made to milk them. When they came near the Indians rendezvoze, they alighted off their horses, and tyed them to some young trees at a quarter of a miles distance, so marching up they fired amain into their very wigwams, killing many upon the place, and frighting others with the sudden alarm of their Gunns, made them run into the River, where the swiftness of the stream carrying them down a steep Fall, they perished in the waters, some getting into Canooes...which proved to them a Charons boat, being sunk, or overset, by the shooting of our men, delivered them into the like danger of the waters...others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great river, were espied by our men and killed with their swords; Capt. Holioke killing five, young and old, with his own hands from under a bank. When the Indians were first awakened with the thunder of their guns, they cried out Mohawks, Mohawks, as if their own native enemies had been upon them; but dawning of the light, soon notified their error, though it could not prevent the danger. Such as came back speak sparingly of the number of the slain,</p>		
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				some say there could not in reason be less than two or three hundred of them that must necessarily perish in the midst of so many instruments of destruction managed against them with much disadvantages to themselves. Some of their prisoners afterwards owned that they lost above three hundred in that Camizado, some whereof were principal men Sachems, and some of their best fighting men that were lost, which made the victory more considerable than else it would had been, nor did they seem ever to have recovered themselves from this defeat, but their ruine immediately followed upon it” (pp. 85-86).	
19 May 1676	Turners Falls Fight	Montague, MA	Captain Turner	“Captain Turner, by Trade a Taylor...hearing of the Indians being about Twenty miles above them at Connecticut River, dew out a Party at Hadly and Northampton, where there was a Garrison; and marching all night, came upon them before day-break, they having no Centinels or Scouts abroad, as thinking themselves secure, by reason of their remote distance from any of our Plantations; ours taking this advantage of their negligence, fell in amongst them, and killed several hundreds of them upon the place, they being out of any posture or order to make any formidable resistance, though they were six times superior to us in number; But that which was almost as much, nay in some respect more considerable then their lives, we there destroyed all their Ammunition and Provision, which we think they can	L’Estrange 1676, 12

				hardly be so soon and easily recruited with, as possibly the may be with me: We likewise here demolish Two Forges they had to mend their Armes, took away all their materials and Tools, and drove many of them into the River, where they were drowned, and threw two great Piggs of Lead of theirs, (intended for making of bullets) into the said River (p. 12)	
19 May 1676	Turners Falls Fight Mortality	Turners Falls		“They send to their neighbors in Connecticut for a supply of Men, but none coming, they raised about an hundred and fours score out of their own Towns, who arrived at the Indian Wigwams betimes in the morning, finding them secure indeed, yea all asleep without having any scouts abroad; so that our Souldiers came and put their Guns in to their Wigwams, before the Indians were aware of them, and made a great and notable slaughter amongst them. Some of the Souldiers affirm, that they numbered above one hundred that lay dead upon the ground, and besides those, others told about an hundred and thirty, who were carried down the Falls....And all this while but one English-man killed, and two wounded...there was at last somewhat a tragical issue of this Expedition. For an English Captive Lad, who was found in the Wigwams, spake as if Philip were coming with a thousand Indians: which false report being famed among the Souldiers, a pannick terror fell upon many of them, and they hasted homewards in a confused rout... a pannick terror fell upon many of them, and they hasted	Mather 1676, 48-50

				<p>homewards in a confused rout. In the mean while, a party of Indians from an Island (whose coming on shore might easily have been prevented, and the Souldiers before they set out from Hadly were earnestly admonished to take care about that matter) assaulted our men; yea, to the great dishonor of the English, a few Indians pursued our Souldiers four or five miles, who were in number near twice as many as the Enemy. In this Disorder, he that was at this time the chief Captain, whose name was Turner, lost his life, he was pursued through a River, received his Fatal stroke as he passed through that which is called the Green River, &amp; as he came out of the Water he fell into the hands of the Uncircumcised, who stripped him, (as some who say they saw it affirm) and rode away upon his horse; and between thirty and forty more were lost in this Retreat (pp. 48-50).</p>		
18-19 May 1676	Turners Falls Fight	Turners Falls	Jonathan Wells	<p>“...Jonathan Wells Esq then aged 16 years and 2 or 3 months who was in this action [at the Falls fight, May 19]. He was wth the 20 men yt were obliged to fight wth the enemy to recover their horses; after he mounted his horse a little while (being then in the rear of ye company), he was fired at by three Indians who were very near him; one bullet passed so near him as to brush his hair another struck his horse behind a third struck his thigh in a place which before had been broken by a cart wheel &amp; never set, but the bones lapd &amp; so grew together so yt altho one end of it had been struck and</p>		Well’s Account, <i>History of Hatfield,</i> 463-465

				<p>the bone shattered by ye bullet, yet the bone was not wholly lossd in ye place where it had knit. Upon receiving his wound he was in danger of falling from his horse, but catching hold of ye horse's maine he recovered himself...The Indians perceiving they had wound'd him, ran up very near to him, but kept ye Inds back by presenting his gun to ym once or twice, &amp; when they stoped to charge he got rid of them &amp; got up to some of ye company....capt. Turner, to whom he represented ye difficulties of ye men in ye rear &amp; urged yt he either turn back to yr relief, or tarry a little till they all come up &amp; so go off in a body; but ye Capt. replid he had better save some than lose all,' and quickly ye army were divided into several parties, one pilot crying out, 'if you love your lives follow me'; another yt was acquainted wth ye woods cryed 'if you love your lives follow me.' Wells fell into the rear again and took wth a small company yt separated from others yt run upon a parcel of Indians near a swamp &amp; was most of ym killed...." (pp. 463-465) They the separated again &amp; had about ten men left with him, and his horse failing considerably by reason of his wound, &amp; himself spent wth bleeding, he was left with one John Jones, a wounded man likewise. He had now "...got about 2 miles from ye place where yy did ye exploit in, &amp; now y had left ye track of ye company &amp; were left both by ye Indians yt persued ym and by their own men that should have tarried</p>		
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				with ym...J.W. had a gun & J. J. a sword. J. J. represented ye badness of his wounds, & made his companion think they were certainly mortall, and therefore when yy separated in order to find the path, J.W. was glad to leave him., lest he shd be a clog or hindrance to him. Mr. W. grew faint, & once when ye Indians prest him, he was near fainting away, but by eating a nutmeg, (which his grandmother gave him as he was going out,) he was revivd. After traveling awhile, he came upon Green river, and followd it up to ye place calld ye Country farms, and passed over Green river, & attempted to go up ye mountain (pp. 463-465).	
Friday 19 May 1676	Turners Falls Fight   Mortality	Turner's Falls	Holyoke, etc.	Indians attacked while asleep, some wounded, shot in the waters, drowned "others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great river, were espied by our men and killed by swords. Captain Holyoke killing five, young and old, with his own hands" (p. 163)...Indians coming down from "opposite sides of the bank and at Smeads's Island, below the falls" (p. 163)	Judd 1905, 163
19 May 1676	Turners Falls Fight   Disease   WIA	Turners Falls	John Belcher of Braintree and solder under Turner and Issac Harrison, Hadley	Martha Harrison, the widow of Isaac Harrison files a complaint against John Belcher on June 22, 1676. She states that Belcher caused her husband's death; Harrison was wounded, "fell faint", and fell from his horse which Belcher took and left Harrison....this was testified by Stephen Belden of Hatfield, testifying that "he was riding behind Jonathan Wells, saw Isaac Harrison on the	Judd 1905, 164

				ground rising up, and heard him call to the man on his horse, 3 or 4 rods before...this was when we were returning from the fight at the falls” (p. 164)		
19 May 1676	Turners Falls Fight   captivity   Mortality   Disease	Turners Falls	Captive English lad, Holyoke, etc.	Holyoke enters wigwam warns soldiers Philip and 100 men are coming, the soldiers freak and break into “several parties” (p. 164)...Turner shot while crossing the Green River “and body found a short distance”...Capt. Holyoke retreats back to Hatfield, followed to south end of Deerfield Meadow”....(p. 164)		Judd 1905, 164
19 May 1676	Genocide   Slavery	Turner’s Falls		Turners Falls “Some Indian Women (since that taken prisoners) do say and affirm that there were slain in that engagement with them four hundred, of which number were seventy of the Wampangs, or Philip Sachems men : and that he had of his own proper Company not any great number less, and that were it not for him and one Sachem more, the Indians would gladly yield to any terms of Peace with the English” (p. 4)   Account from Turner’s soldier Sergt. Bardwell count above two Natives killed (pp. 164-165)		Anonymo us 1676, 4; Judd 1905, 165
19 May 1676	Injury & later death	Great Falls, Montague, MA	Capt. Holyoke and John Munn	Died sometime after “of a surfeit got at the Falls Fight” (p. 600)   Spread by droplets (sneeze, cough), inhalation, some patients heal and experience active TB years to decades following infection aka latent TB. Symptoms include. Symptoms include fatigue, weight loss, no appetite, chills, fever	Death	Everts 1879, 600, 765   <i>MSS for Munn is a General Court 1684 case</i>
19-20 May 1676	Torture	Great Falls, Montague, MA		The Harris letter has detail on the English that were captured and tortured “they tued thyr hands vp		Leach 1963, 80

				<p>spreading vpon ye one &amp; ye other vpon an other &amp; like wise set two stakes distance to which they tyed theyr feet and then made a fyre vnder each of them gashing thyr thighs &amp; legs with kniues &amp; casting into ye gashes 192ot embers to torment them which Some what allsoe Stanches ye bloud yt they doe not Soe soone bleed to death but remayne aliue ye longer in torment” (p. 80)</p>	
<p>Saturday 20 May 1676</p>	<p>KIA   Native prisoners</p>	<p>Narragansett Country</p>	<p>Capt. Daniel Dennison of Connecticut</p>	<p>Captain Daniel Denison in Narragansett Country about one week prior lost not one man against the enemy, killed 11 of the enemy and took 6 prisoners</p> <p>Japhet Chapin returns “home” from the Falls Fight</p>	<p>Doc. 6, 20 May 1676, Vol. 69, Military, MSL; Indian History, Biography and Genealog y: Pertaining to the Good Sachem Massasoit of the Wampano ag Tribe, and His Descenda nts, by Ebenezer Weaver Peirce, 1878. North Abington,</p>

						MA: Zerviah Gould Mitchell.
20 May 1676	KIA Provisions Sickness	Sudbury, Marlboro, Watchusets	Letter and intelligence from John Allyn	600 Natives attack Sudbury and Marlborough "severall times," burning infrastructure and killing people. CT draws up their troops for intended visit to Watchusets, but due to "weakness & wants, could not attayne that end, new forces were raysed, upwards of three hundred men, horse and foote, with forty Indians, committed to the conduct of Capt Daniel Hinchman & severall captains under his command...discovered the enemy by our Indian scouts as fleeting up & down, and by a party of (p. 96) horse, under the command of Capt. Thomas Brattle, on the 5 <sup>th</sup> instant, between Mendon & Hassanemesit, the Indians discovered the enemy, fell on them, the horse pursing them, killed atwenty, of which were fower squawes, took severall armes & plunder that they found in pursuit. The season was wett; the enemy quickly got into the swamps...none of the troopers or scouts wounded" (p. 97)...On the 24 Capt. Brattle and dragoons persued Indian to the "falls of Patcatucke River, being on Seaconke side," killed "severall fo them," took arms, kettles, ammunition, two horses, coats, shoes and burnt their store of fish. Cornet Elljot wounded in hand, one KIA, one killed and carried to Seaconck and buried, one Indian boy captive and gave intelligence of 3-400 hundred at		Shurtleff 1854, 96- 97

				<p>Nepsuchnit” (p. 97)</p> <p>“The season sickly; our forces disabled at present; but we have impressed, &amp; hope by the first of June, at farthest, to be out with 500 hundred, horse, &amp; foote &amp; Indians on the visiting of the ennemyes head quarters at Watchusets, taking it in their march to Hadley, to joyne with ye forces &amp; Indians, wch we hope and desire may be proportionable to persue &amp; distress the enemy” (p. 97).</p> <p>MA Bay Indian scouts of no, use, they “dally, &amp; intent not peace, therefore concur with yow in a vigorous prosection of them” (p. 97)</p>		
20 May 1676	20 May 1676	Turners Falls	Connecticut Colony forces to assist	In response to the falls fight, 80 men are sent under Captain Benjamin Newbury to Northhampton for the upcoming Monday (32 from Windsor, 20 Wethersfield, 12 Hartford, 11 Middletown, 5 Farmington) (p. 442)	Capt. Newbury and his men on his way to Northhampton, intelligence of 300 of Quabaug, and Mass Bay requests another 50-60 of Talcott’s ment to attack (p. 443)	Trumbull 1852, 442-443
Sunday 21 May 1676	Retreat from Fall’s Fight   WIA	Hatfield	Jonathan Wells	Jonathan Wells wounded finds his way back to Hatfield, MA (p. 164)		Judd 1905, 164
Monday 22 May 1676	Retreat from Fall’s Fight   Hunger	Hatfield, MA	Rev. Hope Atherton	Atherton finds his way back to Hatfield, “after the space of three days and part of another into Hadley, on the east side of the river, about noon on Monday” (pp. 164-165)		Judd 1905, 164-165
22 May 1676	Falls Fight	The falls, Hadley	John Russell, William Draw, Mr. Atherton	Particulars related from Russell; “Some men were wandering in the west mountains on Saturday,” soldiers guess that number of the enemy to be about “four score yt lay upon the		Letter from John Russell and others at Hadley,

				ground,” Sergeant Bardill and William Drew account for the number of the enemy and testify that they had seen many of the enemy jump from the falls to their death. These men also testify that there Natives on both sides of the river and the islands and that they have a fort close to the Deerfield River and that their fish “is there not yett fit to carry away”		Doc. 74, 1 Colonial War, Connecticut State Library
Monday 22-24 May 1676	Zoonotic	Northampton, MA	Capt. Newbury, John Maudsley   Samuel Cross	Capt. Newbury with 80 men, John Maudsley and Samuel Cross to go up the river with dogs” to track the Indians (p. 167)		Judd 1905, 167   Trumbull 1852, 442-443
24 May 1676   Forces assemble the 27 <sup>th</sup> of May	Talcott’s orders into Pocumtuck	Pocumtuck, Mass Bay	Major John Talcott. Rev. Mr. Bulkley as army minister, George Denison 2 <sup>nd</sup> in command	Talcotts’ commission provides instructions that he must first report to Norwich to meet his troops and to persude English officers and Indians to join your march into Pocomptock up through Windsor “avaoiding Hartford and Wethersfeild”....order Mr. Danll Withrell & Mr. Dowglas to provide adequate provisions (p. 444)		Trumbull 1852, 444
29 May 1676	Headquarters   movement	Watchoosuck, Pocumtuck	Rev. James Fitch	“Major Tallcott hath desired mee to informe you concerning the enemie what intelligence wee have. The sume of which is, that by Indeans from Wabaquassog & others of Pequot, it’s the general reporte of all that the cheife palce of there wimen & children is at Watchoosuck, not farr of from Quabaug; that they have planted at Quabaug & at Nipsachook, nigh Cowessit; that Philip’s men & the Narragansetts are generally come into those abovementioned palces, onelye Pesicus, one of the cheife of the Narragansett sachems, did abide up at		Trumbull 1852, 417

				Pocomptuck with some few of his men” (p. 417)		
29 May 1676	Pursue the enemy	Watchosuck or Watchusetts	Mass Bay \ CT intelligence and troops	Major Talcott relays information that he received word from Massachusetts Bay to send 500 men with horse and some Indians to Watchosuck, “taking in their march to Hadley” (p. 449)		Trumbull 1852, 449
29 May 1676	Disarmed transportation   Native protection	Long Island		“Whereas, being in Peace we have upon Acct of our Neighbours Warre, disarmed all our Indiyans upon Long Island, and prohibited all Canooes from going in the Sound, neither of which our Neighbors have done yet” (p. 165). Also, that “all North Indiyans that will come in, may be protected, and Stop to be put to the Maques further prosecuting sd North Indians” (p. 166)		Hough 1858, 165-166
30 May 1676	Attack on Hadley  Hadley’s request for medical supplies recorded May 30, 1676	Hadley, MA		Five English men killed in this attack (double check, NA data on injured men)	Hadley request for medical supplies (list in Latin) some items include basil, licorice, chamomile flowers, aloe pumice, anise, and other solutions, some used for treating burns such as liniment arcei	Butler’s binder Medicine, Beliefs, Education C NB#39, pg. 53
30 May 1676	Attack on Hatfield	Hatfield, MA		Hatfield attacked when men working in the fields....reported 250 Native warriors (p. 167). John Allyn reports twelve houses and barns fired on with no fortification, killed most of their cattle, drove all sheep away....25 from Hadley leave to help people at Hatfield and of these men five killed and three wounded (pp. 167-168)		Judd 1905, 167-168
30 May 1676	Attack on Hatfield	Hatfield, MA	Letter of Benjamin Newbury	Captain Benjamin Newbury, then stationed at Northhampton, gives details into the Hatfeild attack resulting in the un-fortifed houses burnt, men from Hadley came to	Major John Talcott wrote May 31, 1676 from Norwich that he is held up due to lack of supplies (p. 450)	Trumbull 1852, 450

				relieve and 5 killed, three wounded, “two of our men kild, Jobama Smith & Richard Hall; John Stoe wounded in the foot, and Rodger Alvis is also woundd in ye foot;” about a 150 Indians had attacked and all those thought to be up toward to meadow either thought to dead or taken captive, “many cattle and horses taken away” (p. 450)		
June 1676	Torture Turners Falls	Turners Falls		“In June, scouts found places where they supposed the Indians tortured and brunt and captured some men” (p. 164)		Judd 1905, 164
8 June 1676	Troop location   Provisions	Northampton, MA	Major Talcott	Major Talcott’s march from Norwich to Wabaquasut yields no enemy; from there Chanagongum to Nipmuck country by the 5 <sup>th</sup> of June where “killed and captured 52 of the enemy” (p. 453). Reached Quabaug June 7 <sup>th</sup> at noon took 27 women and children that were then sent to Norwich as POW. Made it to Hadley the 8 <sup>th</sup> , Mass Bay forces still no show, and waiting and urdes the “cause of any bread to me made for this wilderness worke, it had need to be well dried; great part of or bread is fill of blue mould, and yet to kept dry from wer; a barrel of powder and 300 weight of bulletts were needed by the army, and the Council are asked to send up those sent down will all possible speede” (p. 453)	Troops in hast, provisions not secured from Norwich	Trumbull 1852, 453
8 June 1676	Provisions   Medical supplies   Health status	Hadley, MA	Major Talcott	Major Talcott and troops arrive at Hadley and cross river to Northampton – Talcott’s troops from Norwich had taken with them 400 pounds of breakd, 1300 pounds of pork, 26 gallons of liquor, etc. (pp. 168-169)	Troops at Hadley from June 8-14, apparently CT troops (250 English, commanded by Capt. Sellick, Mansfield, Dennison, Newbury) make a spectacle with food, red ribbons, and allied Indians of Pequots, Mohegans, Niantics and Fairfield - total of 200 “friendly Indians”	Judd 1905 168-170

					(p. 169). Also, Rev. James Fitch, Gershom Bulkely Wethersfield surgeon with them and the troops reported of being in good health (p. 170)	
9 June 1676	Provisions   Hunger March	CT Colony		War Council meets to secure provisions to Talcott (p. 453)		Trumbull 1852, 453
12 June 1676	Hadley Attack	Hadley, MA		12 Indians pursue and kill two English, mortally wound the third, "assault north end of town" (pp. 170-171)	English along recovered three dead Indians and possibly taken captives (p. 171). Estimated 30 Natives killed (p. 171)	Judd 1905, 170-17
14 June 1676	Safe passage of Indian	RI Colony	Awassuncke , Indian squaw and Squattuck	"Indian, called Squattuck, sent to this Island by Awassuncke, a Sachem squaw of Seconnett, with a messafe from her to the Governor and Council...doe ordered that the said Squattuck shall be safely conveyed to the water side where he landed, and soe into his canoe to pass over to the Sachem squaw" (p. 545)	If passage prevented, then "they will have to answer it" (p. 545)	Bartlett 1857, 545
Friday 16 June 1676	Weather   Provisions	Hadley, MA		Severe rain and thunder storms ruin supplies; arms, ammunition, provisions (p. 171)		Judd 1905, 171
18 June 1676	Body of Wm Turner, Turners Falls	Falls "above Deerfield"	Wm Turner	Scouts find the body of Captain Turner on the "west side above Deerfield,..and conjectured that they found the olaces where some of the English had been tortured to death by burning" (p. 171)		Judd 1905, 171
18 June 1676	War   Captivity	Onnontagué, Iroquois Country	Father John Lamberville	Iroquois range the woods and kill men, and they brought home 50 captives from "200 leagues from here" to have them work their fields, some "Loups" prisoners who they were warring with at some point (p. 185) and some of those prisoners were "cruelly burned" (p. 187).	Some of those that were burned and survived sought refuge with the Jesuits (p. 187)	Thwaites 1900, 185-187
22 June 1676	CT pursues enemy forces	Norwottucke , Falls above Pacomptock, Sucquackhe	Major Talcott	Major Talcott reports that he returned from Norwottucke, and reached the "Falls above Pacomptock, and scouts being sent up the River on both sides		Trumbull 1852, 455

		ag, Watchosuck, Nipmuc Country		and on the east side as high as Sucquackheag ; and not discovering the enemie to be in those parts, but rather they were retired back towards Watchosuck or into the Nipmug country; and that they were under no engagement of farther conjunction wth the Massachussets forces, and the Indians being unwilling to goe forth agayne, before they have visited their in habitations; The premises considered, the Council doe see cause to order that Major Talcott with his forces, in pursueance of his commission, as soone as they can be recruited, doe forthwith march out against the enemie, so that they may reach Wabawquassuck upon Wednesdau next, (the Indians not being bale to be ready sooner;) and from thence that they proceed to attack and destroy the enemie as God shall deliver them into their hands” (p. 455)		
28 June 1676	Burnt infrastructure   provisions   Displacement	Falls, Turners Falls		“On the 28 <sup>th</sup> of June, about 30 men went up toward the falls, and espied no Indians. They burnt a hundred wigwams upon an island, ruined an Indian Fort, spoiled an abundance of fish which they found in Indians barns under the ground, and destroyed 30 canoes. Some of the Indians had done eastward, and others might have gone up the river to their Coasset. They were distressed and scattered” (p. 171).		Judd 1905, 171
30 June 1676	Indian removal   displacement	RI Colony	Capt. Roger Williams	Indians shall be sent back to Providence, being formerly of Plimoth, “because it is said they were left as hostages to the English forces		Bartlett 1857, 548

				of the United Collonies” (p. 548). Potuck kept and secured by the Colony until further order and Indians that came to Island Quononoquitt to be kept and submit to government (p. 548)		
Late June 1676	Mortality	Hadley, MA vicinity	Capt. Henchman	Captain Henchman leaves Hadley and kills 84 Indians returning to the area (p. 172)		Judd 1905, 172
3 July 1676	Piscataqua Treaty   Treatment of the Eastern Indians	Piscataqua River/Cochocho	The Committee, Richard Waldren, Thomas Daniell, Wannalanset sagamer, Sampson Moquacemo ka, Wm Sagamore, Squando Sagamore, Dony, soregumba, Samll Namphow, Warockome e	To secure peace in th Eastern parts with the consent of Indian sagamores and another 300 Indian men that the Indians agree that no violence will be committed against the English, no Indian shall “enterain” enemy Indians and if any Indian should do such then they are liable to bring them to English justice		Vol. 30: 206, “Indian Affaires 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachusetts Archive Collection</i> , Massachusetts State Library.
11 July 1676	Agricultural-harvest   Fear	Hadley, MA	John Russell & John Allyn	John Russell requests the help of CT to send a guard to them to help them guard as they reap the harvest in their otter fields. Allyn refuses saying CT harvest needs tending to (p. 172).	Hadley adopts Harvest Rules; for Hockanum or Fort Meadow to gather garrison soldiers must be sent under the order of Lieut. Smith – no less than 40 peoples at any one time, and a schedule was set (p. 172)	Judd 1905, 172
Ca. 19 July 1676	Famine   Disease   Indian displacement   provisions	Hadley vicinity   Westfield		“Flight of Indians to Hudson’s River,” Indians reporting famine, disease and some turning themselves in. July 19 <sup>th</sup> , a small party takes some horses and cattle with little corn (p. 172)		Judd 1905, 172

19 July 1676	CT Order for supplies for army	New London	Pequot Indian		½ yard trading cloth for stockings	Butler, trans. New London Records of Expenditures for King Philip's War 1675/6
6 August 1676	Indian servitude	RI Colony	Indian men and women	Indian men and women "able for service" are required to serve the town for nine years" (p. 549)		Bartlett 1857, 549
6 August 1676	Indian servitude   Indian trade	RI Colony		Any one that brings in a Indian or Indians outside of the colony without prior approval from the governor or assistants will be fined five pounds, and RI Colony Indians taken out the colony without permit will also be fined five pounds (p. 550).		Bartlett 1857, 550
12 August 1676	Mortality	Mount Hope	King Philip	King Philip killed by one of his own tribe (p. 174).		Judd 1905, 174
12-15 August 1676	Native displacement   Disease   Provisions   Turners Falls	Hadley, MA, Turners Falls, Albany, NY	John Pynchon, Major Talcott, Andros	Indians removing into New York, towards Albany and "harbored" by Andros. On August 12, 200 Natives discovered 3-4 miles of Westfield – they were shot at and a horse was taken from them. Major Talcott's army came in (who has, they say, cut down all the Indian corn about Quabaug, &c.) They pursued them on Sabbath about noon, a day after the Indians were gone, and provisions not being ready at Westfield, they hastened somewhat short of provisions, and I doubt they will overtake them till they come to Aussoinnoag...news comes that	Relations strained with CT, MA and NY for harboring "enemies" (p. 173)	Judd 1905, 173

				Major Talcott's army are most of them returned; only himself and 60 men and as many Indians have gone on. Finding his want of victuals, Maj. Talcott sent back most of his men, taking all their victuals, and discharging himself of his horses. An old Indian, whom he took, told him the Indians intended to rest at Oussotinoag (Housatonnuc), and that they gad between 50 and 60 fighting-men, 100 women, besides children. He hopes to get up with them and do some execution, which the Lord in mercy grant. We find our scouts that this parcel of Indians went over the great river on rafts at the foot of the great falls, between us and Hadley, and their track comes from Nipmuck country. The scouts found where they lay, within seven miles of our town, having about 25 fires" (p. 173)		
13 August 1676	Mortality   Captives	Falmouth or Casco Bay	Brian Pendleton	On the 11 <sup>th</sup> of August 1676 Caso tradegy, 32 killed and some English taken captive, Mr. Burras [Burroughs] escaped "to an island" (p. 356)		Boutin 1867, 356
Tuesday Morning 15 August 1675	Mortality inflicted on the Hunger March	"in or near" Sheffield	Major Talcott	Talcott takes on Indians at he Housatonnuc killing and taking 45 (25 warriors). Talcott's loss is one Mohegan (p. 173)		Judd 1905, 173
24 August 1676	Trails   execution   poor eye sight   Turners Falls Fight   Indian servitude	Newport, RI   Pettacomscutt   Nashaway	Quanopen, Indian with one eye, Sunkeecunas uck, Nenanantennett, Nechett, Ashamattan, John Wecopeak,	"Trail of Indians charged with being engaged in Philip's Designs" (p. 173/0	Quanopen charged with taking up arms against the English and participated in the Swamp Fight, said nothing of the "destroying of Pettacomscutt, and he was at the Assaulting of Mr. William Carpenters Garrison at Pawtuxet" took arms and helped destroy Nashaway and carried away 20 English captives (January 27, 1676) (p. 177). Quanopen charged guilt and was shot to death on the 26 of	Hough 1858, 173-185

			<p>John Godfree, Wm Heifferman, Capt Wm Turner, Anashawin, John Green, Mansasses Molasses, Suckats Squa, Whaminuck shin, Serjt Roger's Man</p>		<p>August (p. 177).</p> <p>“Indian with one Eye, Quanopens Brother (p. 177) saith his Brother Quanopen was a Comander in the Warr, but he was not , he being soe defective in his eye Sight, that he was incapable. Voted, that at present Judgment is suspended” (p. 178)</p> <p>Sunkeecunasuck testified that he was at the burning of Warwick, “and that Wenunaquabin, and Indian now in Prison, was at the burning and destroying with him...and that his Brother Quanopin, was the second Man in Comand in the Narragansett Cuntry, that he was the next to Nenanantent” (p. 178). Nechett testifies that Sunkeecunasuck was present at Warwick and is sented to death with his brother (p. 178)</p> <p>Ashamattan testifies that his “Brother Quanopin” had wampum with him and commanded many Indians (p. 178) and that the Dutch supplies them with powder (p. 179).</p> <p>Wenanaquabin testifies that he did not arrive to Warwick till after the town was burned and witnessed Nechett there “about Noone” with his gun and that he was present at the Falls Fight with “Capt. Turner, and there lost his Gun, and swam over a River to save his life” (p. 179). Sentenced to death with Quanopin (p. 180).</p> <p>John Wecopeak testified that back in March sometime he joined the Narragansetts at Pewanascuk where they</p>	
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					<p>burnt a barn, two homes and two Englishman, but was not present at Pettacomscuutt (p. 180). That he was with Indian John, "Heiffermans Man" removing wigwams and retrieving two dead Indians and that the wife of George Craft was shot, her body chopped with a hatchet "saith she did not crye hoe" (p. 180). "Also saith, that he was at the Fight of Capt. Turner, and run away" (p. 180) by Reason the Shott came as thick as Raine, but said alfoe, that he was a great Distance. Butt John Godfree and William Heifferman saith, that he the said Wecopeak told them, that he saw Capt. Turner, and that he was shott in the Thight, and that he knew it was him, for the said Turner said that was his Name. Voted guilty of the Charge, and to dye as the others" (p. 181).</p> <p>Anashawin a Narragansett denies that he harmed John Green of Narragansett, "occasioned about the Death of a dumb Boy" (p. 181)</p> <p>Quonaehewacout testifies that all Sachems present when Jerah Bull's garrison was burnt December 16, 1675, and the killing of 17 men there (p. 181).</p> <p>Manasses Molasses testified that he did not kill Low Howland at Tiverton, but he bought the dead man's coat for ground nuts and that Quasquomack killed him (p. 182).</p> <p>Mumuxuack also known as Toby is accused of killing John Archer, that he and four others shot and struck him with</p>
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					<p>hatchet, and threatened by his brother took the head of Archer and gave it to Awetamoe and was rewarded with a shirt (ca. Aug. 6, 1676) (p. 184).</p> <p>Suckats Squa lives with Daniel Wilcocks and testifies against Molasses (p. 185).</p> <p>“Whaminuckshin, Serjt Roger’s Man, being examined said that he was at Thomas Gould’s Garriosn, and the Occasion of his cominge was to bury his Father, or help bury him, and there found severall Indians upon their Gard” (p. 185).</p>	
28 August 1676 (double check this may be of 1675!)	Hostages	Springfield   Hartford	Major Pynchon	Pynchon orders to take hostages of the Springfield Indians, and not to disarm them. The hostages are sent to Hartford, CT (p. 143)		Judd 1905, 143
September 1676	Execution	Boston		“Two men executed at Boston for murdering some Indian Squaws & children” (p. 330)		Bradstreet 1854, 330
16 September 1676	Captivity   Petition of rates	Mass Bay	Philip Eastman	Philip Easton petitions his payment of rates “considering his late captivity wth the Indians, & losse” (p. 114)		Shurtleff 1854, 114
16 September 1676	Death Penalty	Mass Bay		“There being many of our Indian ennemyes seized, & now in our possession, the Court judgeth it meete to refer he disposal of them to the late honoured council, declaring it be their sence, that such of them as shall appeare to have imbrued their hand in English blood should suffer death here, and not be transported into forreigne parts” (pp. 115)		Shurtleff 1854, 155
11 October 1676	Intelligence of Turners Falls Battle	Montage, MA, Turners Falls	Capt. Holyoake, Capt. Turner	“We had Newes by a Post, of a fight upon Connecticut River between Deerfield and Squakheig, there were		L’Estrange 1676, 3-4

				about an hundred and sixty of our souldiers under the command of Captain Holyoake, and Captain Turner...picking out of the several Garrisons, as many souldiers as could conveniently ve spared, resolved to Attaque them, it being a great Fishery place called Deerfield Falls” (pp. 3-4)		
12 October 1676	War	Kinnibecke, Shipscott, Monhegin, Casco Bay	Major Clarke, and Suffolke men with 20 Indians	120 able bodied men of Suffolke with 20 Indians are sent to the Eastern parts under the command of Major Clarke to persue the enemy, and 70 men impressed out of Essex (p. 122), 60 men from Midlesex to be sent to Piscataqua. The plan is to first secure Black Point then to march against the enemy in Pegwakick, equipped with six months worth of provisions (p. 123)...150 men under Captain Hathorne, Major Generall Dennison to Porstmouth to improve soldiers there (p. 124)		Shurtleff 1854, 122-124
November 1676	Native warriors against enemy Indians	Meadfield and beyond Wrentham	Peter Ephraim, Daniel Gookin	Letter from Daniel Gokin to Peter Ephraim “are to order you & as many volunteer Indians (of our friends) that you can get together for to forthewith to march up to Meadfield & from there to move into the woods Beyond Wrentham were I am informated some of our enemies Lurke there”		Vol. 30: 223, “Indian Affaires 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachusetts Archive Collection</i> , Massachusetts State Library.
20	Indian	Boston, MA	John	A note written by Daniel Gooking the	On November 23, 1676 it is “Order that	Vol. 30:

November 1676	captivity   Indian war time service terms		Nemasitt, Daniel Gookin Sr., Wr. Whetcomb, Mr. Deane	in Cambridge in behalf of John Nemasitt who served as a soldier with the English for 10 weeks and who now “has a wife and sucking child now in prison in Boston, who had her life & liberty promised & engaged to her husband at Pascataway & was left at Cochelo while her husband with the Rest of the Army, went to Casco & Black Point: But during their absence this woman & child was sent among others (though mistake) to Boston & there sold among the rest to Mr. Whetcomb and Mr Deane, but upon mention ye counsel she was stopped in prison” Her husband is also willing to repay funds used to acquire her (228)	prisonkeeper in Boston do release Mary Nemasitt an Indian and her Child and deliver her unto her husband John Nemasitt. Major Richard Waldron to repay Thomas Deane and James Whetcomb however much they paid for her” (228a)	228-228a, “Indian Affairs 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachusetts Archive Collection</i> , Massachusetts State Library.
24 November 1676	Burnt infrastructure   Provisions	Boston		“The north chh. Or meeting house at Boston was burnt & about 40 or 50 dwelling houses & store houses” (p. 330)		Bradstreet 1854, 330
1 January 1677 (reported)	War  Famine   Native relocation	New France	Reported by Father Jacques Valtier from Syllery, Abanaki mission	At the beginning of KPW Abnakis were against the English, took up residence with the French – namely the Sokokis and Abnakis. Summer of 1675 the Sokokis traveled the Road of three Rivers and settled and the Abnakis took residence at Sillery arriving mid-Spring 1676 after they “suffered during The winter from so unusual a famine that many of them died” (p. 223)		Thwaites 1900, 233
24 May 1677	Hunting practice   fear	Mass Bay		“Order to prevent inconvenience by Indjans travayling the woods with their guns”....given freedom to hunt, but when see an English person, throw down their guns and present his certificate (p. 136), otherwise his gun may be taken (p. 137)		Shurtleff 1854, 136-137
18 April		Cochecha		“Since my last we have been & are		Boutin

1677				almost Alarmed by ye Enemy. An Acct of ye mischief done"...11 <sup>th</sup> "2 more kill'd at Wells. 12 <sup>th</sup> , 2 men, one women & 4 children kill'd at York & 2 houses burnt. 13 <sup>th</sup> , a house burnt at Kittery & 2 old people taken Captive by Simon & 3 more...14 <sup>th</sup> , a house surprised on the south side Piscatay & 2 young women carried away thence. 16 <sup>th</sup> , a man kill'd at Greenland and his house burnt, another sett on fire but ye Enemy was beaton off & ye fire put out by some of our men who then recovered alsoe one of ye young women taken 2 days before who sts there was but 4 Indians; they ran skulking about in small pties like wolves" (p. 363).		1867, 363
20 September 1677	Raid Captivity Mortality	Hatfield, MA		"About 12 persons were killed by ye Indians at Hattfield and about 20 carried captive" (p. 330)		Bradstreet 1854, 330
5/6 November 1677	Disease Mortality epidemic	Charlestown, MA	Mr. Thomas Shepard (eldest some of Thomas Shepard, Sr)	Thomas Shepard dies at his house in Charlestown at the age of 45 from small pox. He preached and was minster of Charlestown. "He dyed of ye Small pox wch he Sensibly perceived he was infested wth whilst he went to visett some of his neighbors who lay sick of yt desease....The winter of this year, 77, ye Small pox was very rife in Boston & Charlstown wr many dyed. It rages this Spring tho: not so mortall as in the Winter (p. 330)		Bradstreet 1854, 330
1678	War and taxation   Population statistics	Hatfield, MA		After the war, there are 48 families living in Hatfield that are taxed, in 1670 there are only 30 families living there		Judd, History of Hadley, 1863, 92
Spring 1677	Subsistence threat   fear			Land near Marlborough, Massachusetts Bay in the Spring of		Gookin 1999, 456

				1677 “taken away the fencing stuff from about the Indian’s lands, but taken away some cart-loads of their young apple trees and planted them in their own lands. And when some of those Indians made some attempts to plant (by order of authority) upon their own lands in the spring of 1677, some person of that place expressly forbid them, and threatened them if they came there to oppose them, so that the poor Indians being put into fears returned, and dared not proceed; and yet those Indians that went to plant were such as had been with the English all the war” (p. 456).		
9 April 1677	Indian captivity	Mass Bay	Samuel Lyde, Captain John Hunter	Samuel Lyde files a peution for the keeping of his Indian girl aged about 12 years, told to be a friend to Captain John Hunter. Under Mass Bay law, no Indians may be kept without penalty unless intent for export. The petition requests the keeping of her “The girl is since growne very much in stature and salt and full in body & brought to be very servitable in his family”		Vol. 30: 236b, “Indian Affaires 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachusetts Archive Collection</i> , Massachusetts State Library.
21 April 1677	Indian captivity   Native POW	Newport, RI	Capt. Dennison, CT	War	Native POW and captives from Narragansett County, then in holding at Newport are to be taken by Capt. Denison, “and carried away as prisoners for their lawful employments; and also from their possessions in this Collony, and within the bounds thereof are arrested and conveyed to yourselves for tryall	Bartlett 1857, 561

					upon default of execution and disobedience to your authoritie exercised by your declarations and edicts” (p. 561)	
10 May 1677	Runaway Indians	Connecticut Colony		To treat and prevent further runawayys that have submitted themselves to the English for mercy, Indians that apprehended any captive may return him to English authorities for two yards of cloth or if they adied to may a penalty of 40 shillings (pp. 308-309)		Trumbull 1852, 208-309
Late morning, 19 September 1677	Hatfield Attack   Mortality   Captivity   Burnt infrastructure   Turners Falls men	Hatfield, MA	Capt. Thomas Watts	Hatfield attacked resulting in 12 English dead (5 men (one Benoni Stebbins), rest women and children), 4 wounded, 17 captives and 7 buildings burnt. The Indians with captives proceed to Deerfield, killing one more and taking 4 more captive (one Quintin Stockwell) (p. 175)	Capt. Thomas Watts peruses them with 50 men....Captives moved through Canada, and Benjamin Wait and Stephen Jennings pursue with permission of Andros and with commission from MA (176-177). Rescued, minus three of the captives that were killed, and the mission cost 200 pounds (p. 178)	Judd 1905, 175
6 March 1679	War   WIA   KIA   English burial	Sudbury, MA	Captain Mason, Captain Wadsworth, Captain Brattlebank	Soldiers Daniel Warrin and Joseph Pierrot request to bring troops to bury the dead. They “found 13 or 14 of Captain Wadsworth men who wear escaped sune of them wounded and brought into Sudbury towne: And the next morning see as it was light we went to look for the Concord men who were Slain in the River middon and their we went in the cold water....wear we found five and we brought them in to the Bridge and we buried them there: and then we joined our selves to Captain Hunton with as many others as we could procure and went over the River to look for Captain wadworth and Capt Brattlebank and the soldiers that wear slain: and we gathered them up and buried them: and then it was agreed that we should go up to [Nobsrut?] to bring the Carts for them		Doc. 224, 6 March 1679, Vol. 68, Military, MSL

				into Sudbury Towne and soo returned from againe.”		
1697	Murder   Revenge for Turners Falls	“Field,” Springfield vicinity	Samuel Field	Samuel Field is shot down in a field by a Native supposedly out of revenge for his participation in Turners Falls (p. 67)	Oral tradition	Genealog y of Early Settlers in Trenton and Ewing by Eli Field Cooley and William S. Cooley, 1883. Trenton, NJ: W.S. Sharp Printing Co.
Ca. 1824	Visual Trauma of Beer’s Fight 1675	Route from Montague to Northfeild, MA		“The ground where the disaster happened, is now cleared, and to this day is called Beer’s plain, and the hill where the captain fell, Beers mountain. Near the river, about three fourths of a mile south of the place of the first attack, is shewn a great ravine, connecting with the river, called Soldiers hole, from one of Beers’ men, who there sought safety in his flight. At a sandy knoll on the west side of the road, near the place where the attack commenced, the bones of the slain are still to be seen, in some instances, bleaching in the sun. Until lately the mail route from Montague to Northfield, passed over the ground, but a recent alteration, it now runs a little to the west of it. Janes’ mill is situated a small distance north of the place of the attack” (p.		Hoyt 1824, 104

				104).		
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## Appendix V - King Philip's War Statement – Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican Tribe



### King Philip's War Statement by Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican Tribe

*Submitted in participation with the 2014-16 US Department of the Interior National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program Grant to Town of Montague, MA for:*

*“Battle of Great Falls (Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut), May 1676” project*

#### Presence in Connecticut River Valley prior to King Philip's War

Though many limit Mohican territory as stretching from the Hudson River Valley area to an eastern limit of the Housatonic River, the Mohican tribe views its lands as historically having extended across Western Massachusetts as far as the Connecticut River Valley. This mountainous area drew our tribe as traders and hunters were there was abundant game and fish and rich planting fields.

Several examples exist that demonstrate this Mohican presence Western Massachusetts:

- One example is a 1724 deed where Mohican peoples in the southern Berkshires agreed to allow the colonists to use a “certain tract upon the Housatonic River” while reserving for themselves some lands, including the place called *Skatehook*. In 1762, many of the same Mohicans sent a petition to the Massachusetts Legislature protesting an act which had authorized the formation and public sale of ten new townships in the Berkshires. The petition insisted that the Mohican people were the true owners of the land.
- Another land deed in 1763 concerned the sale of all unsold Mohican land bound east on the Westfield River, i.e. west of Connecticut River.

- Also a later exchange of letters during King Williams War between Gov. Stoughton and Fletcher in 1695-7 is good evidence that River Indians (Mohicans and Schaghticokes) were present and even residing in the Connecticut River Valley, trading, hunting, and going to war. No doubt they were there previously during peacetime as well.
- Just south of Stockbridge, there is documentation of Mohican people who stopped at a large heap of stones, “already ten cart-loads in size.” Tribal members placed additional stones each time they passed, explaining to Sergeant in 1734: “their fathers used to do so, and they do it because it was the custom of their fathers.” This demonstrates that the tribe had traditionally lived in the area long before the later Stockbridge mission settlement (1735-85).

Within this area our tribe regularly encountered and interacted with the primary inhabitants of the Connecticut River Valley, the Pocumtuck, a closely-related Algonquin people. The Pocumtuck, interrelated by a common language and dialect, allied with our tribe during the political tensions with the Mohawk, who also desired access to the mountainous area between the Hudson and Connecticut Rivers.

There is also evidence that the Pocumtuck may have been considered one with the Mohican people, especially by 1675 (during King Philips War) when Mohicans had made such a declaration that scattered tribes such as along the Housatonic and Hudson River now constituted one Nation.

### **Mohican involvement during King Philip’s War**

Our tribe chose to remain neutral during King Philip’s War, and as such to our knowledge we did not have a direct involvement in the Battle of Great Falls/ Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut. Many have speculated that our tribe’s choice was due to a geopolitical calculation following an attempt to involve the Mohicans in the War:

In December of 1675, King Philip and more than a thousand of his men traveled to Schaghticoke, New York, a Mohican settlement north of Albany. He settled into winter quarters there as a guest

of the Mohicans. He made efforts to recruit Mohicans to join him in taking up arms against the English, and to secure additional supplies. He stayed with our tribe over the winter months. By February, a report was delivered to New York Governor Edmund Andros that Philip had gathered 2,100 warriors at Schaghticoke. Fearing that the Massachusetts war would spread to New York, Andros worked with the Mohawk to attack Philip's army in late February while he was still with the Mohicans. The surprise attack by 300 Mohawk, longtime geopolitical rivals to our tribe, killed about 460 of the approximately 500 men with Philip. Another band of about 400 scattered, and others were captured. Historians have argued that this single event at Schaghticoke was "the blow that lost the war for Philip." He managed to return to New England but any hope of a Mohican alliance was over, and his supply of ammunition and men was greatly diminished.

At least one Mohican had been taken by the Mohawk during the winter raid. Governor Andros demanded that the one Mohican captive be turned over to him and then set him free. Later, in April of 1677, John Pynchon, as a New England representative, met with the Mohicans at Albany to express gratitude for their neutrality, declaring them "friends and neighbors" to the English.

It seems that especially after the 1675 Schaghticoke raid that our tribe calculated that siding with Philip and the Algonquin alliance would pose too great a risk in our position with the English in New York, and that remaining neutral would ensure the best chance at survival.

### **Aftermath of Battle of Great Falls:**

In May 1676 just after the attack at Peskeompskut, a portion of Connecticut River Valley Algonquin tribes, primarily our kin the Pocumtuck, emigrated from Massachusetts, came to the Province of New York and settled about 18 miles North of the city of Albany at a place named Schaghticoke to seek refuge with the Mohicans. Schaghticoke derives from an Algonquin word "pishgoch-ti-goch" and means "a place where the river forks." Although some bands of Pocumtuck likely managed to remain in the Connecticut River Valley until the 1800s, most of their remaining tribe moved west and settled among the Mohicans, intermarrying and in effect merging as one tribe. This settlement in Schaghticoke was done at the invitation of Governor Andros. The invitation can be read as strategic in that the location of Schaghticoke was conveniently located near Albany. He assumed that the Schaghticoke Native peoples would buffer the French-allied

tribes from attacking English settlements around Albany. Soon, Mohicans living at Schaghticoke were completely outnumbered by the more than 200 families from Massachusetts that settled there.

Oral traditions relate that Andros held a meeting called a Witenagemot (peace council) with Albany's magistrates, ministers and Native leaders. Sachems from the Kanienkehaka, Mohican and Connecticut River Valley jointly planted an oak tree to serve as a symbolic tree of peace to protect the Schaghticoke Indian Settlement. Mohican settlements and the Schaghticoke were often jointly referred to as "River Indians" and the two became indistinguishable.

While in Schaghticoke, the Native people lived under English protection, but the colonial documents make clear that they governed themselves. When conflicts with Albany residents arose, the Mohican sachems would often intervene on their behalf. For several decades, the peace and steady trade among the Schaghticoke, Kanienkehaka, Mohican and the English allowed everyone living in the area to prosper. Frequent conferences with the English took place at Albany; at those conferences, the Schaghticoke appeared as a separate and independent tribe.

The Connecticut River Valley from then on served as a way-station, where many intertribal and colonial encounters (e.g., attacks, trades, hunting, etc.) took place but no longer was the center of any particular tribal nation. Eventually, further encroachment by Europeans and tensions with Mohawk would lead our tribe to return to Western Massachusetts again out of a calculated decision of our best chances of survival; we chose to accept an experiment of forming an "Indian Town" for our tribe in Stockbridge, Massachusetts (1735-85).

### **Mohican Tribe Today**

The time in Stockbridge, Massachusetts forever changed our tribe. For one, as an amalgamated peoples we no longer only referred to ourselves as Mohican but instead as the "Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican" to better incorporate the new tribal identity. After multiple forced removals westward, our tribe of 1,500 enrolled members now resides in northern Wisconsin on 23,000 acres of land. Through the Historic Preservation Department, we are proud to work to protect Mohican sites and return cultural materials on our traditional territories out East and to participate in educational opportunities such as this.

## Remembering & Reconnecting:

# Nipmucs and the Massacre at Great Falls

A Narrative compiled and presented By the Chaubunagungamaug Nipmuck  
Historic Preservation Office and Associates for the Battle of Great Falls/  
Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Project  
October 2015

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4. Why This Place?
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## **Foreword**

### The Why of this Report

This report is part of the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) sponsored by the National Park Service. The Town of Montague engaged the support and services of several area tribes whose ancestors had participated in the King Philips War. We suspect that the Town did not realize that Nipmuc people had come to the Falls long, long before that war occurred. It had been part of our ongoing relationship with our homelands. Yearly we would travel to the Falls, as did other area Natives, to plant, fish, hunt, harvest, forage for medicines, and socialize with others. And yet, the history books fail to acknowledge our connection to this land. When asked to prepare a report from the Nipmuc Tribe, we were happy to have a vehicle with which to tell our story from our perspective. And, hopefully, in a manner that will honor our ancestors, speak of their ingenuity, and celebrate their lives.

### The Structure of this Report

We arranged the report beginning with life before the arrival of the English to what life is like for us today. Included are thoughts and feelings shared with us by our Elders – some who knew the story and some who did not. We searched our extensive tribal archive to see if any of our forebears knew of the Falls and what happened there or had visited at some point. Many folks out there know the story of the war, so this report doesn't cover much as far as any battles fought. From our perspective, what happened at what is now called Turner's Falls was not a battle but a slaughter of un-armed innocents. From our perspective it marks the beginning of a decline in our relationship with the world we live in – a relationship that had existed for thousands and thousands of years.

### Contributors

We'd like to thank the Nipmuc Nation Elders Council for their thoughtful conversations on the war, King Philip, the Falls, and our current struggles. Two of the Elders made a visit to Peskeompskut and Wissatinnewag and left brokenhearted. And yet, the visit sparked a determination that the tribe's young needed to know what happened not only at Turner's Falls but about events throughout our history.

David Tall Pine White is the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO) for the Chaubunagungamaug Band of Nipmuck Indians and often acts as the THPO for the Hassanamisco Band (Nipmuc Nation). David is the tribe's language instructor and works diligently to recreate and revitalize our original language. Cheryll Toney Holley is the Sonksq (female leader) of the Hassanamisco Band of Nipmuc Indians and the Nipmuc Nation.

## **Introduction**

### This Place has Meaning

It has been written about again and again how connected Indigenous People are to the land. Many times these narratives are from a glorified “noble savage” European point of view. More often these days we can get a better sense of the more complete and encompassing lifeways view from the People themselves. Life in the days of our ancestors was relationship-based not consumer-driven as it is today. Peskeompskut was for thousands of years a place to gather, plant, fish, and prepare for the next cycle of life. Multiple Peoples gathered there in times of peace, and later, in a time of war. Peskeompskut and Wissatinnewag gave our people food, shelter, and interaction with the land and other people.

The geographical area we are referring to in this Project did not "belong" to any "Tribe". And, the current contemporary understanding of what a "Tribe" even is, is often misunderstood. Tribal names really describe the Peoples relationship with the land they cultivated and had a responsibility for. Our ancestors referred to themselves as the People and organized as families and bands. We contend that this area was a significant destination among a network of cultural resources. Also there is a higher cultural/spiritual significance for this area that was important for the nature of its purpose. This was also a central location among a much larger network of Indigenous communities and governing structures....speaking various dialects of a widely understood language family.

Walking the altered landscapes of today conveys the stark truth of how far we have strayed from our ancestors' ways and how much we still forget. Try as we might to recover and practice our ancestors lifeways, it is increasing difficult for our People to throw off centuries of foreign ways

of living and thinking. In fact, the foreign European (now American) way of life is so deeply instilled in our beings that the hope of reestablishing our true relationship with the rest of the universe seems far-fetched indeed. Even our creation stories show the stark difference between our ancestors' way of life and today. In the Indigenous creation stories, the woman is welcomed by the rest of creation –protected and nourished by other life. In other creation scenes, the woman is punished for partaking of the life around her and the knowledge contained in that life and instead sets out to subdue that life.

### Importance of the CT River

The Connecticut River is a wonder. Four hundred and ten miles of abundant life flowing southerly from the U.S./Canadian border to the Long Island Sound. Nipmuc People, so named for our penchant for living alongside inland lakes and rivers, were intimately involved in the river, its many tributaries (more than 100!), and the fertile lands surrounding it. The river was and still is home to great numbers of fish and other wildlife including migratory fish. There are a number of falls during the river's southern travels, including the falls at Peskeompskut. Each spring, Nipmucs and others gathered at the falls to catch fish during the spawning runs. Thousands of fish made their way up the river to lay their eggs. Our ancestors welcomed them, caught them, and thanked them for their generosity. All life has its role in this universe. At least twice yearly, for untold thousands of years, the People came to Peskeompskut to not only fish but to plant and then harvest food for the rest of the year. It was an integral part of life, part of the circle that had both physical and spiritual meaning.

### Language and Meaning of Place – Peskeompskut

**PESK**- Fire and/or Thunder as in bursting out

**OMPSK**- relating to Rock or Stone

**UT** or sometimes **ET**- denotes a specific place

**TRANSLATION:** The place where the fire bursts from the rock

The location known as Peskeompskut is the site of an ancient fault line. Ridges of trap rock, or ancient volcanic rock, can be found for miles around the site. How did our ancestors know that

lava once flowed through the area? That fire burst through the rocks? This demonstrates that oral tradition and knowledge along with meaningful language can carry stories and wisdom far into the future.

### Wissatinnewag

This word has been difficult in translation probably due to the inconsistencies and grammatical errors over time and/or from the beginning

Possible roots:

**WUS-** Edge, Border **WUSSE-** to flee (**WUSS**)**EKIT-** pleasing

There do not seem to be any roots using **WISSI** in our records and it is always difficult to determine these words without any linguistic indications and also the fact that most of the words we see today that are claimed to be "indian" were recorded by people with little understanding of the culture of the land they were inhabiting or linguistics.

**ITTINNE-** possibly referring to people collectively

**AUG-** a fishing place

It is doubtful that such a significant area was named only for the dew on a hill by the falls. At the same time it may have been referred to in that way depending on who was speaking. There may have been several phrases used to describe this place. By looking at what we can see, a rough translation can begin to surface. However unfortunately due to the events of the King Phillip War and the subsequent policies of colonial governments we may never fully understand the true meanings of our language or the true significance of the Land itself which in turn is what the purpose of the language is in the first place. By going back to the Land we are rediscovering what these words are really trying to tell us, and we are finding it is always difficult to adequately describe these experiences with "words".

## **Political Perspectives**

There are many ways in which the English colonists took advantage of Native People already occupying these lands. The taking of land was the most prominent means of subduing Native populations. The English believed in ownership of land while Native Peoples belief relied on relationship with and responsibility for the land. When English landed on our shores, they reveled in the thought of gaining what they couldn't have in England – Land. It was an instant clash of cultures. The English thought that owning land was perfectly normal. The People indigenous to the land did not. Realizing this, the colonists used this misunderstanding to manipulate the Native Peoples into giving away something that in our ancestors' perceptions was impossible to give.

To gain allies, the colonists manipulated tribes to turn against each other by preying on old animosities, breaking apart alliances, and convincing Native Peoples that they needed the English to protect them. During Metacomet's Rebellion, the English leadership managed to persuade the Praying Indians to spy and scout for the English, all the while convincing the colonists that all Indians -*especially* the Praying Indians that lived close by - were a threat to them. Eventually, the Praying Indians were imprisoned on Deer Island in Boston Harbor. Without food, fresh water or shelter, the majority of the friendly Indians imprisoned died on the island.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony was in fact a corporation with a charter to do business and to make money for the king of England (and themselves). The relationship between the king and the colonists quickly deteriorated. The colonists didn't like being subject to a king so far away and creating riches for someone else. The crown did afford some protection to the land because the king declared that it belonged to either him or the Native population. These protections interfered with what the colonists wanted most. Land greed led to the colonists denouncing the crown while still operating under the charter. This led to the loss of protection for the Native Peoples and even more seizures of land.

Indians Commissioners were appointed to assist and protect Native People but created only conflicts of interest. These same “protectors” owned the land “purchased” from the Natives and often governed the English towns built on those illegally purchased lands. Church and State were fully intertwined with laws based on religious edicts. Native Peoples could not hope for fair representation in any court system unless they converted to Christianity and had English friends to vouch for their godliness.

## **Effects of the English Invasion**

The English did not see our ancestors for what they were. They did not see the unique technologies used in everyday life to transform, create, and interact with the world around us. They did not understand the relationship we had with the land, water, plants and other living beings. Our ancestors’ world was one built on relationships of trust and responsibility. Trusts that had existed for thousands of years and that had sustained the people through the hardships that life sometimes brings. Even the hardships of unknown and deadly disease brought to our shores by European fishermen.

The English were consumers. They consumed. They believed that land and everything on it existed for their consumption. They thought the Native population was backward and ungodly and in need of subjection.

We were robbed. The gifts of land we gave to the English were not meant to permanently repel us from our way of life. Gifts are things that eventually came back to you – land was not meant to be fenced off. How to you collect food and medicines from a place you can no longer access? Although it seems clear that John Eliot meant well by his formation of several Praying Plantations, especially in Nipmuc country, those towns reduced our ancestors’ ability to continue their traditional ways. Forced to wear English clothes, use fencing, raise animals instead of allowing them to be free was an unknown and decidedly confusing experience for our People. Many went to live in these towns because they felt the need to be protected. Or perhaps they simply felt overrun by the English with no choice but to comply.

Children were taken from their families to be raised “properly” in English homes, most returning as adults or not returning at all. This taking of Native children was precursor to the Residential Schools out west that many Native cultures suffered from in the late 1800s and into the 1900s. Our traditions, culture, beliefs, and value systems were ridiculed as primitive and savage. The English even remarked that Nipmucs treated their children too kindly and displayed too much love towards their families.

### **Why This Place?**

The Connecticut (Great River) River Valley was a fertile place. While the Falls were a bit to the north, the climate was still temperate and crops were easily planted and grown. Medicinal plants and wild foods grew along the banks and in the wooded areas as well. Several varieties of animals populated the woods along the shores. Our ancestors cleared fields for planting, leveled spots for wetus and larger structures, and buried their dead. It was home to many, from many groups of Native Peoples - a shared place.



Peskeompskut as seen from across the Connecticut River, May 2015.

One can surmise that the spawning runs in the spring brought large numbers of different Peoples to the Falls each year. Using traps, weirs, baskets, and nets, enough fish to eat and dry and store for the winter could be caught. Thousands of fish migrated each year up the Connecticut and similar fishing villages could also be found at other places along the Connecticut.

We don't know which individual Nipmuc families or bands traveled to this particular spot. We do know that several Nipmuc groups lived nearby. The Falls was a safe place. A time for our ancestors to practice their relationship with the land and all of its gifts. The crops planted would be monitored and watered during the year and harvested come fall.

In May of 1676, things were a bit different than usual. The war with the English had gone on for nearly a year. Lives had been lost or imprisoned and the People were tired. This year the Falls were more than an annual gathering. It was respite from a war that was inevitable, bloody and costly. The men remained armed in a separate camp down river perhaps to protect the women, children and elders up in the main camp. (Because who would kill unarmed children?) The people in Peskeompskut continued their annual chores of planting, foraging, and fishing. It's thought that with stores of food and supplies destroyed elsewhere in Nipmuc Country that the camp worked that much harder to make up for those losses.

## **Metacomet's Rebellion**

Most of the people reading these reports already know much about the Metacomet's Rebellion – more commonly known as King Philip's War. Metacomet was the son of Massasoit who history says was a friend to the English. Even school children know the story of how the Pilgrims/Puritans were starving and were saved that first year by the generosity of the Wampanoags.

Metacomet saw how the English were not only accumulating land but fencing it off, forbidding Native people to use the land in ways that they had forever. Stopping this encroachment of not only land but of a way of life became his plan. Fellow Wampanoag, John Sassamon, relayed

Metecomet's plans to the English – clearly an act of treason against his leader and people. In most “civilized” countries in that time period, treason is rewarded with execution by the state. And so it happened that Sassamon's body was found. Instead of confirming Metacomet's right to execute laws in his own land, the English tried to arrest him.

Metacomet fled to westward and, eventually, into Nipmuc country. Both Nipmucs and Narragansetts rallied to his cause, truly the cause of all Native Peoples. Our Nipmuc ancestors decided that enough was enough and chose to join the fight against the English invaders. King Philips War had begun.

### **The “Battle” of Turner's Falls**

Death came in the early morning hours on May 19, 1676. Hundreds of Native families were gathered under the Falls for the annual fish run. In May and June of each year, salmon, shad, eel, lamprey and herring made their journey upstream to spawn. The Connecticut River was thick with fish, making it an ideal time to gather food for the entire year. Annual corn fields were also growing nearby- come autumn, it would be picked and stored for the winter. And on this occasion, hungry Native refugees from war-torn Southern New England had also made their way to the Falls.

Both Native leaders and the English authorities were at rest from the conflicts of the King Philip's War. Talks of peace had been ongoing for several months. The weary Nipmuc, Narragansett, Wampanoag, and Pocumtuc warriors that had accompanied the families to the Falls gathered in nearby, separate camps.

Meanwhile, soldiers, residents and even the clergy occupying nearby Hadley, Massachusetts grew increasingly frustrated with the recent peace talks. Many were displaced from battles with Philip's men in Greenfield and Deerfield and wished to retaliate. After Native warriors raided nearby Hatfield and carried off cattle, Captain William Turner, commander of the Hadley garrison, decided to take action despite the instructions from his superiors.

Turner led more than 150 men on the 25 mile ride from Hadley to (what is now the town of) Gill. They gathered on the hill above the camp containing the families there to gather fish. The soldiers rushed down the hill and slaughtered the elders, women and children still sleeping in the early morning light. The noise of the assault woke the Native warriors camped nearby. The warriors gave chase to the English soldiers fleeing downriver but killed relatively few. Captain Turner was among those that perished and as a reward for his role in the deaths of those families, the area is now known as Turners Falls.

This one act was a turning point in King Philips War. By August of 1676, Metacomet was dead. Fighting continued in Northern New England until 1678 but Metacomet's death effectively ended the war in southern New England. Native survivors who participated in the fighting were either executed or sold into slavery. Native families dispersed, some going north to shelter with tribes up there. Others returned to their homelands where their descendants still remain.

### **Aftermath of War- A New Attack**

Nipmuc “male hostiles” were taken and hung, drawn, and quartered in Boston. Nipmuc women and children sold into slavery and many met their death on the desolate Indian Internment Camp on Deer Island. The colonial government restricted Nipmucs to only a few areas where praying plantations had existed. “Guardians” were appointed first by the colonial leadership then, as it came into being, by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Nipmucs were not allowed to sell land or do much of anything without their “guardian’s” approval, meanwhile massive tracts of land in Nipmuc Country were being usurped, allotted and granted in the forming of new towns by the Massachusetts General Court, all this while violating the Federal Non-Intercourse Act of 1790. Nipmucs petitioned the Court on several documented occasions questioning these actions however were never allowed to be heard or even taken seriously for that matter, even to the present day.

These “Guardians” sold land without legislative approval, often to pay their own debts. Monies that were not used for that purpose were deposited into trusts because Nipmucs were not allowed to handle their own funds. Sick and elderly Nipmucs were forced by the guardians to leave their

homes and families to be cared for by English families. The payment for such services was the loss of Nipmuc land. Children continued to be taken from their homes and placed in the care of English families. Laws seemed to be made to benefit the State, and for some reason never applied to us when they were made for the benefit of “Indians.”

Through these actions and injustices, we have lost our relationships with the things that mattered most. The land, the water, the life. Though some Nipmucs clung to old ways, all were forced to assimilate in some manner. Gone were the forests in which to hunt and forage. Fenced in were the fields to gather medicine. Our men were dead. Our children raised by others. And, slowly, most of us forgot.

The dissolving of the Nipmuc Community continued through the American Revolutionary War as well, and many Native people even ended up fighting against one another for the foreign quest for power in the New World. Many Native men who served in this war were termed as “colored” and many documents show the high number of Nipmucs enlisted in the American Civil War as well.

The Nipmuc land base rapidly disappeared by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Through state legislation and policy, the few remaining Nipmuc communities and families continued to be decimated. Virtually landless and without any way to sustain themselves given the removal from their lands and traditional way of life, Nipmucs were now considered paupers, vagrants, and annoyances.

From the late 17<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, legislation was passed to deal with these “indigents”

In 1694 an act was passed, entitled "An Act for the Relief of Idiots and Distracted Persons," in which the care of the insane is given to the selectmen and overseers of the poor.

In the first Tax assessed in Worcester for the benefit of the poor was in 1763, Workhouses were authorized and in 1772 the building was erected on Front Street.

In 1798 the law permitted the commitment of such lunatics as were "furiously mad so as to render it dangerous to the safety or the peace of the good people to be at large" to the House of Correction.

Until 1817 the poor were supported by contracts with the highest bidder at public auction.

In 1817 the Jennison Farm located on the old road to Boston, bordering on the upper end of Lake Quinsigamond was purchased. This purchase included all the comforts of within the mansion for a price of \$5,500.00. This was to be a permanent home for the aged and infirm of the indigent citizens.

In 1827 the law was changed in regard to the safekeeping of "lunatic persons furiously mad" so that they were committed to the hospital or lunatic asylum instead of to the jail.

Which brings us to the Enfranchisement Act of 1869 – Nipmucs now became citizens of the Commonwealth, (whether we liked it or not), and stripped of any common lands. Judges were given the authority to decide the fate of Nipmuc Lands, and in most cases auctioned off at ridiculous prices to a fortunate buyer. We were allowed to vote in this newfound “citizenship” but lost the right to claim monies from our own trust funds. Funds that still sit uncollected.

## Oral Interviews and Reactions to the Current Space

We forgot.

We didn't intend to but we did. The only references found in our archive were from the 1980s. There were also modern clippings detailing the Narragansett presence at Turner's Falls. Nothing from past leadership or tribal members. No guardianship records that speak of Nipmucs traveling to the Falls. Nothing.

During the interviews with the Elders Council, some remembered learning about the Turner's Falls massacre, not as a child but much later in life. The Massachusetts public school system did not teach about Native events or affairs when the Elders were young. Even now, the tangential approach to teaching Native history mandated by state law focuses more on the Wampanoag, who as a whole did not experience much of the conflicts in Nipmuc country during most of the King Phillip War and the French and Indian Wars, and often does not accurately portray the history and continued presence of the Nipmuc People

So we spoke a bit on what happened during the war. What led to Metacomet deciding that enough was enough? How the Native groups seemed to be winning until that "battle" at the Falls. We spoke of the aftermath. Of what happened to our people whose only crime was to stand up for themselves and defend their homes and families. We spoke of the impact that the English had on our ancestors' way of life. How that impact was more than physical – it went to the heart of who the ancestors were as living beings interacting instinctively with the world around them. When the Elders spoke, it was with sadness, a little anger, and frustration. "Nothing has changed", one commented. "We are still living our lives the way others want us to."

Some of their other comments are below on the after effects of the war:

Unable to be ourselves

Never knew who we were

Better to be black

I lived on a homestead and didn't even realize it

Just wanted to get away

Not knowing the family connections as kids

How do we get this information out to the young people? Anger, alcohol and drug abuse

Segregation

They took it and buried it

Suppression of history

Visiting the area gave the Elders more perspective and a greater determination to live beyond the comments above. Members of the Peskeompskut/Wissatinnewag Project escorted us to sites, taught us a great deal of local history, and were very kind and gracious to us. The Elders are determined to host a series of workshops and learning opportunities to teach our history in ways that will engage the tribe on multiple levels of interest and knowledge.

Peskeompskut is now contains several streets and even more houses. As the Elders walked those streets, one of our escorts spoke about the Peskeompskut massacre. We listened to his descriptions of armed men sneaking up to wetus, of women fleeing to the river and being carried over the Falls to their deaths, and of children being spared no mercy. We whispered among ourselves that we would come back to this place and have ceremony to honor the lives lost that morning.



Image of Wissatinnewag during our visit in October 2015.

We ended the visit at Wissatinnewag once stood. As we understand, Wissatinnewag was once a semi-permanent fishing village, most likely occupied by our close cousins, the Pocumtuc. The place was a desert. Scrubby shrubs sparsely dotted the landscape. One Elder remarked that it looked like a bomb went off. Our escorts explained that the place had been mined during the 1960s. It was terrible. We attempted to pray over the site but none of us had words. Eventually the words came and we walked away from the site with heavy hearts. We could sense that this place had once been a thriving village with children running about, laughter everywhere, and people living their lives in harmony with their surroundings and, perhaps, each other. But now it was dirt and sand and a few non-medicinal plants. We were told that the land is now owned by a group determined to preserve it. We have the hope that one day the land will live again.



Image of Wissatinnewag during our visit in October 2015.

## **Continuance**

Today, we still feel the impact of the Turners Falls Massacre, the King Philip War, the French and Indian wars, the American Revolutionary War, American Civil War and the subsequent trauma from the disintegration of the traditional communal way of life. The loss of connection to our Land, and our very way of life has caused much difficulty even today in modern society.

Due to continued action from Massachusetts child welfare agencies and their policies, our children are still being taken away to be raised in non-Nipmuc homes. Policies that the state enacted to protect against this are ignored by overworked and automated departments. Laws intended to protect Indian children are scrutinized and twisted by courts to exclude us from basic human rights. Generational trauma is apparent in family and community related alcohol and drug related events. Generational trauma is especially evident in our relationships with the land and each other. There cannot truly be Reconciliation until responsibility is taken by those who continue to benefit from the injustices of the past and the present. Until we can sit as equals and not “subjects” there can never be true reconciliation.

In the late 1970's Nipmuc Leaders came together and petitioned the US Department of the Interior for federal recognition under the understanding it was the only way we could regain our rights to the Land. The 30 year project that cost millions ended in confusion, despair, and even more family trauma and conflict. The tribe became divided through manipulation by government agents, gaming interests, and political entities. Nipmucs were all of a sudden whisked away with thoughts of casinos and an easy life. Imagine generations of having nothing and now having everything just for being Indian! Imagine a child abused all their life and then suddenly treated like a King. There can be no mistake that this sudden change would cause considerable confusion and disarray.

We of course have our own burden to bear looking back at the events of that time and have learned a great deal and many of us actually feel relieved that federal recognition never happened. We have come back to who we truly are, and know that the rights given to us from the Creator and our Ancestors can never be given by a government or corporation. The illusion of ownership continues to prevent understanding of all of our relationships with the land and each other. We have the opportunity now to come together and heal our community and this very project has given us much help on this road. We are very grateful to be heard and truly listened to, and to have the opportunity to return to this place to learn, and to remember.

We've forgotten and yet we still carry it all with us. The Elders believe that it's time for us as Nipmuc People to remember. Time to remember who we are and the relationships that still await our return. We accept that the people who now "own" the land we occupied for thousands of years have forgotten us. We will remember and continue to thrive here in our homeland and never again forget.

## Appendix VII – Narragansett Statement

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**NITHPO**  
Narragansett Indian Tribal Historic Preservation Office  
4425 A South County Trail  
Charlestown, RI 02813



5 January 2016

Town of Montague  
Walter Ramsey, Planner  
Planning & Conservation Department  
One Avenue A  
Turners Falls, MA 01376

**RE: Battle of Great Falls/Phase II Support**

Greetings, Mr. Ramsey:

The Narragansett Indian Tribal Historic Preservation Office is charged with addressing matters of historic preservation on behalf of the federally recognized Narragansett Tribe. We are aware that ancestral Narragansetts were frequent visitors to the annual ceremonies held by the Pocumtuc People of the Falls area. On May 19, 2004, the Elder Medicine Man of the Narragansett performed a "Bury the Hatchet" ceremony of reconciliation with the members of the Town Select Board and the Town Administrator. Reconciliation and healing are processes that require tending. I am honored to say how pleased I am with the efforts put forth by the Town of Montague in nurturing Phase One of this project and the public support and healing it is promoting.

The metal detection analysis of designated areas was a powerful and successful tool in the study of events of the same time period on the Nipsachuck Battlefield Project in North Smithfield, RI. NITHPO looks forward to being a full participant in the planning, field assessment and analysis of this and other aspects of the Phase II work. You have our support.

Doug Harris, Preservationist for Ceremonial Landscapes  
& Deputy Tribal Historic Preservation Officer

# NITHPO

Narragansett Indian Tribal Historic Preservation Office

4425 A South County Trail  
Charlestown, RI 02813



## Narragansett Oral History BURYING THE HATCHET/TOMAHAWK

I have had to alter my contracted commitment to restate the details within Narragansett oral history relating to the tragic events of the massacre of Tribal refugees gathered near the falls at Peskeompskutt, at the bend in the Pocumtuc region of the great river, below the upper village of Wissatinnewag and its terraces.

As the detailing was begun, it was clear that, personally, I was embarking on a process that was counter to the May 19, 2004 commitment made by Elder Narragansett Medicine Man Running Wolf in his "burying the hatchet/tomahawk" ceremony and the smoking of the pipe of peace with the Montague Select Board and Town Administrator at Unity Park. I was a participant in that ceremony and I hold it sacred. As a participant in that ceremony, it is my perception that my retelling the tragic Tribal events of May 19, 1676 would be, not parallel to, but a sacrilege at cross purposes to the releasing of those spirits who were stuck here and out of balance in their greatest moment of torment. Of that sacrilege, I shall not be guilty.

**TRADITION OF NARRAGANSETT SAFETY:** Narragansett oral history informs us that from the era when the raiding Mohawk were in conflict with the coastal Tribes regarding lands with longer corn growing seasons and wampum rich shell fish beds, Narragansett had served as a refuge for the women, children and elderly of the Narragansett regional neighbors during times of threat. By the ancient system of clans regional Tribes were all inter-related. As regional Tribal defenders began to heed the call of Metacom/King Philip announcing that conflict with the invading colonists was approaching, Narragansett, by long standing tradition opened its territory to the families of regional defenders. When challenged by the governor of Plymouth to release his Wampanoag who were in Narragansett safety, Chief Sachem Canonchet's response, "Not one Wampanoag, nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail shall I release to you." was not seen as the protection of relatives, but considered a war challenge.

The combined colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Plymouth raised a thousand man militia for a surprise assault on December 19, 1675 that has been historically assessed to be a shooting and burning massacre of more than half the multi-Tribal families in refuge at the Great Swamp island fort. The island fort was surrounded by an un-crossable frozen swamp. The swamp fort did have one secret access. Prior to the assault, this access was revealed by a captured Narragansett. Oral history cites that the bulk of the Narragansett defenders were encamped at a military compound nearly two hours away by foot from the presumed safety of the secluded, frozen swamp surrounded refugee fort.

**ARRIVAL AT PESKEOMPSKUTT:** Arriving from Narragansett Country was Narragansett Chief Sachem Canonchet, his brother Sachem Pessacus, cousins Sachem Pumham, Sachem Quanopen/Quinnapin and Quanopen's new wife Weetamoo, the Pocasset Tribe's woman Sachem (Suank Squaw). In the wake of the anguish and horrific losses at the Great Swamp, these leaders and their fellow refugees carried the assaults of war to Colonial settlements, such as Mary Rowlandson's town of Lancaster, as they made their way to the remote safety of the Pocumtuc in the northwest. Pocumtuc territory was considered well supplied year round, remote, ceremonial and safe.

Joining the Norwottuck and other recently arrived refugees, the mixed Tribal remnants that escaped the Narragansett Great Swamp settled into the wooded shores along the falls and the great bend in the river and its islands. Just above the falls and bend at the Peskeompskutt/Wissatinnewag area was the secluded village of Squakheag (Northfield). There, these leaders met in council with Metacom and chiefs of the Pocumtuc, Nipmuc, Pennacook, Nashaways, Quabaug, the Tarrantines of the far northeast and other regional chiefs to shape a plan to either intensify the war or respond to overtures of peace offered by Colonial representatives in Hartford. Reputed to be a skilled Indian warfare tactician, we are told that the two imperatives for Canonchet coming out of this chief's council was stabilizing the wellbeing and security of the refugees along the river and making a return journey to acquire seed corn from eastern coastal caches. The expanded population of refugees were exhausting the limited supply of seed corn that would soon be needed for the Spring planting, if there was to be a Fall harvest of corn.

**CANONCHET DEPARTS:** Back past the recently burned colonial villages, Canonchet led a party to acquire the corn stored back east. With the assistance of younger relatives, corn was returned to Pocumtuc territory for planting. Along the Blackstone River he was captured following attacks on Providence and Rehoboth. When informed that he would be put to death since he would not agree to convince his people to stop fighting, we are told his response was, "I like it well. I shall die before by heart is soft, and before I have spoken a word unworthy of myself."

We are informed that the distracting uncertainties of a heavy rain storm made the Turner militia's breaching of the security of the refugee encampments easier than it should have been and many lives were lost. Without further apology, I offer no oral historic details. Attack was an ever present concern. The long expected assault was feared to come from the Mohawk, the Narragansett spoke Mohawk. The assault was Colonial, not Mohawk. King Philip's War was the first North American indigenous peoples war to resist English colonization. It was America's first major regional conflict – death and historic trauma were its only true victors. Many Colonial and Indigenous descendants still carry the trauma of that era of historic nightmare. Burying the hatchet is a process, not a moment.

*Tau botdan tamock wutche wame (We are giving thanks for all things – those things we ask for and those that were unbidden, yet were just what we needed to bring about balance and harmony.)*



1-5-2016

Doug Harris Preservationist for Ceremonial Landscapes  
& Deputy Tribal Historic Preservation Officer  
Narragansett Indian Tribal Historic Preservation Office

## Appendix VIII – Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head Aquinnah Statement

Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head Aquinnah

Tribal Statement about Turners Falls Massacre Site and King Philips War

By: Elizabeth James-Perry

April 8, 2016

### Introduction

My first memory of Turners Falls was about ten years ago, the winter of 2005. There was snow on the ground that morning as we drove to Vermont to interview Martin Prechtel. We had read and liked his analysis of the colonizers pathos in his book about his Mayan family: *Long Life, Honey in the Heart*. Martin liked my brother's Indigenous perspective on a Thanksgiving radio broadcast and readily agreed to meet. Our project was a short independent documentary film project about King Philips War that was really focused on the cultural and spiritual costs of seventeenth century warfare to the Wampanoag Nation, rather than following the mechanics of the 1675-76 war. I had a chest cold, and didn't realize we were going to go right by the massacre site when I started to feel truly sick, and gripped by a dreadful panic. I could not clearly communicate the misery I was both sensing and experiencing. It abated only after spreading tobacco out the window; a prayer on the run. My colleagues pointed out our proximity to the Great Falls.

For the Wampanoag, our place here in the Northeast Atlantic continues to inform who we are and how we do things, as well as how we express ourselves. My sense of panic and hopelessness at the Turners Falls massacre site is similar to the descriptions in our Algonquian Windigo stories, where a terrible set of circumstances for example-extremely asocial, violent behavior-attracts a dark spirit. The thing about those kinds of spirits is that they endure, for a very long time after the event has ended. They lurk around the area of the devastation, seeking ways to prey upon and frighten the unwary who wander in. Such rare locations were generally places

everyone Native tacitly agreed to avoid. Tribal people held to the notion that it is better not to cause something bad, than attempt to take it back later.

Based on the reaction I had as well as the observations of other tribal members who have worked in the vicinity, there were Wampanoag among those slain at the Great Falls in 1676. We may never locate a piece of paper that proves that fact or gives us their names. That does not make them any less human, or their pain less acute. Additionally we were, and continue to be, connected to tribes throughout the region through intermarriage and through trade of ocean resources to interior parts of New England and through harvest and ceremony at places like the Great Falls, Mount Sugarloaf and Nipsachuck; one example of this was that on the eve of war, Narragansett leaders sent Wampanoag spouses of tribal members back to their own territory, with the Wampanoag at Montaup doing the same with Narragansett in our territory.

In *Keepers of the Earth*, Okanagan journalist Jeanette Armstrong uses literal translations from her west coast Native tongue to orient the reader to a tribal world view. Her grandmother and father paused in picking blackberries. They were looking down from a green hilltop on the reservation into a congested town, complete with factories belching smoke and traffic jams. Her Grandmother commented: the people down there are dangerous. To which her father replied: It's because they are wild and scatter anywhere. They were referring to the need on the part of the dominant society to exploit the land and each other on a constant basis, and how that derives from lacking the ability to acknowledge a deep connection to anything—a lonely existence by Native American standards, to be sure.

The conflict known as King Philips' War was named after Wampanoag Sachem Pometacomut, also named Metacomet and King Philip. The war officially lasted for just over one year in southern New England, from June 1675 to August 1676. Tension and English paranoia had existed from day one in the incredibly short existence of Plymouth Colony, begun little more than fifty years earlier. There were conflicts between individuals, as well as between the fledgling English Colonial Governments and our Tribal Nations' governments. However, from a Native perspective, war was not an inevitable consequence of English arrival, because human beings always have a choice to cultivate themselves, and to heal from past trauma. Our own ability to adapt was a central element in our traditions. A carefully cultivated sense of respect,

and our strong reliance on protocol and consensus had diminished the need for violence throughout most of our history, and did not promote total war.

One thing that has stayed with me from earlier research was a story, recorded by William Wood in 1630's Boston. It illustrates with elegant simplicity the marked difference in intentions between Massachusetts Natives and the Europeans who came here. I have rewritten the account, removing the heavy Wampanoag Native accent:

*One day, the people were fishing and diving in the salt water, when an island suddenly appeared on the horizon. They all decided to swim out to it and pick strawberries there. But the island turned to a ship and fired cannons at them.*

For Algonquian people the word for ripe red strawberry, *wutahumuneash* literally translates to “Heart berry.” It is an enduring symbol of peace and friendship, the renewal and recognition of old alliances and the forging of new ones. I always come back to this relation of the beginning of the end of our way of life here on Turtle Island.

### **Role of Women in 17<sup>th</sup> Century Native Society**

In contrast with English women, Wampanoag women routinely held prominent positions in Native society, as eloquent orators in their leadership roles, as procurers of plant foods and fish, healers, skilled artisans, and as the witnesses in council that memorized discussion and wove proceedings into wampum belts. Native women were in charge of two interconnected things: land use and distribution by clan, and governing the size of their families. A woman would not bear more children than she could comfortably raise, and to preserve her health the timing of their births was spread out. That more careful approach survived two centuries of English encroachment. A 1792 census of Gay Head Wampanoag Indians mentioned women's use of birth control, to ensure there was both time enough and resources enough to raise healthy, intelligent children.

From the seventeenth century onward, English worked to marginalize Native women, refusing to record many of their names; by speaking only to men in their efforts to make Christian converts;

and in their buying land and deciding how it would be used. In *Subjects unto the Same King*, J.H. Pulsifer mentions the popular assertion English colonists on large farms could not produce enough food to support their children's or grandchildren's needs. Uncontrolled reproduction, the economic costs of frequent political-religious warfare and wasteful attitudes towards resources drove an endless desire for expansion out of Europe and across the North and South American continents. Although tribal people increased food production and learned ways to keep food reserves from being destroyed by introduced horses and pigs, they were being overrun in place like Boston. Boats of more people would arrive, without the means to support themselves, acknowledging they "got their victuals from Indians." An endless stream of beggars was exhausting our ability to save seed corn and medicines and was disruptive to normal family life. The strange behavior was observed across the Nations in waves, noted centuries later by an Okanagan family on the opposite coast.

Descriptions of outright abuse of Indigenous women abound, such accounts were collected in *They Could Not Endure That Yolk*. Pequot women sold into English households following 1637 were badly abused; they had to fight off gangs of English servants in, and spoke out, demanding better treatment. Some fled into our territory. *Chain Her By One Foot: The Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth Century New France*, is a book title that refers to the foreigners practice of punishing high status Native women to the north by tying them up outside in the elements until their spirits were broken and they converted or died. This tactic was only possible after plagues had decimated our populations, reducing the networks built and largely maintained by the work of far-seeing tribal women.

In my language, the word for women is *Mutumwuhsis*. It means: the *One who has the Final Say*. Women are bestowed with a different perspective, and empowered every day to put their strengths to work for the people, as the sole life-givers on Mother Earth. Their influence was far-reaching.

One of the things that made the Wampanoag approach to war distinct from Euro-American's, was an unshakable strong reverence for life, and for women as the life-givers. Their work and sacrifices were recognized as central to the health and well-being of our towns, and their foresight prevented problems from blossoming into major crises. In: *A Key Into the Language of*

*the Americas*, Roger Williams followed one of his word lists, with what may be a direct quote from a Sachem or War Captain: What should I hazard the lives of my precious Subjects, them and theirs to kindle a Fire, which no man knows how farre, and how long it will burne, for the barking of a Dog?

### **Native Diplomacy, Defenses, Warfare & Weaponry**

The kinds of wars waged by Northeast Indians had been, on the main, diplomatic ones. A disagreement of some kind would be followed by a cooling off period, meetings in council, competitive games, running races, limited fighting with longbows, or hand to hand combat with wooden ball headed war clubs, of short duration. Due to the changing proportion of Native to Non-Natives in our coastal waters and lands, Wampanoag people had to see to their defenses. Native palisades were built in coastal areas readily accessible to foreigners such as at Aquinnah; at Punkateest in Tiverton; on the Paskamanskett River in Dartmouth/Acoaxet; in Paumet on Cape Cod; at Montaup; in Kingston near the Jones River above Pawtuxet; in Massachuseak territory around Boston, and at sites on the Connecticut River for community use and as defensible centers of trade. It is useful to note that the place name *Paskamanskett* contains the Wampanoag word for fort. Watches were kept. Initially palisades, or castles, as they were also labeled on early maps, were rounded to oval in form, and built from large upright tree trunks levered into position with ditches and supported by berms that can still be observed on the land today and are mentioned in archeological reports. Native canoes had the advantage when it came to travel in shallow sections of river. The tribes had a practical knowledge of the land and waters: of the rough spots, and good portage places. They also employed wooden rafts and poles to transport people, goods and animals.

One Micmac elder once confided his tribe designed bows of much higher poundage than for hunting, to shoot arrows tipped with cast iron (recycled trade metal) that could pierce European armor. The same technology was described as an adaptation to the Spanish Conquistador attacks up the Mississippi River. Swords, daggers, knives, and guns, powder and shot were obtained in trade and employed by Native companies, in addition to their own stone, bone or copper knives and hatchets. An unspent Native grenade made from clay, wood and gunpowder has been preserved in the collection of the Robbins Museum of Archeology. Woven prisoner tie cords

and snowshoes of bent wood and gut sinews or rawhide continued to be employed into 18<sup>th</sup> century in New England warfare. A slit pouch folded over the belt was useful method for carrying food rations and medicines for dressing wounds in the field. Medicines carried included bear grease for protecting exposed skin from frostbite during cold winters. The tightly woven sashes, wampum bands and intricately painted and porcupine quill embroidered deerskin articles men wore into battle bore protective colors and marking designed to ward off harm, knowledge that the various Algonquian women's art guilds/medicine societies preserved and passed on to new members (Francis Taylor, quillwork artist, personal communication).

As late as the Revolutionary War, the Stockbridge Indian Company from western Massachusetts, carried longbows, tightly woven rush quivers of arrows, guns, woven bast visors, and deerskin moccasin's for silent travel. During King Philip and other wars, Native allies to the English would threaten the lives of Colonist militia for wearing heavy shoes and stomping; the noise was an enormous liability. Captain Benjamin Church would request supplies for his soldiers including "mogkinsins" for that reason. In 1671 Hugh Cole observed Wampanoag men making bows, arrows and half pikes.

Tribal members not only had the advantage in terms of their familiarity with Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine and Vermont terrain; in their knowledge of surrounding territory and ability to read stone markers and other indicators, and through possessing linguistic skills to ask directions and safe passage far outside of their familiar territory. Tribal members also excelled in their superb balance and ability to climb, as 18<sup>th</sup> century sources marvel at the way Natives walked or ran across the frames of barns in progress, and a Native servant amazed his master by retrieving the right escaped cow quickly, because he knew its' tracks. For their part, the Carver, Massachusetts-area Wampanoag in these historic accounts seem puzzled as to why these were considered amazing feats. Our long experience navigating life in a region full of large black bears, wildcats, wolves, weasels, and snakes meant Native parents had to teach their children to have decent observation skills and calm demeanors.

The body discipline practiced by Native militaries when they did fight, was legendary, with Native companies reaching a battle great distance away by running, and then step right into the fight. Calling cadence was practiced by companies in training under the direction of war captains

called *Mugwumps*, to build lung capacity and focus the men's attention. The physical strength of Indians, and speedy reflexes would be noted throughout history, both in New England, and as far away as Apache country. In the book: *Once They Moved Like the Wind*, one leader under threat, instantly slashed open the back of the military tent with his knife and sprung to the top of a high hill behind it, moving so automatically he still held a cup full of hot coffee at the crest. As a girl I saw my petite, gentle, elderly Native grandmother strike a large vicious dog down with such speed, that she had my full attention, not the animal. Like a martial artist, she had employed a beautiful economy of movement, in only moving her hand and arm, wasting no energy, and remaining completely composed. It was a rare glimpse of power that neither she, nor our Eastern Algonquian ancestors flaunted.

Defenses were managed in addition to everything else. In the early years, there was still some peace to be had; Wampanoag were not completely jaded from dealing with the more corrupt characters who set up shop here. When foreigners arrived on the coast tribal members were curious, and walked through their small communities to trade. Our people were generally well-adjusted, and did not spend their time starting trouble. One of the ways harmony was preserved in our large villages was simply knowing when to mind one's own business. Self-sufficiency as we practiced it was demonstrated in this description by Roger Williams of a man making his canoe: *I have seen a Native goe into the woods with his hatchet, carrying onely a Basket of Corne with him, & stones to strike fire when he had feld his tree (being a chestnut) he made him a little House or shed of the bark of it, he puts fire and followes the burning of it with fire, in the midst of many places: his corne he boyles and hath the Brook by him, and sometimes angles for a little fish; but so hee continues burning and hewing until he hath within ten or twelve days (lying there at his work alone) finished.*

### **Erosion of Wampanoag Sovereignty**

The year was 1671, a year when the as-yet unassailable Wampanoag Tribal Nation had serious cause for concern about preserving their rights in their ancient homeland. The Separatist English had arrived in Massachusetts just 50 years ago, followed about ten years later by the well-connected English Puritans; many thousands would follow during the Great Migration. A level-headed and principled head of tribal government at Pokanoket, Metacomet represented the

priorities and interests of his people. In his dealings with Massachusetts Bay Colony and Plymouth Colony, he and other Sachems were clear on this fact time and again as they signed and renewed treaties with the English colonial government; essentially they were just maintaining their tribe's equal status in confirming the alliance with the English King Charles at the seat of his subjects and representatives in Plymouth and Boston. In fact, Pommetacommet means *The One Who Walks The Earth*, a typical name form for a leader according to our linguist Jessie Little Doe Baird who provided this translation. Metacommet had important reasons to refuse attendance at a 1671 conference. But both English colonial officials and the small group of praying Indians at Natick under Reverend John Elliot and Waban (whose status Eliot had boosted to Natick magistrate when he needed an official-sounding leader, but lacked a sachem), insisted the Wampanoag leaders should attend. Years before, in 1662, the young Wampanoag Sachem Wamsutta (which may translate as Bright Heart) had been pulled out of ceremony at Monponset Island, unarmed, and marched to Plymouth on the pretense that he needed to avow his fidelity to the Crown –which was not the way one Nation treated another ally- and deny any intention of the Wampanoag to make war on their colonial English neighbors. He died suddenly when he was finally released, after three days of interrogation by the English government followed by a meal with Governor Winslow.

Certain English colonists were known for their interest in alchemy; in fact, a letter reprinted in *New England Ancestors Genealogical* magazine from one of the Winslow's (in Massachusetts) to his son in Connecticut showed him as both afraid for- and afraid of- his own son. Wamsutta's wife, Sunksqua Weetamoo of the Pocasset Wampanoag in Tiverton survived the sachem; the couple may have had children, but as it was common amongst Wampanoag nobility to send children to other communities and tribes in order develop strong translation skills, and to gain an understanding firsthand of other tribal protocols, and forge close diplomatic ties with other Nations -their whereabouts following the war is unknown.

When Wamsutta's brother Pommetacommet and his wife Wootanakunuske inherited the sachemship in 1662 there were several days of ceremony and celebration at Montaup. In Massachusetts Bay Colony, Church official Increase Mather expressed his disapproval of the celebration, as though it were any of his business. Metacommet was consistently firm and fair in his communications

with the Colonies. For their part, the United English Colonies would conspire to continue to erode his Nations Creator-given Sovereign status and cause his death just 14 years later.

“Philips quarrel was with Plymouth,” was an oft-repeated phrase uttered by contemporary Native tribal leaders, and residents of Massachusetts Bay Colony providing a sense of the original scope of the war, while being both misleading and an understatement. One reason for the continued harassment of the large autonomous Wampanoag population in southeastern Massachusetts was that converting Natives was proving to be a very profitable business, and was closely linked with land speculation by Christian ministers including Daniel Gookin. Edward Winslow would travel to England and get a bill supporting the Indian Mission passed in Parliament circa 1649. His door-to-door campaign in England and Wales raised 12,000 lbs English money over the course of just one year. Throughout time small portions of funds were used for Native meetinghouses, preachers, schools and schoolteachers, a few of them Native. But the vast majority was pocketed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, the only body that could represent multiple colonies (officially, but not actually excluding Rhode Island), according to Vaughan in *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians 1620-1675*.

Massachusetts Bay Colony officials and Reverend John Elliot double-crossed Metacomet and other Wampanoag Sachems. Whilst they were initially concerned and appearing sympathetic to the official complaints lodged by the Wampanoag leader on behalf of his subjects, when King Philip and his councilors or *Sannups* did go to confirm the treaty, he was admonished as though a child for bad behavior. The newly condescending tone towards the sachem was a marked change from the original behaviors in treaty conferences between the English and Wampanoag, just one generation ago. The English Colonial Governors were trying to play paternal to Indigenous leaders whose status was beyond theirs; it was morally wrong and politically foolish. It was a mistake that would cost the Colonial Governors and their subjects dearly, and nearly one hundred years to recover from. During the negotiations, English authorities would make an anthill out of a mole-hole, condemning Philip for behaving badly in insisting English messenger John Brown take off his hat when addressing tribal leadership at Montaup. Next they tackled the problem of Indians being capable of self-defense by seizing their guns. Finally the court fined Pokanoket 100 lbs English money for Philips terrible breach with the hat, perhaps damage to

English fences and some missing cows taken by Wampanoag members (the Missogkonog Indians referred to in correspondence by John Eliot and Governor Prence) who could not afford to lose a year or more worth of food and seed stock in their corn, bean and squash fields. Under duress, Metacomet and several other sachems would then be forced to sign a new treaty that recast the status of Wampanoag “Ancient Proprietors” (as the Separatists had referred to them), not as allies, but subjects of the English King, and subjects *under* the Colonial Plymouth Government and Plymouth colonists.

## **The War**

The accidental death of Praying Indian John Sassamon, a Wampanoag (or Wampanoag and Massachuseak) was cited by contemporary English chroniclers as the “murder” that started the war. I have not seen any evidence that there was truth to the story that John died because he had gone to Marshfield to warn the Colonial Governor Josias Winslow that Wampanoag planned a war. I doubt he would have been in the know, teaching at the small meetinghouse at Nemasket, and dealing mainly with John Eliot and Natick, mainly a Massachuseak and Nipmuc town. Waban, praying Indian and Magistrate, was also said to have warned an English magistrate of war; but there again, he wasn’t Wampanoag, and was heading up a new Christian community, rather than being involved in normal tribal government. His ability therefore, to calculate other tribe’s internal decision making is something I would question. The Boston-area Native people had suffered from sickness and displacement, and the pray towns allowed those affected by or interested in English styles of living (or at least New England English styles of living) to regroup. Power was being negotiated in new ways. Perhaps the rule of ten that English employed to govern Native pray towns influenced or required Native ministers to be spies for the Colonial Englishmen. It was rather a different role than that of Tribal Sannup, Oshkotow, Sachem, Sunksqua, Mugwump or Pauwas.

It occurs to me that Wamsutta died after speaking with Governor Winslow, which is an interesting parallel to an earlier event involving the sachem Wamsutta, -if Sassamon did go. But I’d imagine John just fell through the ice that January. I spent my early years canoeing throughout southeastern Massachusetts and worked in commercial ocean fisheries research; I am well familiar with Assawompsett Lake. Through genealogical records it is clear that our people

died-at sea and on lakes, for reasons that included hypothermia and exhaustion after a boat capsized, or from falling through the ice. John Sassamon was no longer a young man, and accidents happen. People miscalculate drops in temperature, suffer hypothermia or push themselves too far when suffering from a cold. At any rate, he was finally pulled from the water, a funeral and burial were held. Sassamon had a family residing next to the Lake, in the midst of the community of Assawompsett/Nahteawanet; they would have shared the funereal meal and gone through a period of mourning. When the Plymouth Colonial government exhumed John Sassamon's body from a tribal burial ground and examined it in the town of Plymouth, that action was reprehensible to Traditional and (probably) Christian Indians alike, who believed in respecting the right of the dead to rest in peace. Those actions involved trespass onto lands Wampanoag understood to be under their own jurisdiction. Plymouth Colony records make mention of many Native men women and children who were brought into Plymouth for questioning from about March 1675 onwards; at least 112 additional Natives were questioned after the hanging of Philips men in June.

What would really have concerned the Wampanoag tribes from Potanamicut to Pokanoket, was the so-called Treaty of 1671 and aftermath; English encroachments into our territory. But, in spite of the new terms of the treaty (that only mentioned the English King because Metacomet requested it), Plymouth Colonial Government took several years to work up the courage to push the Nation to the brink of war on this point in June of 1675. The little English colony desired to break up the Nation into a sub-class of Plymouth colony, allowing us to stay on as slaves in our homeland. The July 24<sup>th</sup> 1671 Articles of Agreement contained the following provisions (from Ann Marie Plane in *Northeastern Indian Lives*): *surrender of arms and of trouble-makers for herself (Sunksqua Awashonks) and the English, and within 10 days, to allow the disposal of her lands to the authorities of this government, under the pretense that we may better to keep trouble-makers off her lands and to regulate those that refused to be governed by her...*

True to form, Major Winslow had planned an expedition to Sakonnet if the agreement was not signed within a certain number of days; this would have been déjà vu to the capture of Wamsutta (and his mysterious death). Their insistence that Narragansett's and Nipmuc's stay out of Wampanoag territory (Leverett, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, had to secure those

tribes, according to Plymouth) would fit into the idea the English were creating that Wampanoag territory no longer belonged to Natives, but to the English, and *they would not allow other tribes in their (English) territory* without express written permission. It may help explain some of the tension between Philip and Weetamoo, when Narragansett and/or Niantic people were observed visiting Pocasset, possibly part of Sachem Quinapen's retinue.

English Colonial Authorities wrote laws and tried to impose them on Tribes, to the extent that they could get away with it, and then replace those new laws with worse versions. Witness the description in *Indian Deeds*, where Major Winslow made a revision of Plymouth laws in the early 1670's making it legal to attach real estate for the recovery of debts owed colonists, even if the Native's land had not been previously identified as mortgaged to guarantee repayment. And initially, tribal members were given time to pay court fines and debts within a certain amount of time or be whipped. Whipping was soon given up, however; the English were in favor of reviewing cases and shortening the repayment time, to facilitate the taking of lands to recoup costs, rather than inflicting physical punishment, or accept payment in fathoms of our wampum. These were just quicker ways to alienate Native properties. Rhode Island governmental authorities pointed out that Massachusetts Bay Colony did not even bother acknowledging the King on their official correspondence.

Plymouth Colony leaders seized on the assertion, albeit months later, Sassamon had been murdered. It was not until later in the spring that Patuckson, a Christian Indian, claimed to be an eyewitness and said it was committed by Tribal nobility: Pokanoket councilor Tobias, his son Wampapquin, and Mattachunnamo. To get back to the 1671 change in jurisdiction: the sachems and the common Native people alike were supposed to be *under the Colonial Government*, giving a Native commoner *the right to appeal to the Colonial English Government*. This of course, would undermine Native sovereignty, and the English could even incentivize opposition to traditional Tribal Governmental leadership and policy. Patuckson specifically owed gambling debts to his tribal members. This sums up how I see Patuckson: he was playing a role as an English lackey. The three Wampanoag men maintained their innocence, but the outcome was that they were found guilty by the English jury and hanged. Except Wampapaquin -who offered a confession after the rope broke. A young man, I would imagine he was frightened and

horrified, and thought to escape death. He was spared for one month and then shot. Under this scenario, King Philip was also implicated as the person who requested Sassamon be dispatched for his treason; negating Philip's status as head of tribal government, and relegating him to being subject to the new Plymouth English Colony.

The delays in action made the use of the three condemned look like bait to get their tribal members to come to Plymouth. There had been Native advisors to the English jury, but the jury *was not* obliged to listen to them. There are images that come to mind as I ponder this history: one is of the three tribal members walking to the gallows, in an English town that had not existed one hundred years before, but that was full of its own pomp and circumstance; it's people getting high on power. Had history been different, they would be walking through the pleasant tribal community of Squanto's people, full of garden plots as depicted on the John Smith map, no doubt on a very different errand.

The war began shortly after, when a young Wampanoag man in a party of three was shot, supposedly while pilfering -by an English boy at his father's suggestion. Indians visited the garrison and inquired why their tribal member had been shot in John Easton's account: *Relation of the War*. It seems as though there may have been a different outcome, even at that point, had the colonists been able to carry themselves differently. However, plenty of the individuals who left Europe did so because the courts gave the option of that or jail. Later in history, Massachusetts would refuse ships of new indentures because there was no telling with each boatload who might be a dangerous, hardened criminal. This personality type would be repeatedly employed to open up new areas to white settlement on the frontier, a theme addressed in many writings including *Contact Points*.

The Wampanoag-Plymouth Colony disputes had come to a head with the shooting of a Wampanoag person in the nearly empty newly-English Swansea, lands obtained by forced deeds just north of Metacomb's home in Mount Hope. Philip avoided arbitration with Plymouth in 1675 due to the horrible results (i.e. loss of Swansea, loss of hunting and fishing rights in J.D. Bangs *Indian Deeds*) of the same process with Massachusetts Bay Colony. But he had liked Rhode Islander John Easton's advice of convening a council discussion, with a neutral sachem and neutral colonial leader-Royal appointed Governor Andros -to find solutions. The colonies

were not interested, however. Instead of containing the conflict, the English set every Native tribe in the region on guard by invoking the United Colonies, joining with Rhode Island and Connecticut, ostensibly against only the Wampanoag. The truth was that surrounding tribes were being antagonized, threatened, and were horrified to learn that Wampanoag men, women and children were being sold out of the country. Just as tribes harbored Pequot's openly and secretly, after that earlier massacre; they made space for our people, whilst trying to remain neutral. Wampanoag leader Massasoit had assisted some of these tribes in negotiations with the Massachusetts Bay Colony, including the Nipmuc.

Soon English colonists in Swansea were dead; supposedly revenge killings. By the end of June, Plymouth colony had suffered repeated attacks, of the kind of guerrilla warfare they had no experience in, and the war was spreading into other colonies. Determined to continue with their aggressive English-style diplomacy, representatives nearly started a series of individual wars with tribes surrounding the Wampanoag, in demanding submission to new agreements and expecting to be allowed to seize hostages for surety. Their racism would hasten the formation of a large Indian Confederacy that quickly mobilized. On September 9<sup>th</sup>, 1675, Governor Josias Winslow signed a Declaration of War by the Commissioners against Wampanoag leader King Philip. Governor Winslow stayed in Plymouth and secured constant armored guards for his personal safety.

As the war picked up, Weetamoo, a person of excellent character, and married to Narragansett sachem Quinapen -had no trouble making a request for safe passage into Narragansett territory. Some of her people would over-winter in the fort at the Great Swamp. Weetamoos' territory of Pocasset and Metacomets' at Montaup had taken in those of the Nation that were avoiding the corruption of English squatters, and Colonial-Christian religious persecution. Like the Vineyard, it had become a place of refuge. Likewise Rochester area sachem Tayoshq, and nearby Totoson led populous tribes in the south coast area of Massachusetts. Tayosq may have survived the war, as a name similar to his -Chiosque- appears on later seventeenth century deeds near his territory. Northwards, in lands abutting Massachuseak territory Tuspaquin and Massasoits' daughter Ami governed the people at Assawompsett Lake. For the next year all of these Wampanoag leaders

traveled with large military companies and families, some of them leading offenses quite close to the seat of Plymouth Colonial government, and burning the garrison house on the Eel River.

Dreading to enter cedar swamps on multiple occasions, especially because they were badly outnumbered, sparse English forces waited for reinforcements before engaging in the wintertime attack with the Wampanoag and Narragansett in the Great Swamp. They fought over frozen ground to the fort in a winter snowstorm in Narragansett territory. After that, our Native communities remained mobile, sought sanctuary in allied Nipmuc and Pocumtuck country, and points north and west, beyond easy reach of Plymouth. Metacomet went across the Housatonic to spend time with another Algonquian tribe, the Mahican, in their territory along the Hoosic and Hudson River just outside of Albany, New York. He went with a large company of Wampanoag and stayed for months that winter into 1676. Yet in his absence fighting continued in Massachusetts. Whilst in New York, the Wampanoag arranged a Conference with Indians from the North, with “straws through their noses,” according to a captive they deliberately sent off with accurate counts of the men. There were some 900 or more Abenaki-Algonquian troops, and 400 or more Wampanoag in New York; I am not clear on where the Wendat residing in Canada would fall in this conflict, as their Nation, like all the others, had suffered from the early seventeenth century plagues, and war with the Iroquois from New York.

The Wampanoag tribes divided up, heading in different directions under Weetamoo, Philip and others. Their allies would claim that the Wampanoag were not fighting. They may have been covering for our tribe that was in now spread between Massachusetts, New York and Vermont; young men who had actively engaged in defensive and offensive operations, would not be liable to convince other tribes to join the fight, whilst suddenly all putting down their own weapons. Various informants, including praying Natives would point out the inability of the sachems to control their young men in executing their strategies against the English; in light of this, it is unlikely that the younger Wampanoag -facing displacement, their tribe’s horticultural gardens looted and destroyed, houses razed-would simply obey a command from Metacomet, Weetamoo or any of the other sachem’s to cease fighting. The Nation’s leadership were wanted men and women that had been fighting for some time, though. It is entirely likely that they devoted their attention to present needs, gathering food and medicine for themselves and their Native

companies. Worn out gear had to be replaced, ammunition and foodstuff had to be procured from Native hosts, the English towns or via trade in the north. It should be noted that gunpowder and shot was being freely obtained in Albany in spite of laws to the contrary; a fact that casts the nature of the meetings with northern tribal kinsmen in a somewhat different light.

Members of our tribe in the north and west with women, children and elders, had been suffering losses at the hands of the colonies for years, and were working through the trauma of being separated from home. Sickness had struck the communities; they were short on foods and medicine and under extreme stress. After nearly a year in exile-albeit in still-familiar neighboring tribal lands –small groups first headed back into Wampanoag and Narragansett territory to retrieve seed corn for planting by the waterfall. English captives were ransomed back to Massachusetts Bay Colony at a meeting place on the path that is now Route 140. At a point where hostilities might have ceased permanently that spring while a peace treaty was negotiated for all parties involved, the now-infamous pre-dawn massacre at Turners Falls happened, followed by looting. There is something about the spirit of these deaths reminds me of the shooting of the Native youth in Swansea at war's beginning.

In forcing signatures on Articles of Agreements, and constantly tweaking Colonial laws to allow the maximum amount of land to be taken, the English colonial Governors were employing some of the forms of English government and diplomacy in England *without the content*. The English colonies in America wanted to claim to have and use royal English authority against the Native population, while at the same time, refusing to comply with demands from the English Crown themselves. They feared a visit from representatives of the Crown because they were not adhering to English law. That is also why they feared, above all else, that tribes would go over their heads and seek an audience with the English monarch or Royal Commissioners. The trial in Plymouth, founded on the claims of one person against Native governmental leaders made no sense beyond that it was a quick way for the English colonists to provoke war and conquer territory immediately, whilst making a pretense of following Colony law and procedure. If Wampanoag leaders had come into town to stop the hanging, I believe their deaths would have followed immediately after. All of the thousands of Wampanoag people, instead of just a portion of the Nation, could have been murdered or enslaved.

Noepe (Marthas Vineyard) and Nantucket tribal island communities, about 9 altogether, would remain neutral in the war. In spite of having very large Wampanoag populations, they too were veterans after a fashion, the first line of defense for more than perhaps 150 years against pirates and slavers. Although it is likely they were very supportive of and obviously related to- Philip and the other mainland sachems, being involved could have meant permanently losing everything had the war gone badly. The Wampanoag people used diverse strategies to survive this challenge, just one of many they had dealt with in the past few generations. Some of their choices were painful. Still the sun rose and the tides came and went. From their vantage point on the headlands at Aquinnah they could have observed Benjamin Church's boat stop on Naushon island, being a convenient resting point on the way to deliver Native captives to Sandwich or Plymouth in the colony. Normally routine travel, back and forth to places like Acushnet and Sakonnet or Cape Cod would not have been undertaken too often during the conflict, though it's possible that tribal signals were being shared long distance visually via reflective rocking stones and fire on high points. Plymouth was employing a few Native Captains to hunt enemy Indians in the Elizabeth Islands. Tribal members throughout the Nation seemed to share a different kind of intuitive bond forged over thousands of years of relative peace; Mayhew acknowledged that his converts on the island for example, knew things about distant people and events while they were happening. His written comments however, were very brief, as the topic was heretical according to his religious precepts.

### **Relationships with other Northeastern Tribes**

Deputy Governor of New York Anthony Brockholls arranged to have a party of 200 Mohawk Indians attack the Wampanoag after the tribal groups split up to return to the east. Writers would claim this broke the strength of Philip's men and of the Northern Indians, preventing the transportation of ammunition and other supplies down to the southern New England Tribal Confederacy. The numbers are puzzling to this observer: it was a small number of Mohawks compared to the armies they assailed enemies with in other campaigns. And a small number compared to those whom they were chasing. I cannot think why this would make such an impact, unless the Northern tribes faced the threat of larger groups of Mohawks or combined Haudenosaunee forces in the near future. But it is not clear they could have made good on the

threat, as the Mohawks were suffering the same kinds of foreign encroachment, attrition due to European disease, and the higher energetic costs of creating loyal fighting forces of those Nations they had already absorbed through “harsh wooing” –the characteristic repeated military raids, followed by offers of peace by joining their League, as mentioned in *The Memory of All Ancient Customs*. The New York governor and deputy did have to restrain the Mohawk from heading east during King Philips War to attack their old enemies the Pocumtuck’s around Springfield, Massachusetts. Remembering history, Pocumtuck in Stockbridge decades later would later opt to travel far north to Ottawa for a fresh start, rejecting the chance to move into New York.

Conducting Intertribal Councils, after sending word to other Northeastern Nations not yet present, took time. Communicating with Sokoki at Squakeag would have been fairly simple out on the Connecticut River; reaching the Pennacooks and Piquaque (Pigwacket) in New Hampshire and Maine, or Mahican in New York required travel time either for a runner, or by snowshoe, horse or boat. No doubt, New England weather made coordinating council somewhat challenging.

Saco River Native fighting companies took part in the war, whilst Wannalancet’s band of the Pennacooks, some of the Ossipees and Pequaquakes, opted to for a neutral stance. They traveled to Sillery on the St. Lawrence River, a mission town founded in 1638 near old Quebec City; and the mouth of the Connecticut River in Canada, during King Philips War. They also went to Three Rivers/Becancour and the northwestern tip of Lake Champlain to wait things out. A map of the area described here would be very large-but not comprehensive; a short while later “*Loups*” (derisive term for southern New England Indians) with Virginia or Maryland tribal people, were seen by the Frenchman La Salle. This group of thirty families, mentioned in Grumet’s *The Munsee Indians*, from several eastern Nations including Wampanoag, had traveled to Michigan on a hunting expedition two years before (circa 1679), and included a sachem from Boston bearing the name Wawalamet who spoke perfect English and, reportedly hated the English; they were looking for new territory to settle in and were probably bringing news from home to some of the first waves of displaced Northeastern Natives in the Colonial era. The Ojibwa and their relatives were not unknown to the east coast tribes, and refer to the Wampanoag and Abenaki as

their “Grandfathers,” -their ancient kin before the western migration of their Nation centuries ago.

One of the challenges to seeing how the war was waged and what the real cost in Native lives amounted to, is lack of accurate headcounts counts for Wampanoag and other fighting companies, wives, children and elders during the year. Gordon Day draws together records of Wampanoag leaving Massachusetts for Schaghticoke on the Hudson River with our old allies in Mahican tribal territory. The Woronoco people, originally on the Westfield River in Massachusetts were already there when Governor Andros planted the Tree of Peace, (an oak sapling according to Sherry White THPO) in Native fashion, referred to by tribes who lodged there in circa 1676 and later. The Agreement to set aside Schaghticoke for the Wampanoag’s and others leaving Southern New England, in Mahican lands could have been a concession to the Mahican, so that they would not join in Metacomet’s war in significant numbers, thereby preventing King Philips War from simply spreading into New York Colony. Mayor Schuyler in New York had ventured to say he would send a wampum belt to the new arrivals. Another clear advantage to having a large contingent of Native allies in New York meant they could afford protection to their English neighbors in the event of an attack by enemy tribes.

Clearly, Native diplomacy obviously had a strong influence on the non-Native Royal governmental representatives in New York and they would have employed Native advisors to consult in such matters, and white Indian Agents. According to a Native eyewitness, more than 250 fighting men made the journey after the battle on the Housatonic, two hundred men crossed the Hudson below Albany and about 80 other stopped on the east side near a Dutch village. Priests writing about French-allied or -associated Indians said that former Wampanoag, Nipmuc, Nashaway and Sokoki military were concealed by the Pennacook and other tribes that had made peace with the English; they mention the role Major Waldron played in deceiving some of the Natives into giving up fugitive Indians.

### **Aftermath, Reflections**

The return of many Wampanoag, Narragansett, Nipmuc, Sokoki and Pennacook to their Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island territories is borne out by the many

tribal communities, small tribal neighborhoods and praying towns that existed, late seventeenth- and early eighteenth century. Some were adjacent to each other. Mashpee and 10 Cape Cod Indian towns did not empty out, but would remain neutral or ally with the English. Some of the Sakonnet's under the Sunsqua Awashonks stopped fighting and submitted to the English. Men from that tribe were housed along the Sippican River under Awashonk's son Mamanuah and others with the instructions that they should not be stationed further west in case they were tempted to rejoin Philips people in 1676. To me, that indicates Natives were still moving throughout their territory at times, whilst English holed up in garrison houses. A few English-allied Natives were set to watch in key access areas like Swansea. These places were later appointed Colonial overseers, called Guardian of the Indians, generally several to a community. But not all were appointed guardians, nor were they necessarily well represented in the records, in spite of being quite large, such as the tribe in Falmouth in Barnstable County.

One of the reasons for this, I think, is that they were less Christianized in character than other area tribes. Various missionaries were operating in Wampanoag homelands post- King Philips War. They were visiting Indian families and communities, preaching to their own indentures and to Indian indentures working other English farms. Josiah Cotton traveled throughout Plymouth County giving sermons in the language for decades, in Titicut, Duxbury, at the Jones River and another locale in Kingston, in North Plymouth, Eel River in Plymouth and Manomet Pond. He soon had Native teachers working for him. According to Douglas L. Winiarski in *A Question of Plain Dealing*, Cotton compiled a more detailed list of other Indian towns and number of attendees at sermons in that county. Barnstable, Bristol, Dukes and Nantucket counties all contained multiple tribes. From my tribes own genealogical records we know many present-day Aquinnah have family roots not just at Gay Head, Sanjakantacket, and Takemmy, but also Nantucket and mainland tribal communities such as Pocasset, Titicut, Acushnet, Assawompsett, Shawmut in Boston, Mashpee and Potanamicut. The meetinghouses were one of the places where tribal members could network, and get an education; some would attend Harvard Divinity School to become formally ordained, others would be employed as lay preachers, and schoolmasters.

Native converts, Wampanoag, Massachuseak, Narraganset, and Nipmuc who looked to the English to respect their neutral status, or to provide protection, found themselves faced with the harsh reality of slavery to the English, death by exposure to the elements on the tiny Boston Harbor islands: Deer, Paddocks, Georges and Long Islands; or capture by Atlantic pirates. Native men were taken from those concentration camps and put to work against the Wampanoag and other members of the Confederation as scouts, but Benjamin Church would claim the lion's share of credit and payment in rounding up enemies of the English. Church and others like him would be able to continually loot our southern New England tribes for able-bodied Native men, ages 16 to 60. Their Native companies fought in the northwest in New York, into northeast into Nova Scotia, other Canadian points, and Jamaica and Barbados. At the end of the war, those who sold off all of their lands were promised a chance to get released from Deer Island early. Some of the families -Awassamog, Gould, Stevens, etc., would give up on Natick and other pray towns and move to Marthas Vineyard.

It is difficult to discern if the sparse communications penned by English chroniclers and military men were truth, lies or something in between. There is an alarming lack of information in the diaries of many Massachusetts English authority figures, as they went silent about their experiences with the Natives in much the same way that Governor Bradford in Plymouth had done, following the Wessagusett affair. William Hubbard and Increase Mather wrote two frequently consulted tomes on King Philip Wars; they were competitors of each other, but it is interesting to note that both consulted Winthrop's journals. Captive Mary Rowlandson was not a historian, nor was she necessarily invested in giving detailed accurate accounts. Her writings did not acknowledge Weetamoo's strength as a leader during the war, so much as complain about the way she dressed and her expectations of Mary. Stories about the fate of Metacomet's head and hands appear to be fabrications. There was an oft-repeated tale that Alderman the Indian shot King Philip and kept his mummified hand to get free drinks. Our Sachem's death in a dark swamp by accidental friendly fire seems to have been rewritten by historians for popular consumption.

Alternate names for the war, from contemporary English communications such as *the Late Indian War* and *the Narragansett War* had fallen into disuse, although the latter name has given

rise to the mistaken assertion in recent scholarship that it somehow means that Wampanoag were Narragansett, Wampanoag territory was Narragansett or that Narragansett's in Wampanoag territory really started the war. This entirely ignores the plethora of communication between Plymouth Colony and Massachusetts Bay Colony with the Wampanoag Nation and the individual Wampanoag tribes in our territory. The documents acknowledge the identity of our leaders and our lands, including Pocasset, Sowams and Marthas Vineyard. In fact, Philip had indicated trouble with Ninigret (a Niantic sachem, but labeled Narragansett often partly because he sometimes represented Narragansett) -was the reason why French/Dutch pirates targeted Aquinnah at the southwestern tip of Marthas Vineyard. They captured 18 men, women and children; it was one of several instances that indicated Dutch interference in the relationships between Wampanoag, Niantic and Narragansett leaders, and those in Connecticut. The bigger picture includes pre-existing European rivalries, and the war declared by the Dutch and French against England 1666, and worsening Dutch-English tensions regarding Nantucket and Marthas Vineyard specifically.

Tribal deeds from those times, refer to parcels in Sowams owned by Wampanoag individuals that had married into Wampanoag family's resident in Plymouth or Barnstable County. The claim that we were all one tribe ignores known cultural differences such as the distinct languages spoken by each Nation in southern New England. Most importantly, the assertion disregards the tribe's knowledge that modern-day tribal families with lineages from Montaup, Sowams, and Pocasset self-identify as Wampanoag and have always done so. Right after Tobias et al. were hanged, tribal members from Narragansett and other tribes poured into Pokanoket territory, and chances are good, that they were doing so for the purposes of inter-tribal councils, rather than to immediately come and fight. As mentioned earlier, it was customary on the eve of war here, and in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century Connecticut River Valley with Iroquois spouses for example, to send those spouses from outside potentially warring tribes home; meaning the stream of people heading into Montaup were probably partially made up of Wampanoag. I will remind my readers that tribes were capable of more complex interactions than merely pointing and shooting arrows.

Details were gleaned about Sunksqua Weetamoo while working on this project. She was also referred to as Namumpum and Tatapanum, like her mother before her. These names became

surnames, later and were used interchangeably with the surname Wampum in later Barnstable County Massachusetts vital records. *Tatapanum* translates in Wampanoag to *She is Capable* with the repeat syllable causing emphasis, implying: She is Very Capable. The title indicates a crucial role in council as one of her Nations record-keepers and representatives. Both she and her mother were sought out by other tribal Nations. Weetamoo was a knowledge-keeper wise beyond her years due to the training and responsibilities conferred on her by her mother, and her father, venerable Wampanoag Sachem Conbitant. It is a concept my tribe has in common with other Algonquian tribes, including the Ojibwa. The discussion by Alan Ojiig Corbiere in *The Underlying Importance of Wampum Belts* confirms that Native languages still retain references to ancient material culture and values, in spite of hundreds of years of cultural interruption. He relates terms similar to ours regarding the weavers and keepers of the belts, in the phrase *to pick up the belt*, with the connotation being: *the knowledge is the burden*. Ironically, it is the English captive Mary Rowlandson, who confirms Weetamoo's role in her wartime journal: after dressing for the day, her "...*Work was to make Girdles of Wampum and Beads.*"

A massive shell peage Nation belt, and star medallion were handed over by War Captain Annawon in Squannaconk Swamp in Rehobath. An impatient young Captain Benjamin Church, struggling with translation, revealed his annoyance with the 90 year old veteran when he said: at last the Annawon spoke plainly. Interspersed with Annawons' speech must have been a description of the objects, materials and their significance to leadership: Church mistakes the word *moohackees* (for the darkest purple beads in Wampanoag outlined in madder-dyed red quillwork), to mean the medallion was bought in Mohawk country. Weetamoo's role as a weaver of belts tends to make this reader think quite a bit of wampum was seized at her capture and death, but I have yet to see a reference as to their whereabouts. Philips royalties also remain at large.

Out of respect, Native people do not normally speak the names of those who have died. That was one consideration that gave me pause in writing about the war and massacre at all. It was helpful to have a timeline, but I did not dwell on every step of the hundreds of miles traversed by thousands of Wampanoag in 1675-1676, nor explore every interaction with other tribes. Wampanoag and Massachuseak were also engaged in war with their Mahican allies against the

Mohawk earlier in the century. A Pocumtuck-Sokoki-Mohawk war scarred the northern Connecticut River valley in Deerfield several years before the Turners Falls Massacre. One tribal member commented that a Colonist dressed in brown with a gun on his shoulder still appears from time to time, patrolling the vicinity of the Plymouth garrison, as if time never caught up with him. One reason the English manifested both a strong racism against Native people, while wanting to keep them nearby, was the attitude that Indian towns created a buffer of protection for the English colonists towns from other tribes in North America, known and unknown to them that might choose to attack. It was a very usury attitude.

Island tribal members had a good working knowledge of the people, places, and events of King Philips War and following wars; Guardian of Indian records for Marthas Vineyard communities mention of the death of the last person (unnamed) to have such a good command of the seventeenth century war, they passed on circa the early in the nineteenth century. Quite a few Native men and women learned the English alphabet and writing system and used it to compose letters, land deeds, songs, and histories in our language. The shortage of Native writings dating from those times and the ensuing centuries does not imply that nothing was written down; documents expressing heretical viewpoint were suppressed, items were stolen from Native homes as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Aquinnah, and at least one historical society near Montaup sold antique Wampanoag writings to raise funds in the twentieth century. Wampanoag items have gone mainly into private non-Native collections that, sadly, may never see the light of day again.

## **Conclusion**

At the end of the war (in southern New England), our tough Native leaders made their way back-along the rivers and familiar trails, now route 146 through Smithfield, or route 140 winding down from Mt. Wachusett past Redemption Rock through Nipmuc into Wampanoag territory. It is a historic route has always resonated with my family; it ends just down the road from the house I grew up in. Sometimes I think they returned to negotiate the terms of peace, or to continue the fight, providing by any means cover whilst others chose to depart the vicinity. Our people made the trek, or traveled via boat trips and horseback to neutral territory north of Albany on the Hudson River at Schaghticoke. The Wampanoag were apparently the new residents that

Dutch commented on having pleasant trade relations with around 1676. I think it was fitting that Metacomet, Weetamoo and Annawon, Totoson and Tyask came back to their own lands to live or die, and hopefully found peace in the return.

Tribal members make a point of visiting places such as King Philips Seat, The Great Beaver, Mt. Sugarloaf, Mt. Watchusett, Deer Island, King Philips Cave, Massasoit's house and the spring. Because generations of tribal descendants have paid their respects, keeping a memory of the war alive, it has helped to ensure some of these places still exist today. In thinking about landmarks of the war, it seems that tribes had split up to perform annual ceremonies for the countless kin who were killed and those condemned to exile and to heal their own grief-stricken hearts. Some were apprehended quickly by the English and Native scouts and put to death, as dangerous reminders of another way of life. Colonists made a limiting choice for themselves and for their descendants. The Wampanoag people managed to hold onto a sense of themselves and continued the work of their ancestors by cultivating patience, a sense of humor, and by being honest with themselves. Whilst Wampanoag survivors had to adapt, we continued to dwell together, influencing each other and drawing our sustenance and guidance from the same sources our ancestors did. In the essentials we remain the same.

For myself, I'd like to think that the memory of the place by the Great Falls is being re-examined through this joint town-tribal project for a reason. While acknowledging we all have different perspectives on this shared history, working to preserve the site has brought Northeastern tribal descendants and townspeople together again. So long as we keep things in perspective, allow space for differences, and above all treat the people who perished with the dignity and respect they did not receive in life, we will be making some advances towards healing and draw more meaningful lessons from this war.

## Appendix IX – Resurrecting an Early Landscape - Thomas Report

### The Falls in 1676: Resurrecting and Documenting An Early Landscape

Peter A. Thomas

In the study of any historic event, understanding the environmental and cultural context within



which that event occurred become critical factors for understanding the event itself. The NPS protocols for conducting a battlefield analysis certainly consider various landscape variables and how such factors may have affected a military engagement. The question I brought to the Battlefield Study Committee in early November, 2015 was whether we had enough sense of place to understand and interpret the few primary historic documents that describe the physical scene and various aspects of the attack and subsequent retreat from what is today the neighborhood of Riverside, Gill, Massachusetts.

By late November, sufficient information was in hand to make a first attempt at sketching a

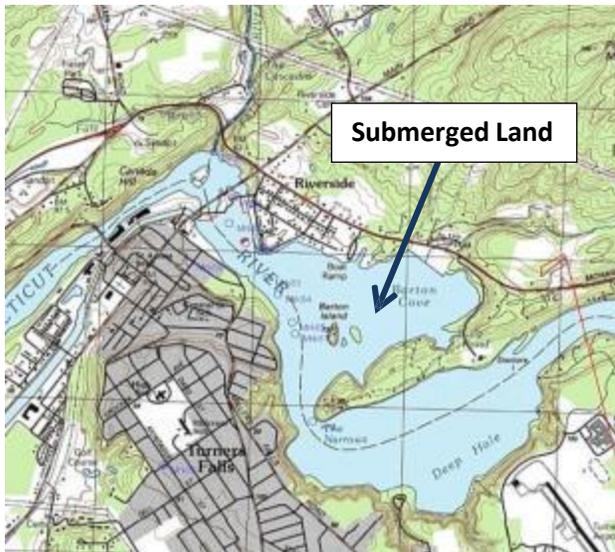
picture of the Falls and surrounding area as they likely existed in 1676, long before the agricultural, industrial and residential developments of the past 300 years transformed it.

The following document briefly outlines how we got there and I review the sources that contributed to making the final drawing. Nearly a month of intensive effort by myself, along with Gary Sanderson, Lynn Stowe Tomb, and Ed Gregory was expended to reach this point. E-mails flew on a daily basis as we each tapped our networks for relevant resources. Others soon joined in the hunt - Bud Driver, David Bosse, Peter Miller, Howard Clark, and Bill Schweikert have been inordinately helpful by providing maps, local histories, archaeological studies, doing archival searches, and for making recommendations about where to look or who to contact. Ed Klekowski (UMass Botany Department) and Mitch Mulholland and Kit Curran (UMass Archaeological Services) have passed along information derived from their field research.

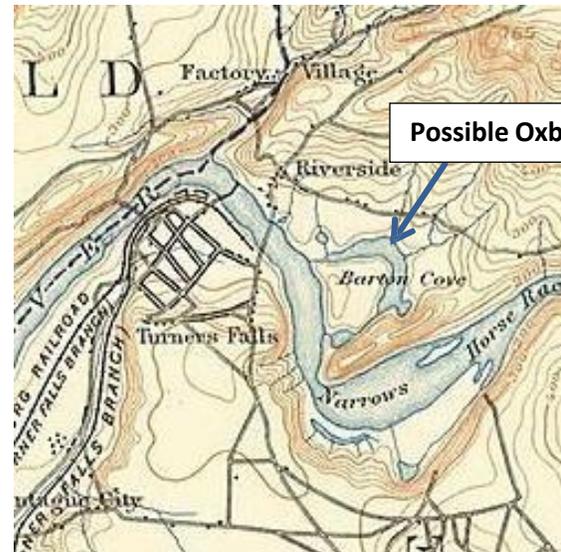
### **Initial Observations**

As noted, two questions were initially raised at the board meeting in early November: What did the Falls and the adjacent reach of the Connecticut River look like in 1676; and How has this landscape been transformed?

The 1990 USGS 7.5 minute topographic Greenfield quadrangle is used in the Draft Technical Report [received and reviewed on October 28, 2015] to identify the primary and peripheral sites of engagement and their surrounding topographic features. Two things immediately stood out. A large dam is located across the Connecticut River adjacent to Riverside, submerging the 1676 natural falls that were a significant factor in drawing Native peoples to this location. Second, review of an 1894 [reprinted 1914] USGS 15 minute topographic quadrangle strongly indicated that the dam's impoundment may have submerged what appeared to be a large oxbow of the river along which Native peoples could have been living at the time of the colonial assault on their encampment, May 19, 1676. How many less obvious changes may have occurred?



1990

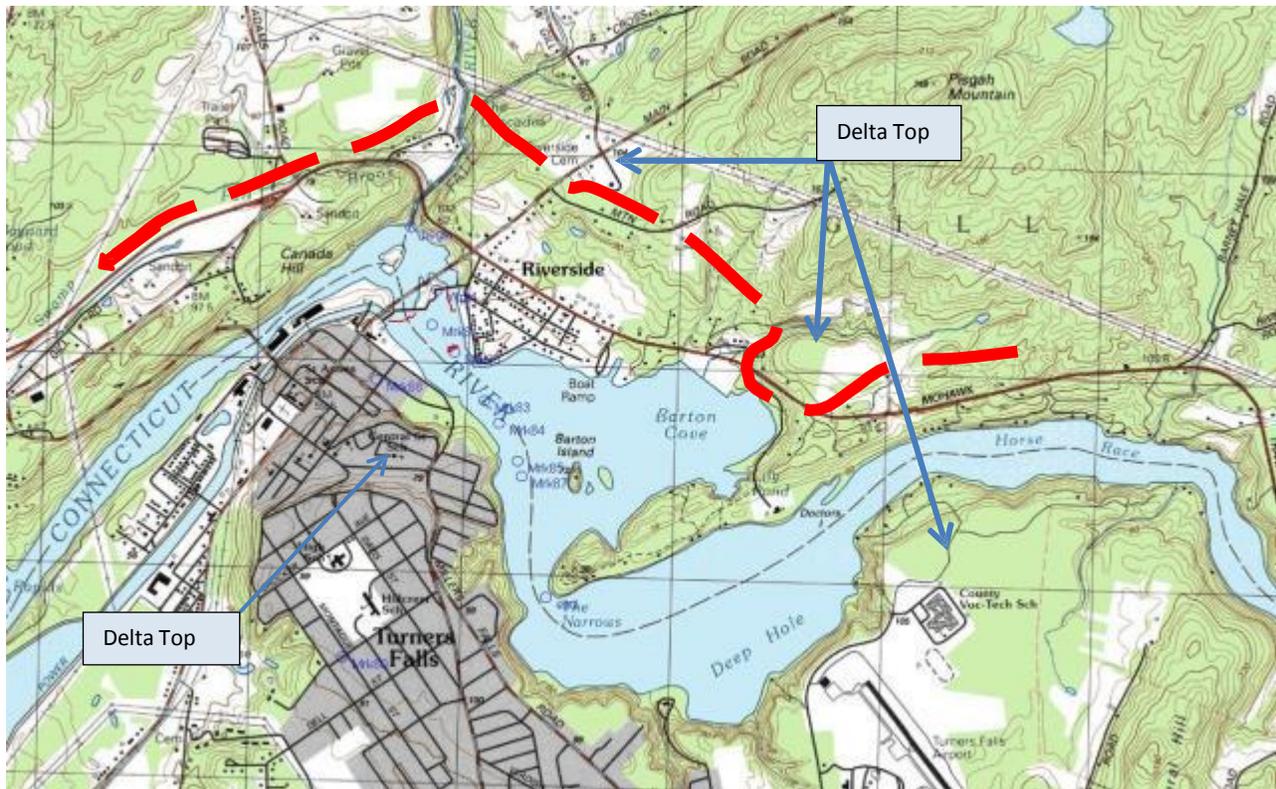


1894

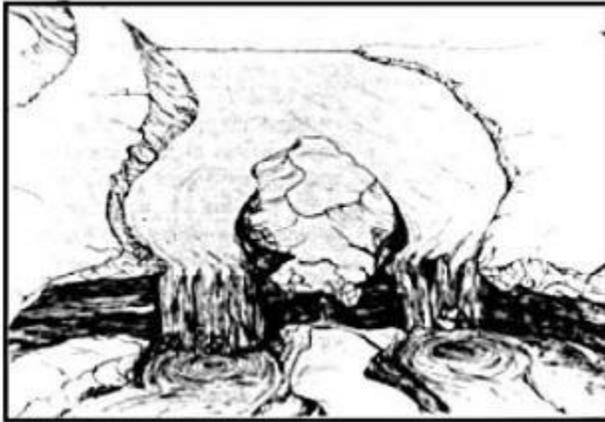
I resolved the apparent oxbow to my satisfaction within a few days. As depicted on the 1894 map, it is a relic river channel, but of a much more ancient origin. The landscape around Turners Falls/Riverside has changed radically since the draining of Glacial Lake Hitchcock which filled much of the Connecticut River valley sometime before 14,000 B.P. (years before present).

When Lake Hitchcock was still active, the Millers River and other streams formed a huge sandy delta on the bottom of the lake between the surrounding highlands. When the lake drained, it exposed the delta top from one side of the valley to the other. The river tried to cut various channels through these delta sands. It initially cut a channel south through Montague Plains.

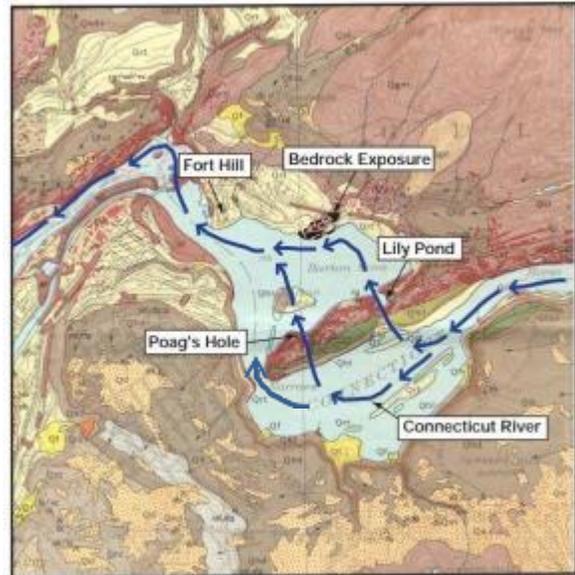
Later, it turned westerly across what ultimately became Riverside, but which was then buried under a hundred feet of clay, silt and sand (approximate early channel in red). White Ash Swamp is an infilled portion of this old channel.



The lower channel noted on the 1894 USGS topographic map is related to a younger geologic event. As the river cut its way down through the sandy sediments, it encountered much more impervious bedrock – now represented by the peninsula south of Barton Cove. This is known to geologists as the Lilly Pond barrier. This feature was a considerable impediment to the flow of the river; water ponded behind it, then over-topped the barrier in three places. Large plunge pools formed in the channel bottom as huge amounts of water poured over the falls onto the sandstone bedrock. It may have taken several thousand years for the river to breach the Lilly Pond barrier at the point of the current channel of the river.

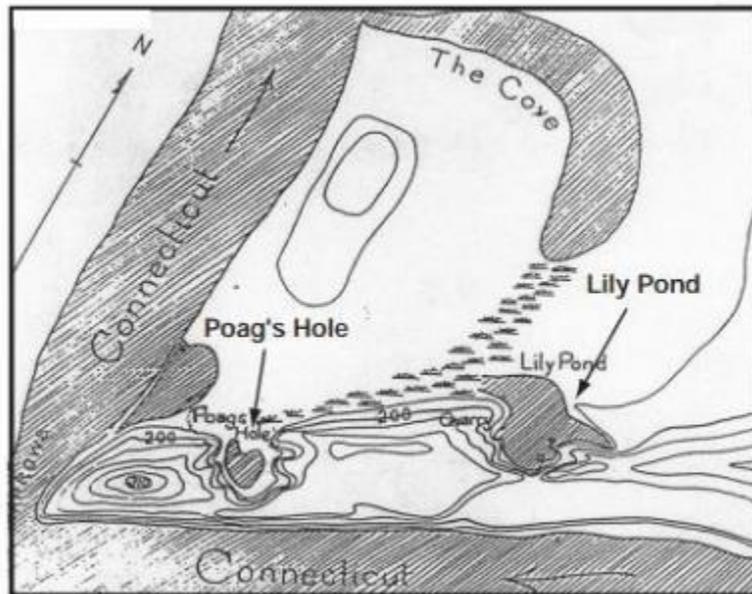


**Speculative Depiction of Plunge Pools  
Lily Pond Barrier (Summartino 1981:  
in Curran (1999).**



**USGS Surficial Geology Map, Jahns On  
1966, showing shift in channel over 40,  
plunge pools**

The ultimate consequence is the formation of what looks like an oxbow channel in lands now submerged below Barton Cove. See below.



**View of the Lily Pond Barrier. Detailing the locations of Poag's Hole and the Lily Pong [both  
plunge pools] (Jefferson 1898: 465) in Curran 1999.**

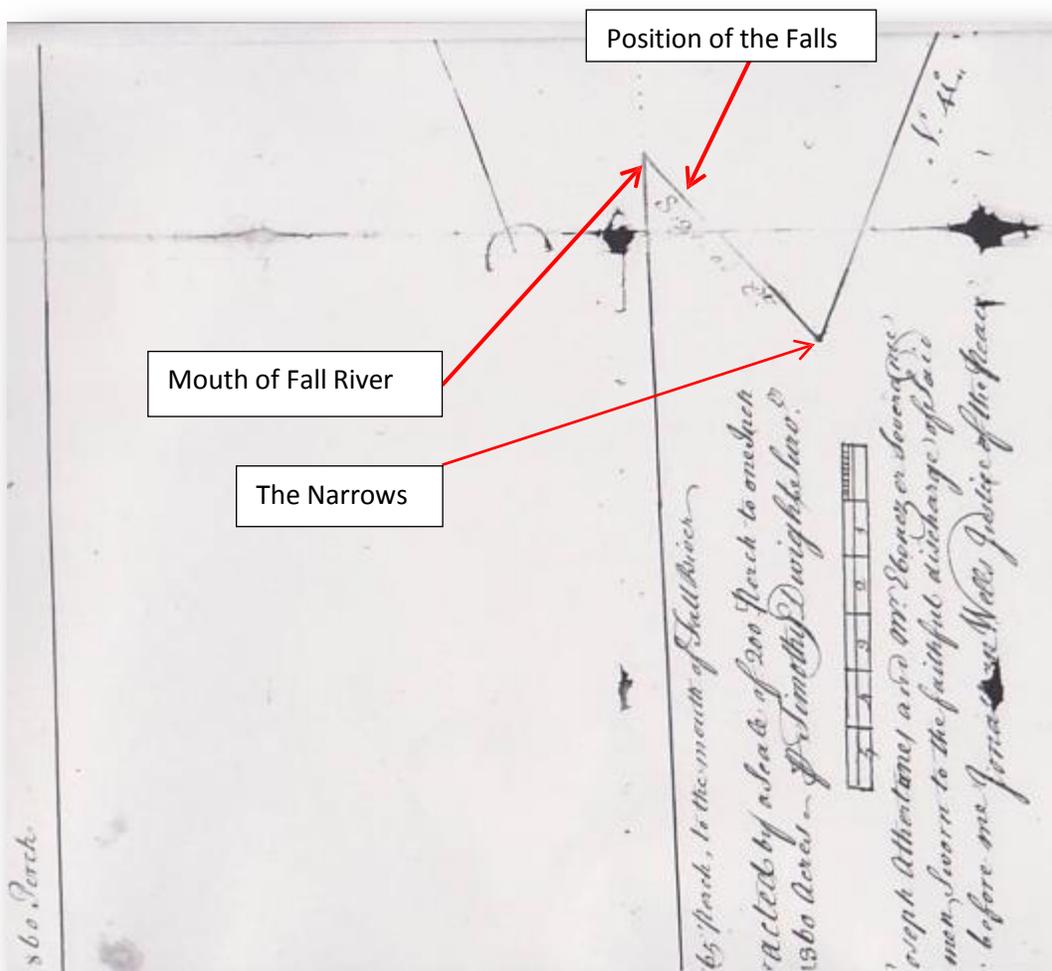
## **Initial Map Review**

Although a review of the post glacial geology of the area resolved the configuration of a relict channel, it did not resolve the presence of a considerable land area on the Gill side of the river upstream from Riverside, now buried beneath the dam's impoundment. The submerged area now beneath Barton Cove encompasses ca. 145-150 acres of land. I started a search of old maps to address this question, as well as my initial question about what the Falls looked like in 1676.

The earliest town in this part of the Valley was Deerfield, recognized by the General Court in May, 1673. The towns of Greenfield and Gill splintered off much later, in 1753 and 1793, respectively. I began with Deerfield.

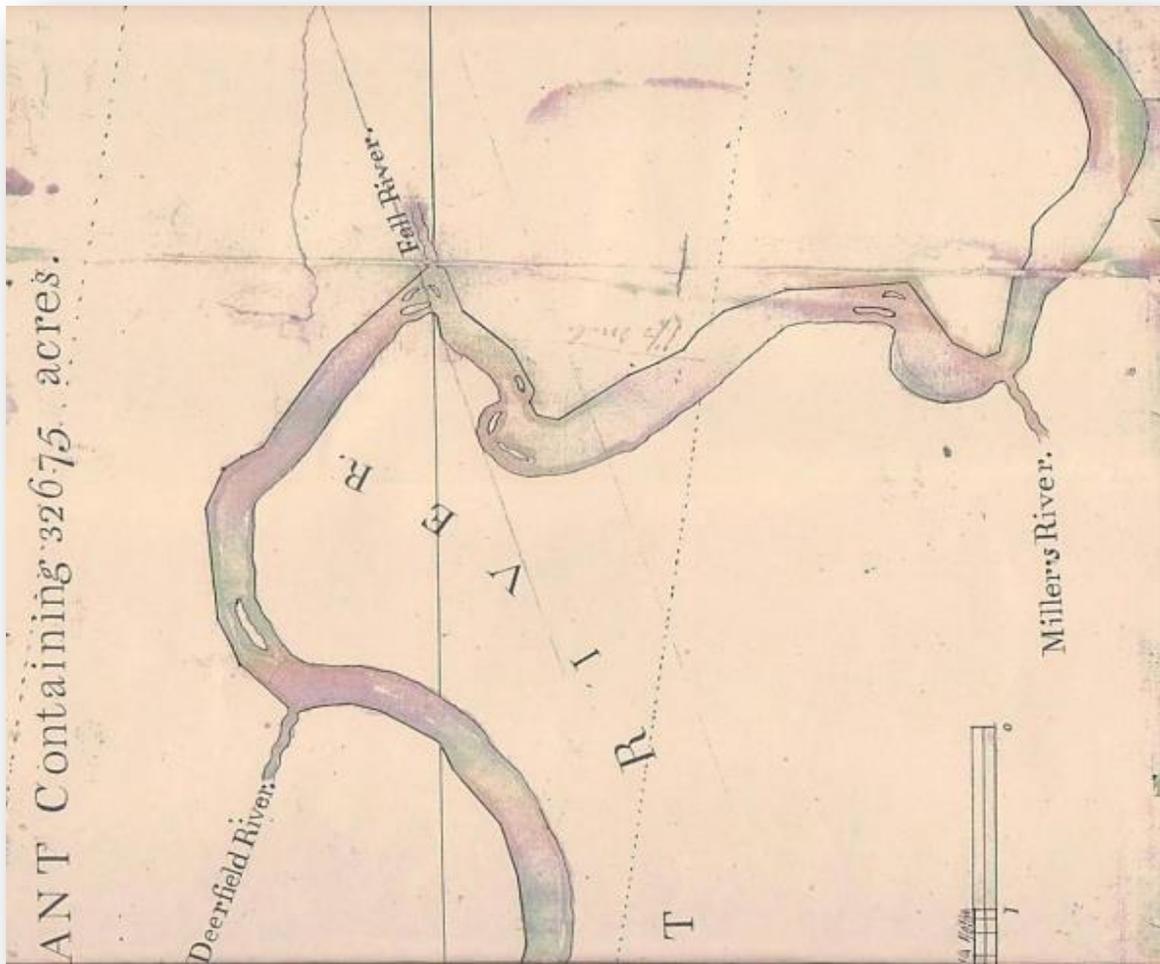
The earliest map I found is a copy of the original survey of the 8,000 acres at Pocumtuck made by Joshua Fisher in May, 1665. However, there is nothing on this plat that directly relates to the Falls, as the northern town boundary at this time was the Deerfield River; i.e., it does not include land along the Connecticut River. A detailed history of this and later town plats is provided by Gertrude Cochrane Smith, "The First Maps of Pocumtuck", *History and Proceedings of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association*, 1930-1938, Vol. VIII: 38-50.

After Deerfield lost its squabble with the town of Hatfield over Deerfield's proposed southern boundary, located at the south end of Mt. Sugar Loaf or Wequomp, the General Court awarded the Town of Deerfield an additional allotment of "seven miles square." The original grant plus the new addition is what now constitutes Deerfield, Greenfield and Gill. But it was not until 1717 before the General Court would certify the correctness of the new boundary lines based on a new survey. Timothy Dwight was the surveyor, with Joseph Atherton and Ebenezer Severance chainmen. The boundary map of the second grant was presented to the House of Representatives on October 26, 1717. For the first time, we can identify two landscape features within our study area: the mouth of Fall River and The Narrows. There is no notice of the Falls *per se*.



**Dwight's Map of the "Seven Mile Grant" dated 1717 (map 13 x 24 inches)**

In 1712, the Reverend John Williams petitioned the General Court to extend the town's western boundary 9 miles west of the Connecticut River, just as the Court had done for Northampton and Hatfield. This petition is lost and no plat was made at the time. After 1736, when the Court granted lands for a new town west of Deerfield, the inevitable boundary disputes arose. A third plat was drawn by Timothy Dwight in 1741 extending the town boundary 9 miles westerly and encompassing the first two grants, yielding a total acreage of 69,480 acres. A plat of these boundaries was re-drafted in 1771 by Israel Miller, with the assistance of Gideon Clark and Joseph Lyman chainmen. For the first time in the town plat we see some finer depiction of the river, including islands.



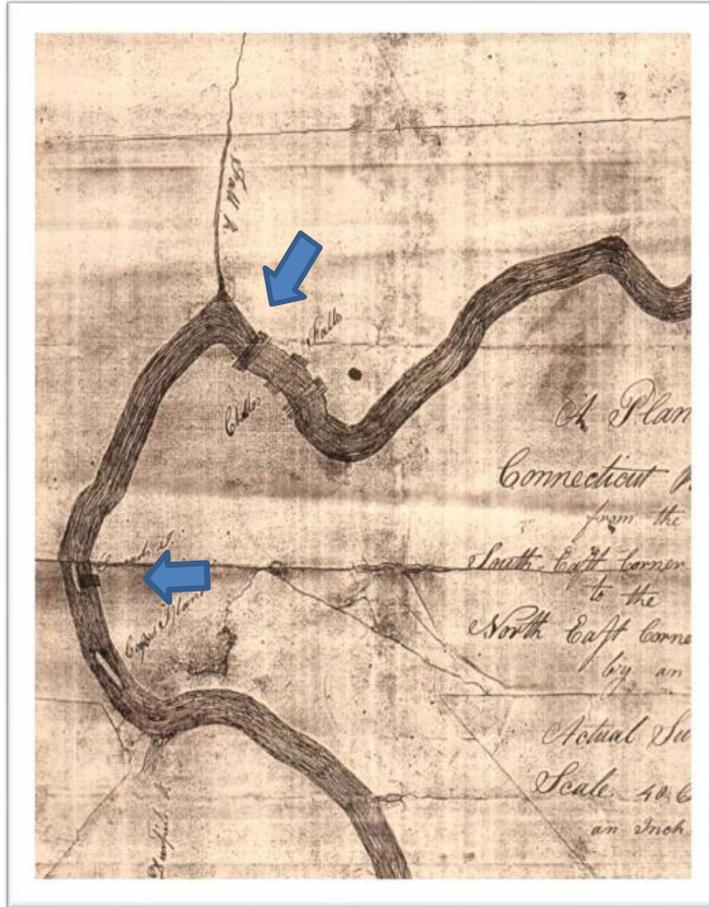
**Portion of the Second Grant drawn by Israel Miller, 1771 (map 20 x 27 inches). Note the continuous landform along the north bank of the river.**

A contemporaneous map seems to show a more detailed sketch of the falls, not as a single point, but as a series of stepped rapids and falls extending upstream for several hundred feet or more. Smead's Island is clearly configured as an island. The newly created towns of Conway and Shelburne which were set off from the western portion of Deerfield in 1768 and 1769 are labeled.

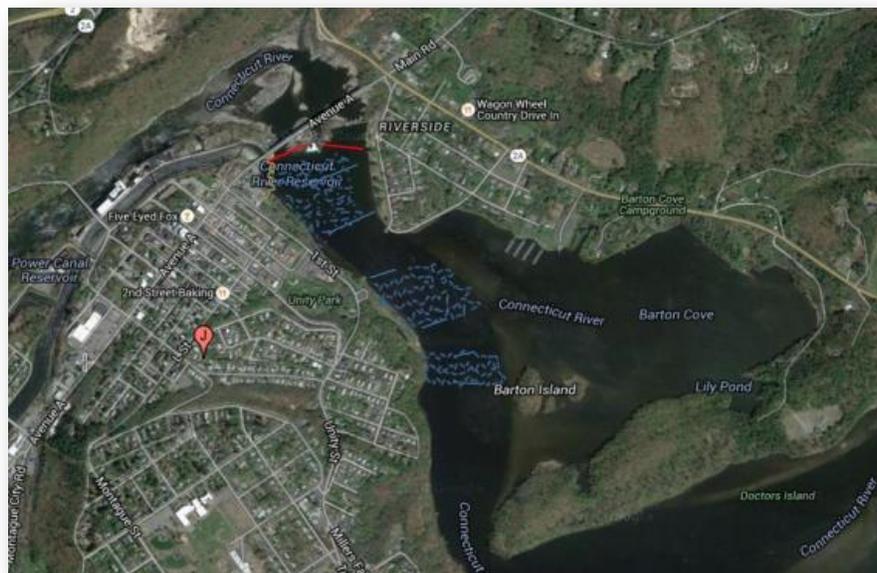


**Map of Deerfield, ca. 1770 by Phineas Munn, surveyor.**

In a collection of Deerfield manuscripts housed at the PVMA Library, we find our first map specifically of the river. A lower falls is associated with Smead Island. The upper falls is labeled Childs Falls. This would place the date of the map sometime between 1773 when Ensign Timothy Childs lived nearby and 1788, by which point he had moved away (Stoughton 1978:83).

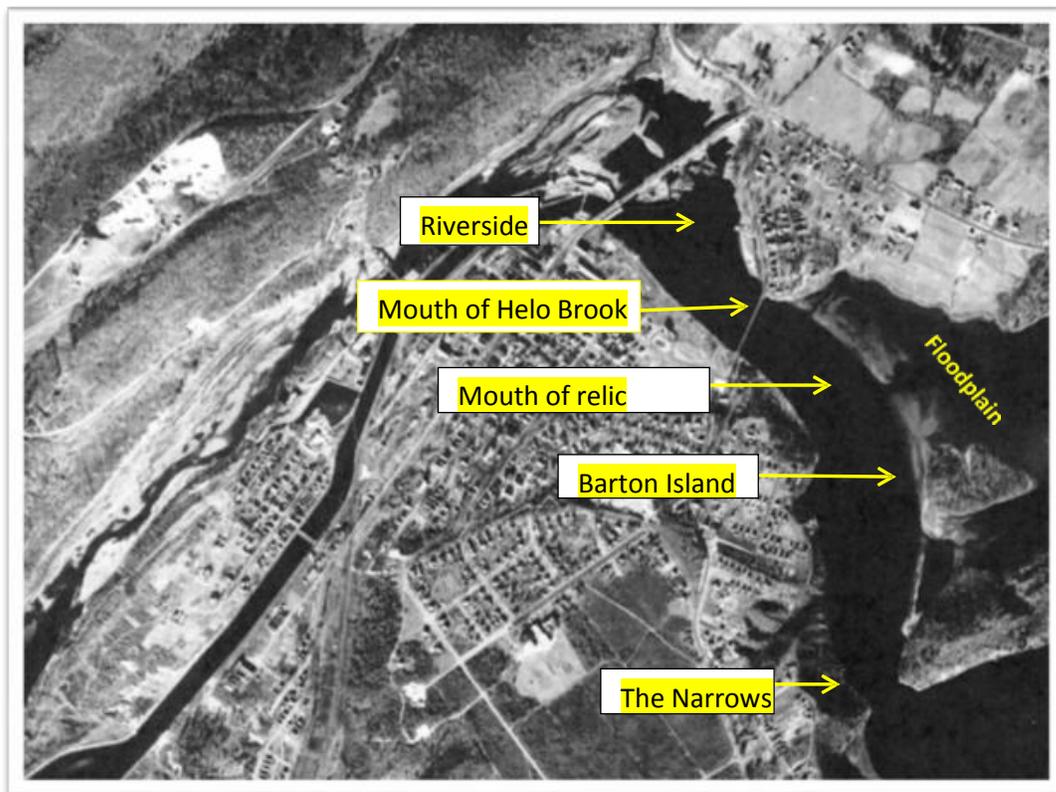


**A Plan of the Connecticut River from the South East Corner of Deerfield to the North East Corner of Greenfield by an Actual Survey, no date**



The fact that **three** sets of rapids and falls (indicated by groups of parallel lines across the channel) are depicted is significant. The most downstream of the three is what has become known as Turners Falls. The two upstream features likely represent rapids or stepped falls visible during periods of low water. Following the draining of Lake Hitchcock, the river cut its way through the Lily Pond barrier.

Once this occurred, the river encountered a bedrock sill that is nearly a mile wide, thus preventing the river from cutting a deeper channel. As a consequence, the river has meandered across a broad floodplain, but the height of the bedrock falls has remained relatively unchanged during at least the past 5,000 years, perhaps longer. By scaling off the eighteenth-century river survey, I transferred the three sets of rapids to a modern aerial photograph (in blue). Remnants of the old submerged floodplain on the east side of the river are visible as grayish brown shadows immediately to the right of the rapids.



**The former river bank upstream from Riverside is clearly seen in the following aerial photo taken between 1937 and 1939. One element important for the reconstruction of the area is that the submerged ca. 1676 floodplain is some 10-15 feet lower than the riverbank along the shoreline of Riverside.**

Both the maps and photos indicate that in 1676 a floodplain along the Gill side of the river stretching from Riverside to the Narrows was a likely place for encampment, but also a very likely escape route into alder thickets and marsh along the relict channel noted on the 1894 USGS topographic map. This area is also a much more likely area where canoes could have been tied and from which they could have been launched. Adjacent to the modern (non-submerged) section of Riverside, the banks consisted of rock ledges and cliffs that dropped into churning water running down a flume (discussed later).

Pre-contact, Native American archaeological deposits were identified along the submerged river bank by divers about eight years ago consisting of black organic soil, charcoal and fire-cracked rock beneath about four feet of modern silt. The submerged river bank is now defined by a string of submerged tree stumps. Other archaeological deposits, identified by an archaeological survey team from UMass, have been found as far upstream as the tip of the Barton Cove peninsula.

### **Islands Downstream from the Falls**

Several 18<sup>th</sup> century maps (depicted previously), modern historic research and a deed identify falls/rapids, or an island with associated falls, in the Connecticut River downstream from “the Falls”. These islands continue to be depicted on 19<sup>th</sup> century maps and are considered ancillary sites in the battlefield grant.

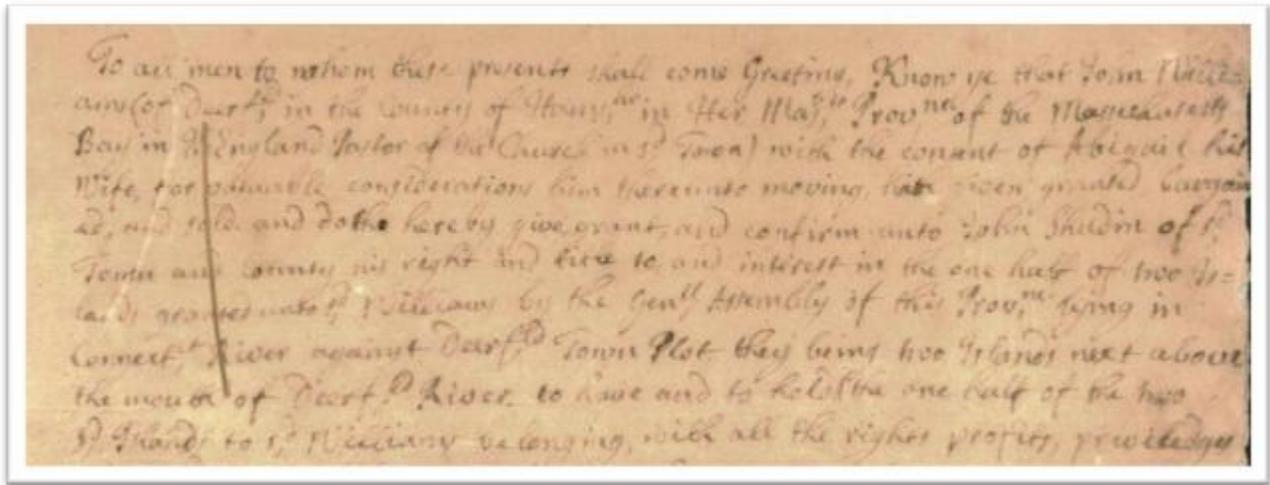
A letter from Sylvia Smead Gallagher clarifies the colonial-era names of these islands. Rawson Island is given as the name of the most upstream Island on the modern USGS topographic map and all post-1830 maps, but its 18<sup>th</sup> century name was Smead’s Island. Gallagher explains in this excerpt from a letter to the editor (cited by Ed Gregory, *The Turners Falls Canal: History and Description* (2006: vii)).



**Northern portion of Plan of Montague, 1830**

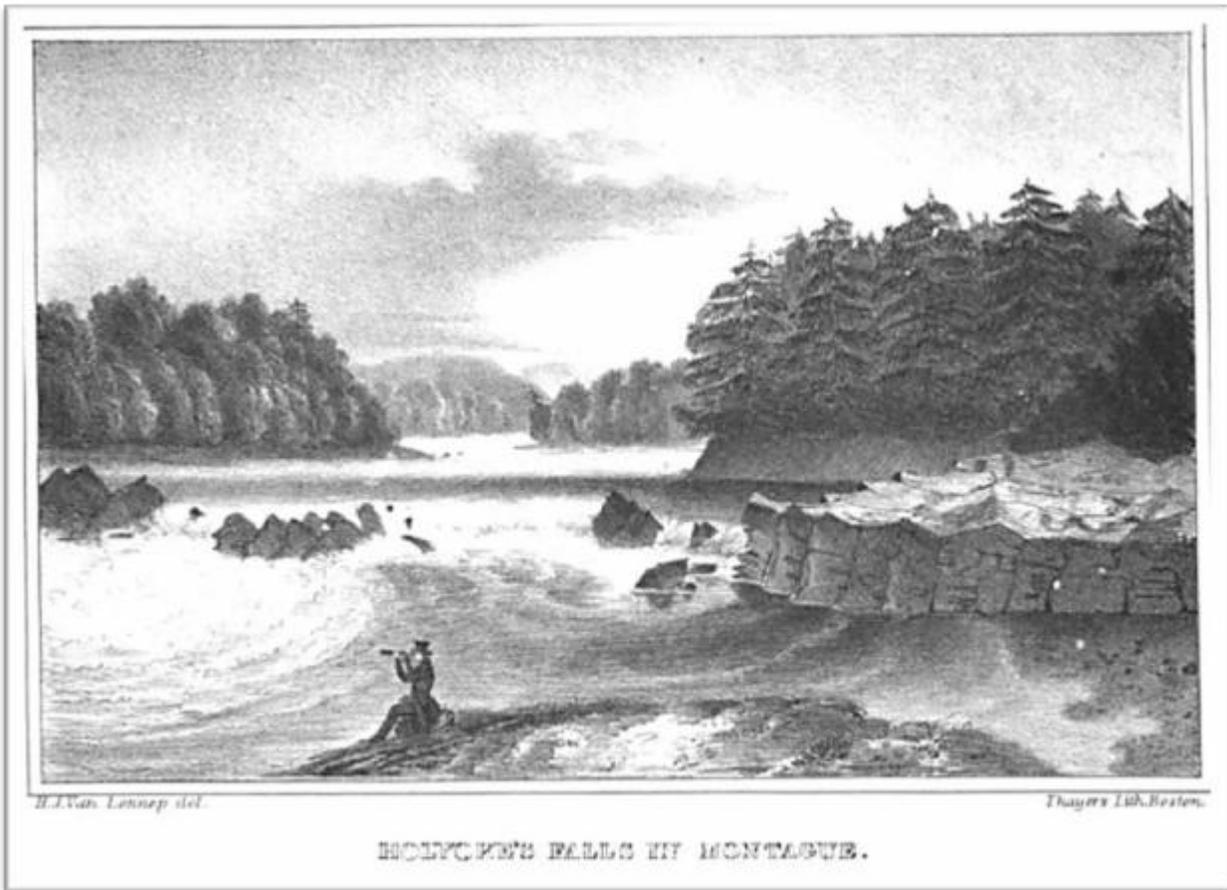
... Originally the Great and General Court granted the Reverend John Williams [of Deerfield] the upper island and the other two islands, as well as Burnham's Rock and a fishing nook at the head of the falls [Turner's Falls]. Ownership passed to the Course family after James Corse accompanied Rev. Williams to Canada searching for relatives taken by the French and Indians in the 1704 Deerfield catastrophe. Samuel Smead acquired the upper island in 1761, and Smead's Island it was called during the ten deed transfers between then and 1826. It was also referred to as the Great Fishing Island because of the deep pothole as a fishing cache and the natural rock dam....In our family we refer to the upper island as Smead's Island, the middle one as Corse Island, and the lower one by the bridge [that crosses the Connecticut River between Cheapside and Montague] as Ames Island. These were their original names.

An original example of one deed transfer of these islands from Rev. Williams to John Sheldon of Deerfield in 1712/1713 for half ownership of the islands was provided by David Bosse, map archivist at the PVMA library (Williams Papers, Box 1, folder 4.) A partial portion and transcript are given below. This deed was not officially recorded until May 23, 1720 in the Records of the County of Hampshire: book N<sup>o</sup> C, page 601.



To all men to whom these presents shall come Greeting, Know ye that John Williams (of Deerfld, in the County of Hamshr. in Her Majst Provc of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Pastor of the Church in s<sup>d</sup> Town, with the consent of Abigail his Wife, for valuable considerations... doth hereby give, grant, and confirm unto John Sheldon of s<sup>d</sup> Town and County his right and title to and interest in the one half of five Islands granted unto s<sup>d</sup> Williams by the General Assembly of this Provc lying in Connectct River against Deerfld Town Plot, they being five Islands next above the mouth of Deerfld River to have and to hold the one half of the five s<sup>d</sup> Islands to s<sup>d</sup> Williams belonging, with all the rights, profits and privileges...

Smead Island, with its prominent bedrock outcrops, led the noted geologist Edward Hitchcock of Amherst Collect to describe Smead Island in his *Final Report on the Geology of Massachusetts* (1841:277-278). His wife, Orra White Hitchcock, drew several sketches of the island and rapids.



We can blame Hitchcock for some of the subsequent place names we struggle with today as is evident in this extract from Hitchcock's *Final Report on the Geology of Massachusetts* (1841), 278.

Associated with Capt. Turner in the expedition against the Indians at the upper falls already described, was Capt. Holyoke of Springfield. During the engagement at the falls, he was particularly forward and courageous; having it is said, killed five of the enemy with his own hands. And after Turner's reverse, Holyoke covered the rear; and after Turner's death, he assumed the command and brought off the party successfully. If, therefore, Turner deserves to have his name associated with the upper falls, certainly none will refuse the honor to Holyoke, which I now propose, by connecting his name with the lower falls.



As noted earlier, now known as Rawson's Island, this island was named Smead's Island prior to 1830, and was also referred to as the Great Fishing Island (Sylvia Smead Gallagher letter in Ed Gregory, *The Turners Falls Canal: History and Description* (2006)).

### **The Falls, alias Peskeompscut, Clark, Great or Turners Fall**

As far as we have been able to determine, there is no visual imagery of the Falls prior to the construction of the first large dam on the Connecticut River at the Falls in 1794. Certainly, no photographs of any form exist, as the technique had not been invented, and the rare early 19<sup>th</sup>-century depictions also post-date dam construction and are subject to the possibility of artistic license. Thus, the damming of the river has been a significant limiting factor to what people have observed and recorded for more than two hundred years, as well as during the core group's discussions.

Between 1794/95 and 1969 at least six dams have been constructed or reconstructed at the base of the falls or cataract.

- 1794/95: The initial dam was built by the Proprietors of the Upper Locks and Canal

as part of a canal system to by-pass the falls and allow boat traffic on the Connecticut River. “Not only was it necessary to eliminate the cataract, but in addition a dam at a height sufficient to flood the canal had to be constructed across the entire width of the river. A dam approximately 1,000 feet long and 28 feet above the previous water level was consequently required. The summer and fall of 1794 were spent by Captain Mack in accomplishing this feat. They let the dam sit over the winter to make sure that the dam would not wash out during the next spring freshet, as the first dam built at the South Hadley falls had done.

Construction of the canal continued. The first toll was collected in August, 1800, but the canal was not officially opened to public service until October” (Ed Gregory, *The Turners Falls Dam: History and Description* (2006), 4-5).

- 1820: The dam was in the process of being reconstructed, as indicated by the following: “In 1820, Samuel Hale bought up the rights to Strickland’s Fish Place [at the foot of the cataract by ‘Corse’s Rock’, blasted out of the channel many years ago as an obstacle in the path of the log drives]. He then conveyed the property to the Proprietors of the Upper Locks and Canal, engaged in constructing at that time the second dam” (Stoughton, *History of the Town of Gill* (1978), 85-86).
- 1824: “February 10, 1824, occurred a great flood, there being much snow and ice and heavy rain. ... The dams at Turners Falls and South Hadley were both swept away” (Thompson, 1904:313) The Connecticut River Railroad reached Greenfield in 1846. The need for the canal rapidly diminished. Although it operated for another decade, the last boat was sent through the Montague canal in 1856 (Gregory, 2006:5).
- 1865/67: On November 6, 1865 an announcement appeared in a local paper indicating that six-seven capitalists headed by Alvah Crocker of Fitchburg were going to rebuild the dam and bring in a railroad line. “It is the intention of the company to develop the water power and build up a manufacturing city.” ... “Construction of a log crib dam began early in 1866. Its center rested upon a rocky island that divided

the river's current; and the two divisions of the dam, from shore to island, reached a united length of 1,000 feet. When the massive project was completed on March 20, 1867, this would be the primary diversion for water into the newly redone canal. The flow that would turn the water wheels of the factories would utilize the strip of firm, rock-ribbed land between the river and canal (Gregory, 2006:28, 32).

- 1912: The aging log-crib dam built in 1867 was upgraded with a concrete dam placed on a new, downstream alignment.
- 1969: The Cabot Hydroelectric Dam was constructed on a new alignment downstream from the concrete dam of 1912 related to the industrial canal.

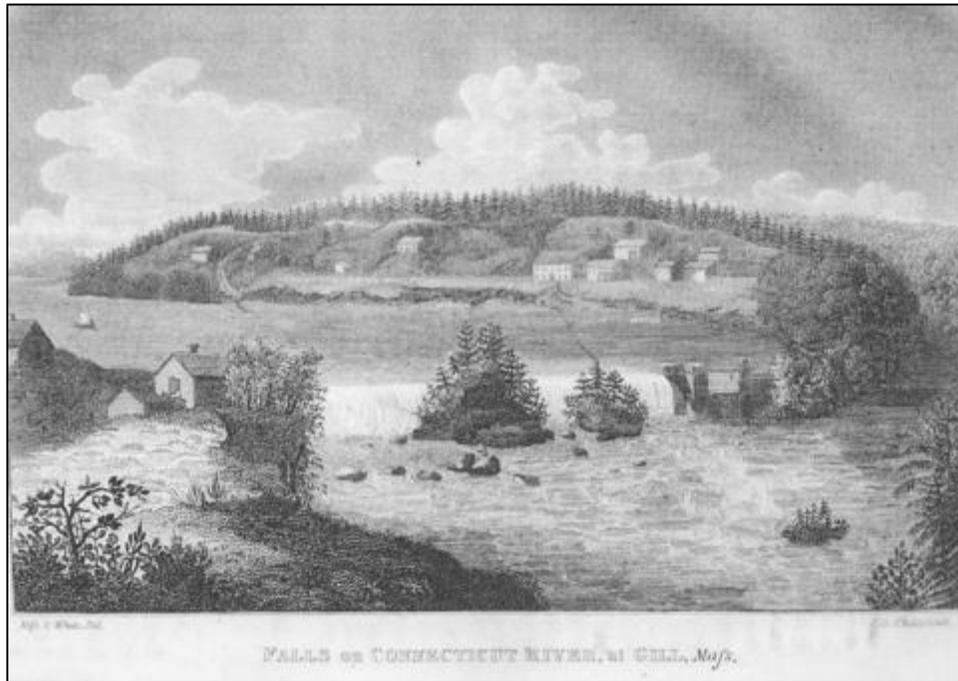
All of these dams were of sufficient height to submerge the entire cataract or falls beneath their upstream impoundments. As the dams increased in height, the impoundments also got deeper and reached farther upriver. Today's impoundment extends 3-4 miles upstream to the Millers River and inundates roughly 150 acres of former floodplains beneath Barton's Cove.

One of the core group's major efforts has been to assemble a large number of visual images of the various dams. They provide considerable visual documentation against which to evaluate the written texts and maps. The follow is only a small sample.

The two earliest images of the Falls are both sketches, the first from 1818, the second from 1833, done by Orra White Hitchcock, wife of Edward Hitchcock, geologist and later President of Amherst College. The dam in the first sketch was built in 1794/95 as part of the canal project to by-pass the rapids and falls between the mouth of the Deerfield River and this large cataract. Great Island is in the center with the first log crib dam built across its upstream tip; "Lesser" Island is to the right.

Note the high river bank on the Montague side, initial clearing and dense woodlands beyond. The neighborhood of Riverside is not visible in this rendition; it is located farther to the left. The building visible on the left side sitting on the bluff above the river in Gill may be associated with

a mystery sawmill. In this 1818 sketch, it is clear that a three-acre parcel of low meadow described by Stoughton (1978) as lying between Great Island and a small island and used for haying in the right foreground (see later section) is no longer there.



**Engraved Sketch by Orra White Hitchcock, 1818.**



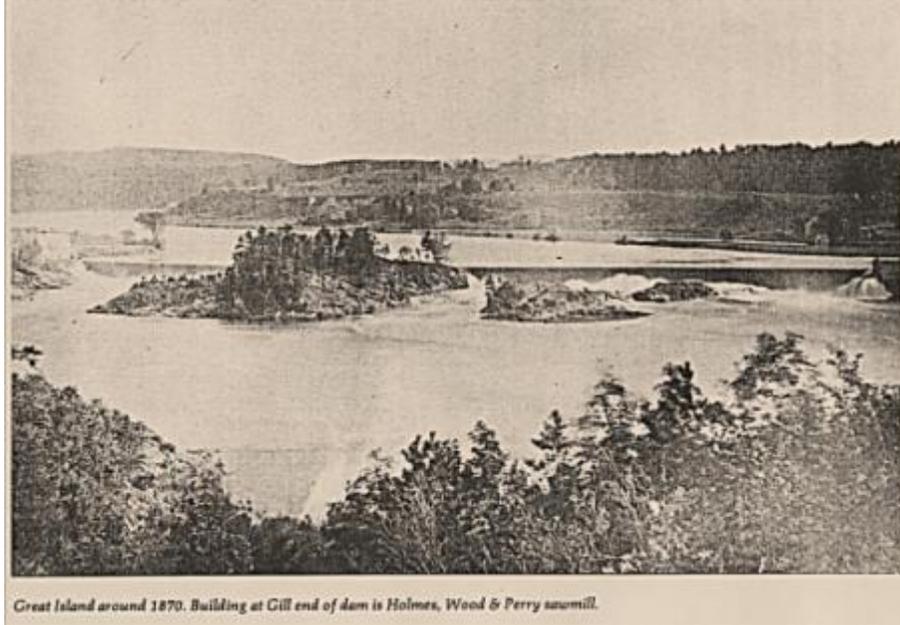
**Hand-colored Lithograph of Turners Falls, Orra White Hitchcock, 1833**

This sketch shows a replacement dam constructed after the major flood of 1824.



Photo originally from Greenfield Historical Society. LST got it from Ed Gregory who got it from Peter Miller. This is the oldest photo of the dam area found. Before development

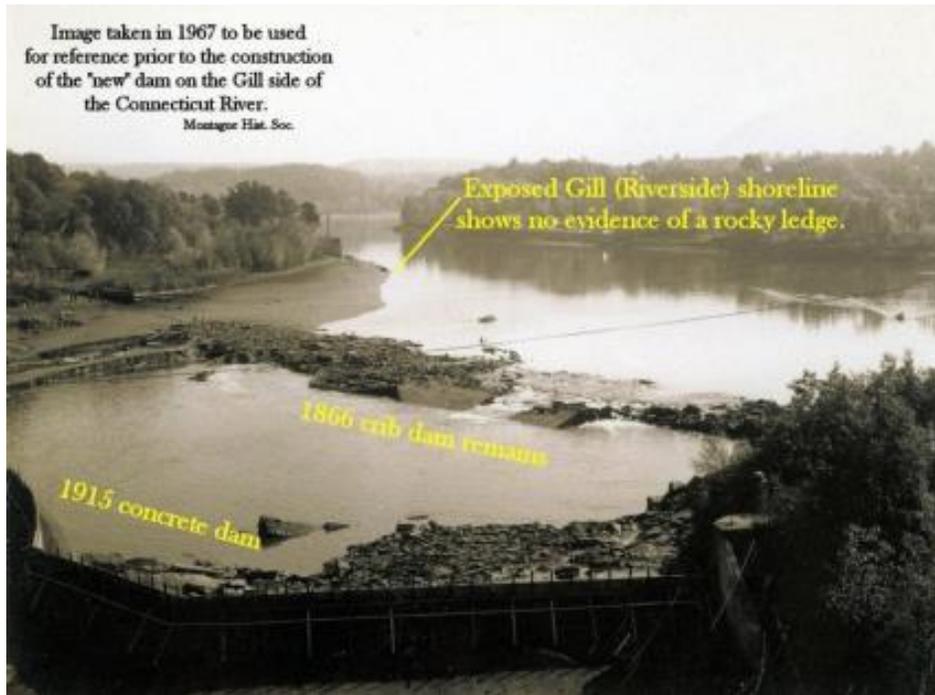
This is the earliest photograph of the Montague side of the post-1824 canal dam yet found, estimated date of 1860. The Turners Falls shore is in the foreground. The sharp break in the angle of the dam is depicted in Orra Hitchcock's 1833 sketch. The first section of dam is anchored on "Lesser" Island. A small section of log-crib dam extends from Lesser Island to the center of Great Island. The section of dam between Great Island and the Gill shore is not visible. Hitchcock's sketch depicts it at the upper end of Great Island.



Great Island around 1870. Building at Gill end of dam is Holmes, Wood & Perry sawmill.

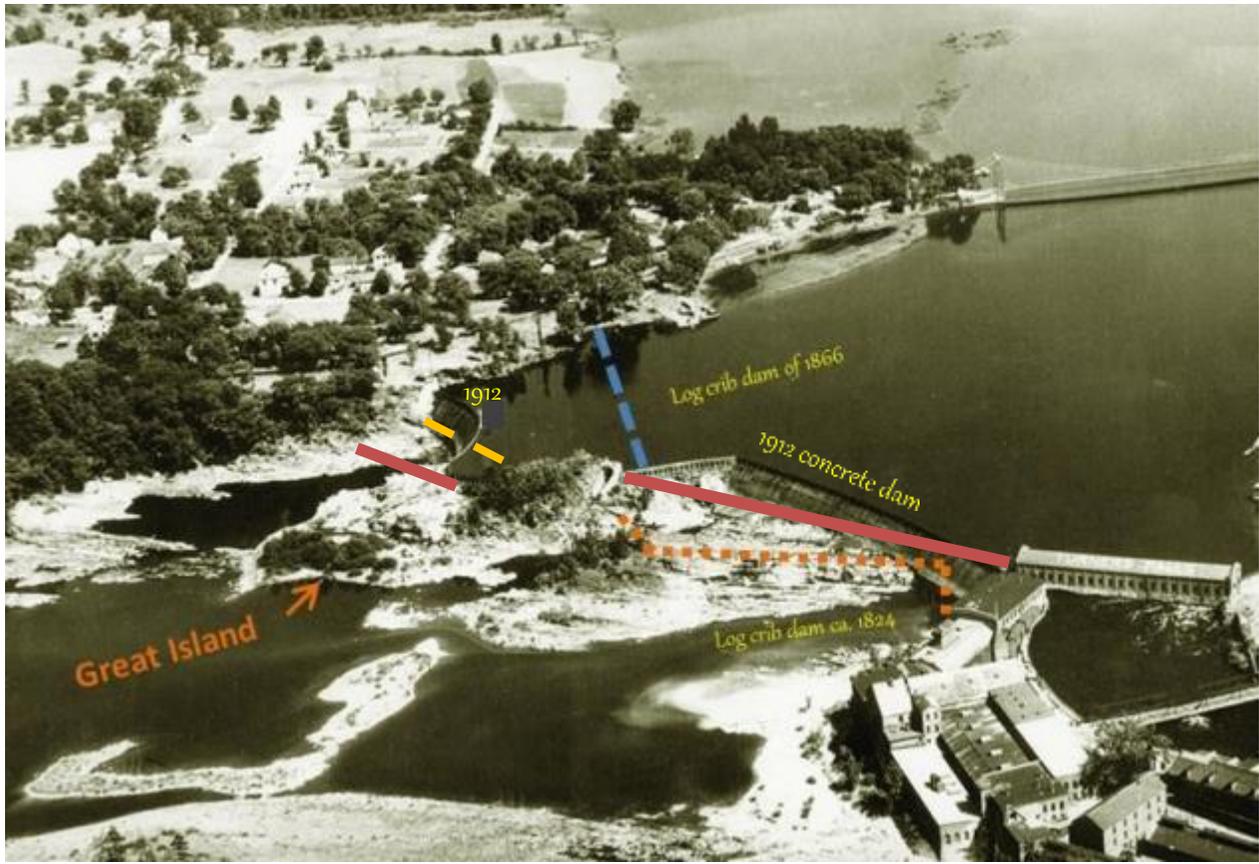
**This photo shows the 1866/67 log-crib dam built for the new canal and industrial complex at Turners Falls. (This structure replaced the previous three dams.)**

In 1912, the 1866/67 log-crib dam was replaced by a concrete dam built on a new location. This photo shows both dams situated between Great Island and the Gill shore. In 1967, the impoundment had silted in so much that any features of the original channel are not visible.



This detailed photo of the modern, concrete hydro-electric dam was taken by Ed Gregory in mid-December, 2015. What remains of Great Island is in the center, “Lesser” Island is to the right, and a partial section of the dam between Great Island and the Gill shore is to the left. An open spillway at the top of the dam creates the turbulent water below. It is much like the entire downstream section of the channel must have looked during high water regardless of which dam was in place.





**My attempted composite of dam locations applied to a 1930 base photograph. Other sketches and photographs were used for verification.**

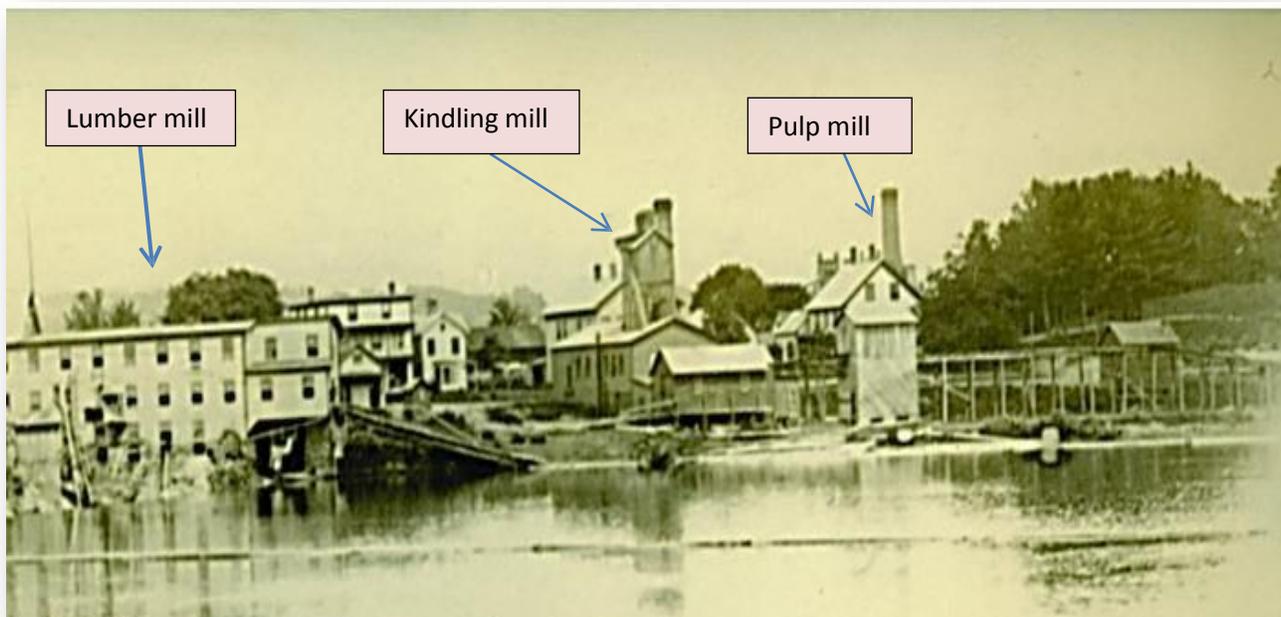
**Key:**

This photograph was taken about 1930. Sections of the 1912 concrete dam related to the industrial development of Turners Falls are visually recorded; this dam operated between 1912 and 1969. Both sections of the 1824 log-crib dam are depicted in dashed orange. The Great Island to Gill section of the 1866/67 log-crib dam is shown in dashed blue; I am unclear as to the exact location of the Great Island to Montague section. The modern (1969) hydroelectric dam is shown in solid maroon.

This depiction helps to establish the visual appearance of the falls seen by each of the authors who wrote about the falls over the course of some two hundred years, and who are our primary and secondary sources of evidence of landscape change.

### *Riverside, Gill*

Riverside is a small district that runs along the east side of the Falls. At the end of the eighteenth century, the land was initially encompassed within several large farms that lay within the newly incorporated Town of Gill, the town having been set off from the second Deerfield grant in 1793. It remained primarily an agricultural area until the Civil War, although several mills were developed in Factory Hollow on the lower Falls River, and a saw mill may have existed at the Falls. With the establishment and rapid growth of the industrial mills along the expanded canal in Turners Falls and the somewhat earlier, massive log drives from the upper Connecticut River, wood-related mills became a dominant feature along the shore of Riverside after the Civil War.



**Riverside, ca. 1885-1891 (provided by Lynn Tomb, Gill Historical Society)**

This is Riverside and the potential battlefield site sometime between 1885 and 1891, the years when the lumber mill, kindling mill and paper mill were all standing. The lumber and kindling mills succumbed to fire; the paper mill ceased operation following a massive explosion. The industrial dam is to the left. Fort Hill, partially wooded with pines, is visible in the background right, the southern base having been quarried for sand. The buildings along the water's edge are partially sitting on a bedrock ledge, which is now covered with fill. Residential properties are in the background. Today, all of the industrial buildings have been removed and Riverside has transitioned to a quiet residential neighborhood, with a small commercial district along US Route

2.

Given the tremendous changes that have occurred, subsequent phases of study must unravel the state of the battlefield's integrity. This study focuses solely on the river – its falls, islands and other features.

### **Sources of Information**

A variety of primary and secondary sources of information have been gathered from numerous repositories, including personal libraries, the Pioneer Valley Memorial Association (PVMA) Library in Deerfield, the Franklin County Registry of Deeds, and items e-mailed to the group held by one or more individuals. Lynn Stowe Tomb has compiled an incredible collection of late-nineteenth and twentieth-century photographs in preparing for *A History of Riverside* which she is currently editing and is anticipated publishing in 2016. Ed Gregory has collected numerous maps and photographs as part of his extensive studies of the Turners Falls Canals and related industries. Gary Sanderson has been collecting histories and written stories about various historical events for the past forty years. Maps were either copied from published sources, from Plan Books at the Registry of Deeds in Greenfield, from the map archives at PVMA or the Massachusetts Archives in Boston. Numerous local histories were scanned for references to the Falls, and particularly to a very specific part of the Falls that disappeared after the first dam built – Burnham's Rock. These materials were amassed, shared and reviewed by all. A few of the most revealing maps and photographs are included in this text. The vast majority will be compiled and saved by members of the group. The following sections present my observations and conclusions based on my review of these materials and are reflected in the final sketch of the Falls in 1676.

### **Published Descriptions in Books and Newspapers**

After extensive searches, ten authors have been identified who have written specific pieces about Turners Falls and its fisheries or who have presented descriptive information in passing: Epaphras Hoyt, David Willard, Edward Hitchcock, an unidentified author, Josiah D. Canning, Francis M. Thompson, Henry Barton, Edward P. Pressey, Ralph M. Stoughton and Sylvia Smead Gallagher. All of these authors are local, having lived in the towns of Deerfield, Greenfield or

Gill. Half of them have developed solid reputations as historians.

Brief biographical notes about these authors follow. I have organized the authors chronologically based on the dates of their publications. This approach is pertinent, because what the authors could have seen or talked about with various informants during their lifetimes were undoubtedly colored by the fact that between 1794/95 and 1969 at least six dams were constructed or reconstructed at the base of the falls or cataract.

### **Primary Sources**

Only one of the authors, **Epaphras Hoyt** (1765-1850) of Deerfield, was born early enough to have actually seen the falls or cataract in its natural state. When the first dam was constructed in 1794/95, Hoyt was thirty years old. He was a qualified surveyor interested enough in the development of canals to have surveyed the length of the Deerfield River and proposed constructing a tunnel through Hoosic Mountain to the Commission on Canals in Massachusetts in 1825. Hoyt held many civil and military offices, including major-general of the Massachusetts militia, and was an avid historian of the colonial wars.

### **Secondary Sources**

**David Willard** (1790-1858) graduated from Dartmouth, practiced law and was Town Clerk of Greenfield. He wrote the first *History of Greenfield* in 1838. He provides only general information about the Falls.

**Edward Hitchcock** (1793-1864) was born in Deerfield. He was principal of Deerfield Academy, 1815-1818. He was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church of Conway in 1821, but left the ministry to become Professor of Chemistry and Natural History at Amherst College (1825-1845), then Professor of Natural Theology and Geology (1845-1864), while also serving part of the time as President of Amherst College. He married Orra White, who, as his assistant and illustrator, became one of the first women botanical and scientific illustrators in the US. Hitchcock and his wife visited the falls on a number of occasions, where Orra drew several illustrations.

**Josiah D. Canning** (1816-1892) grew up in Gill. He had little formal education, but at the age of 15, he built his own printing press and started a weekly paper, *Village Post*, which featured coverage of gruesome and violent news. After several years, the paper was expanded to include poetry, including offerings by Canning, himself. Josiah left Gill and founded or worked in newspapers in Detroit, Wisconsin Territory and West Virginia. He ultimately returned to Gill, abandoned journalism and became a farmer, poet and raconteur of stories. Canning's contribution comes from a newspaper article of a talk he presented and from a poem he wrote.

**Francis M. Thompson** (1833-1916) was a prominent figure in the Greenfield community. He was admitted to the bar in 1876 and later became a judge. He was an avid historian and published a two volume *History of Greenfield, 1682-1900*.

**Henry Barton** was a long-time resident of Riverside, Gill. His contribution originated as a talk he gave to the Greenfield Historical Society. It was subsequently reported in the *Springfield Republican*, January 20, 1909.

**Edward P. Pressey** (1880 - 1928) attended Harvard Divinity School and became an ordained Unitarian minister. He later started a utopian community in Montague, MA, called "New Clairvaux"... based on progressive social and labor ideas. The community was never large and came to an end (ca. 1907). He was a serious enough historian to write the *History of Montague* published in 1910. He provides only general information.

**Ralph M. Stoughton** (1879 - 1966), a life-long resident of Gill, was an accomplished genealogist and historian. He wrote a 94 page booklet, *The Stoughtons of Gill*, in 1954. In 1960, he published *History of the Town of Gill, Massachusetts, Genealogies A-Z*. His final work, *History of the Town of Gill, Franklin County, Massachusetts: 1793-1943*, was published posthumously by the town's bicentennial committee in 1978.

**Sylvia Smead Gallagher** (1927 – 2015) Sylvia was a well-known, dedicated, Greenfield historian who conducted extensive research on the Smead family in Greenfield and adjacent

towns.

Of all these sources, I would place Hoyt, Hitchcock, and Stoughton as the most informed given either their direct observation or depth of research. Many of the visual elements in the sketch of “The Falls in 1676” are drawn from these sources.

\* \* \*

One thing to note in the authors’ descriptions to follow is that the terms “falls” and “cataract” have been used interchangeably over the years. Both terms refer to the same place that is essentially defined as a major drop in the river and water cascading down a bedrock channel. As Josiah Canning poetically described it, “In olden times, instead of a perpendicular fall of water, as now, the falls were a mad rush of waters down a rocky declivity with irresistible force”.

### **Specific Information - Excerpts**

**Hoyt, Epaphras** (1765-1850).

1824 *Antiquarian Researches: Comprising a History of the Indian Wars in the Country Bordering Connecticut River and Parts Adjacent...* pp 127-128

No river in New England afforded a greater abundance of fish than the Connecticut; and no place on the river presented a more favorable station for taking them, than the falls between the present towns of Gill and Montague. Many of our present inhabitants will recollect the time when upwards of five thousand shad have been taken in a day, by dipping nets at Burnham's rock, at that place. *This rock was situated at the pitch [top] of the cataract*, and none but the most skillful watermen attempted to navigate a light canoe or bateaux to it; and even by these the task was considered extremely dangerous. It was approached from above by a delicate use of the paddle, and an eye that could measure a mite, and resolve compound forces at a glance. A deviation of a few degrees in steering was *certain to plunge the adventurer down the rugged cataract*, in which case, drowning must ensue.

Hoyt, the only identified author who is likely to have seen the falls/cataract in its original state, provides a clear statement that Burnham’s Rock was located at the “pitch of the cataract”, i.e., at the upstream point where the water began to drop. The rock could be approached from upriver

by canoe, due to the fairly gentle current, but miss the rock and one entered the rugged cataract which could not be navigated.

**Willard, David** (1790-1855)

1838 *History of Greenfield*, pp 175-178 [transcribed by Ed Gregory]

From the elevated ground on the Gill shore, the cataract may be seen to good advantage: the islands below with their trees and shrubs: the lofty wood covered ridge to the right: the dam and rocks and tumbling waters below: canal opposite: the placid expanse of water above: with its scenery and forest of pines beyond.

**Hitchcock, Edward** (1793-1864)

1841 *Final Report on the Geology of Massachusetts*, Vol. 1, pp 275-276

[Turner's Falls] exist in the Connecticut River, near the point where the towns of Montague, Gill, and Greenfield meet. They are by far the most interesting water fall in the State... At least, to my taste, the much broader sheet of water, the higher perpendicular descent, and the equally romantic scenery of the surrounding country, give to the cataract a much higher interest [than other falls along this river].

The proper point for viewing Turner's Falls is from the road leading to Greenfield, on the north shore, perhaps 50 rods below the cataract. Here from elevated ground, you have directly before you the principal fall, intersected near the center by two small rocky islands, which are crowned by trees and brushwood [Great Island and Lesser Island]. ...Fifty rods *below* the cataract, a third most romantic little island [Samoset Island – now totally bald] lifts its evergreen head, an image of peace and security, in the midst of the agitated and foaming waters, swiftly gliding by (see Orra Hitchcock's sketch which accompanied this description).

Above Turner's Falls, the Connecticut for about three miles pursues a course nearly northwest, through a region scarcely yet disturbed by cultivation; and all this distance it is as placid as a mountain lake, *even to the verge of the cataract*. ...The placid aspect of the waters above the fall, calmly emerging from the moderately elevated and wooded hills at a distance, is finely contrasted with its foam and tumult below the cataract.

In this case, Hitchcock describes the general setting of the falls and the placid water above the cataract or falls. But for him, the presence of the 1,000-foot-long dam extending across the river with its 30-foot perpendicular plunge, was a dominant visual feature, having replaced the water that once cascaded down the natural bedrock for over 1,200 feet above this dam. For a half mile below the dam, the water “continues descending rapidly and foaming along its course.” Hitchcock makes no mention of Burnham’s Rock, which by 1841 was submerged below the dam’s impoundment. The references to wooded hills and ridges should not be lost. During the colonial attack in 1676, any line of sight through such vegetation would have been very short and any long distance view of the Indian settlement was likely non-existent.

### **Author Unknown**

1875 “PESKE - OMPSK - UT; or The Falls Fight Showing a Glimpse of the Early History of Turners Falls”, reprinted from *The Turners Falls Reporter*, January and February, 1875. This excerpt is basically a restatement of Hoyt (1824).

Some of our present inhabitants will recollect the time when upwards of five thousand shad have been taken in a day by dipping-nets, at Burnham's rock. *This rock, previous to the building of the dam, was situated at the pitch of the cataract*, and none but the most skillful watermen attempted to navigate a canoe or bateaux to it, and even by these the task was considered extremely dangerous. It was approached from above by a delicate use of the paddle, and an eye that could measure a mite and resolve compound forces at a glance. A deviation of a few degrees in steering was certain to plunge the adventurer down the rugged cataract, to certain death. Some of the rock still remains below the dam, the greater part being demolished.

### **Canning, Josiah D. (1816-1892)**

1892 “Olden Times at Turners Falls”, *Greenfield Gazette*, Centennial Edition.

This commemorative piece is an extended reminiscence of what Canning remembers from his youth when he sat and listened to aging residents of Riverside regale their friends about the great days of the fisheries at the Falls, as well as his youthful recollections of the waning days of the

fisheries after the dam had been installed. Excerpts follow:

The fishing was mainly performed by the use of the seine and scoop nets. These latter *nets were dipped from two noted points, one a projecting rock over the cataract from the Gill shore, called "Foster's Rock," and the other an offsetting spur on the east side of "Great Island," known as "Burnham's Rock."* Both of these famous rocks were easily seen and pointed out until the construction of the dams at the falls. In olden times, instead of a perpendicular fall of water, as now, the falls were a mad rush of waters down a rocky declivity with irresistible force. Woe to the poor fisherman who slipped from Foster's or Burnham's rock! He was a doomed man, and had ten to one his body was never again seen.

The phrase “an offsetting spur on the east side of Great Island” has caused considerable controversy as to the location of Burnham’s Rock. One interpretation is that Burnham’s Rock was an extension of the east side of Great Island, and therefore, not at the head of the cataract or falls. My interpretation is that the description, “an offsetting spur,” relates to the fact that Burnham’s Rock jutted out over the cataract opposite Foster’s Rock, thus, as the dictionary defines the word “offsetting”, Burnham’s Rock offset or counterbalanced Foster’s Rock. The rest of the statement that Burnham’s Rock would be east of Great Island is confusing, as this would put Burnham’s Rock at the base of, not at the head of the cataract, counter to all other sources where this level of detail is provided. In addition, Burnham’s Rock was recorded in its deed as being 184 feet long. There is insufficient space east of Great Island to accommodate such a large lithic platform.

### **Canning, Josiah D.**

[1890s] “The Shad-Fishers” in *Connecticut River Reeds*. What is essentially a very long poem about the shad fisheries at Turners Falls provides a modicum of descriptive information dictated by rhyme and meter.

Fixed in sub-aqueous ledges fast, The dizzy waters whirling past,  
Was seen a rock, since drowned from sight By the curb'd water's refluent height,

This rock was fisher BURNHAM'S claim; Floods may not wash away his name, Tho'  
rock and master both went under,  
The rock out there; he — where? I wonder.  
*Time's changes have again laid bare The rock, but there's no fisher there!*

This is the only statement from all the identified sources where it is claimed that Burnham's Rock had re-emerged from the dam's impoundment. Was this an observed fact or was Canning ever quite aware of the rock's actual location?

**Thompson, Francis M.** (1833-1916)

1904 *History of Greenfield, 1682-1900*, Vol 1, 39.

Thompson's initial reference to the falls, as well as to Burnham's Rock, is done in passing as he describes the importance of the great fish runs essential to the survival of starving Indians during King Philip's War:

Before the building of the dams at Enfield, Holyoke, and Turners Falls, no river in New England compared with the Connecticut in its abundant supply of fish, and no place upon the river was by nature better fitted for the taking of them, than the Peskeompscut Falls. Burnham's Rock, now covered by deep water, *then at the pitch of the falls*, was celebrated for the great number of shad taken in dip nets, by fishermen stationed upon its top.

From Thompson's description of the location of Burnham's rock at "the pitch of the falls," I take him to mean that the rock was located at the top of the falls where a relatively placid channel began its tumultuous descent down roughly 1,200 feet of irregular bedrock, ending at Great Island at the base of the falls. Thompson's choice of words, "the pitch of the falls" and Hoyt's phrase, "the pitch of the cataract" suggests strongly that Thompson derives his description from the earlier author.

**Henry Barton** of Riverside

*Springfield Republican*, January 20, 1909

At a meeting of the Historical Society of Greenfield, Barton provides only a general description of the area. No mention is made of Burnham's Rock.

The "Great Falls" was the designation of the locality around the falls in many of the old deeds. Many of the earliest chosen tracts in the division were described as lying "At ye Nook of ye Falls," a designation descriptive of the locality on account of the turn in the river. *Before the dam was built the rapids extended up to, if not above, the suspension bridge connecting Turners Falls and Riverside. Before the erection of the present dam, the lower levels of the Connecticut River drained out Barton's Cove.* An ancient highway is mentioned in the division of the land as leading from "Ye Fishing Falls" to Northfield.

Two important things are noted. First, the head of the rapids [cataract] extended up to the "Red Bridge" a 563-foot long suspension bridge constructed in 1878. Its demise came in 1942 when it was dismantled for the steel as part of the war effort (Gregory 2006:47). Second, by 1909, the impoundment behind the industrial dam had submerged a large floodplain beneath Barton's Cove.

**Pressey, Edward P.** (1880 - 1928)

1910 *History of Montague*, pp 147-148

Pressey's discussion of the Falls is concerned with the fisheries; it does not describe its features. The only reference of concern for this study is: "The prize fishing place was Burnham's rock, now under water above the Turners Falls dam."

**Stoughton, Ralph M.** (1879 - 1966)

1978 *History of the Town of Gill, Franklin County, Massachusetts: 1793-1943*, pp 34, 79-88.

It is clear that Stoughton was familiar with detailed historical research and had delved extensively into the deeds related to Burnham's Rock, as well as the selling and licensing of other fisheries operations at the Falls between 1792 and the 1820s. He is likely to have learned much about Riverside from listening to older generations of his and other families who had lived in Riverside since the early 1800s. But Stoughton provides by far the most detailed description of the Falls and its various features, including important elements not described elsewhere, along

with their dimensions. Although we found no smoking gun, I am convinced that he had access to something like a surveyor's notebook or detailed notes from the time the first dam was constructed. Given the thoroughness with which he conducted his research, I find it highly unlikely that these added elements were whims of fantasy. The most relevant descriptive information is provided below in italics.

Great Island in the Connecticut River at Turner's Falls originally towered high above the normal water level, *a rugged pinnacle of rock with a sheer drop on its western side to a lower expanse containing some three acres of fertile soil producing a heavy crop of hay mowed each year by the first settlers.* Eastwardly, *it extended slightly farther upstream than present appearances indicate,* with "Burnham's Rock," prized by fisherman, just *above it* on the Gill side. Here the river, except at flood times, entered a *flume about 5 yards wide and 400 yards long between the island and the Gill shore,* with walls of jagged rock through which the water hurled itself precipitously. From the other side of the island to the Montague shore, the river, in times of high water, formed a natural waterfall.

Note: Compass directions at the falls are deceiving, and Stoughton's compass references are off a full quadrant. For example, where he says "Easterly, it extends slightly farther upstream than present", it should be read "Southerly, it extended slightly farther upstream". "Western side" should be read "Northern side".

This is the only description of a long flume that ran past the Gill shore. The distance given of 400 yards is the full distance between the former "Red Bridge" at the pitch of the cataract to a point midway in the channel located between Great Island and the Gill shore, i.e., that area that has been submerged since 1794. With the construction of six dams, the flume has long since been filled. I interpret Stoughton's depiction of "just above it" to mean that the up-stream end of Great Island extended upstream far enough so that the lower end of the flume lay between the island and Gill shore. The critical dimension of the flume is its 5-yard width. Today, the natural channel between the east side of Great Island and the Gill shore is over 40 yards wide.

Such was the setting of Great Island in the days of the Indians at the place they called "Peskeompscut, the rock-cloven waterfall," and the town seal very appropriately commemorates its picturesque appearance. Today, however, *Great Island is hardly more than a rocky bolster for the present dams, heavy toll having been taken from its surface in each successive rebuilding of the dams*, and the rising level of flood water occasioned by their obstruction has washed all soil completely away.

Before the construction of dams blocked the river, the shad and salmon found the Connecticut easily accessible until they encountered the natural falls between the present towns of Montague and Gill. At this point *the fish were compelled to scale the swift descent of rapids in a narrow cut through jagged rocks some 400 yards long between the Gill river-bank and the island*, and although vast numbers were able to surmount the barrier, the water at the foot of the falls was crowded with smaller fish unable to make the ascent.

The fish were caught with seines and with scoop nets. The upstream projection [of bedrock] from Great Island that formed the western *head of the cataract* ended in a long, flat rock [Burnham's Rock] exposed above the surface of the water *just before the rapids began the initial plunge*. This was a splendid location for the venturesome, and over 5,000 shad have been reported as the average catch for a day from this rock, "Burnham's Rock" so-called.

Frequently salmon weighing 20 to 30 pounds also enlivened the catch. *Nearly opposite at a higher level, "Foster's Rock" jutted out over the cataract from the Gill shore*. He who possessed the advantages of either of these locations was the envy of all other scoop-net fishermen. But woe to him who lost his footing or his balance on these rocks and was engulfed in the roaring rush of water through the cataract.

Burnham's Rock, the most coveted fishing place here, was an irregular area over 100 feet long, but due to its dangerous position *on the brink of the cataract*; attempts to reach it were made only by the most expert of the water-wise. Several lives were lost by fishermen who ventured there before the full extent of its treacherous possibilities was realized.

During the early 1790s, the rights to use Burnham's Rock came under dispute. Stoughton

presents much of the history; a transcribed deed provides the exact dimensions of the rock. In part Stoughton's and Schweikert's transcription of the deed reads:

WHEREAS the said General Court by their Resolution of the sixth day of February last [1792] did authorize & empower Samuel Henshaw, Esq., to sell the said Rock or Island called Burnham Rock lying in the Connecticut river between the towns of Greenfield & Montague in the County of Hampshire—

NOW know ye that I the said Samuel Henshaw in consideration of a promissory note of Hand signed by William Smalley & Moses Arms for the sum of one hundred & fifty pounds lawful money to me delivered & made payable to William Pynchon, Esq., Treasurer of said County of Hampshire or to his successor in that office for the use of said County have sold, conveyed & confirmed & by these presents do sell, convey & confirm in behalf of said Commonwealth of Massachusetts unto William Smalley, Esq., [and eight other men]... forever, the aforesaid Rock Island called "Burnham Rock" lying in Connecticut river between the towns of Montague & Greenfield, *beginning at the northeast corner of Burnham's Rock, called the "boiling place" & running on said Rock northwest two rods, thence running on said Rock west ten degrees south eight rods, thence running south on said Rock six rods, thence running on said Rock to the first mentioned corner [eleven rods; 32 x 128 x 96 x 184 feet].*

In 1797, Mr. Williams sold Burnham's Rock to the Proprietors of the Upper Locks and Canal ... (Bk. 11, p. 236.)

**Sylvia Smead Gallagher (1927-2015)**

[2008] *Greenfield Recorder*, Letter to the Editor in response to an article on April 8, "Bikeway Rolls Closer to Finish"

Although the thrust of Gallagher's comments are directed towards correcting the inaccuracy of the name of an island down river from Turner's Falls, she does state the following with respect to her perception of the location of Burnham's Rock:

The REAL Smead Island is the northern-most of the three islands shown on the bikeway map. Originally the Great and General Court granted the Reverend John Williams the upper island and the other two islands, as well as *Burnham's Rock and a fishing nook at the head of the falls.*

### **Sylvia Smead Gallagher**

[no date] "Burnham's Rock" written as a gift to Ed Gregory

Before the building of the Turners Falls dam, *just below the upper suspension bridge* [the Red Bridge built in 1878], *on the edge of the cataract*, stood a great rock forming a small, island, known as "Burnham's Rock," once the most celebrated fishing place on the river.

Evidently, Gallagher accepted Hoyt's 1824, as well as Thompson's and Stoughton's later descriptions of the location of Burnham's Rock.

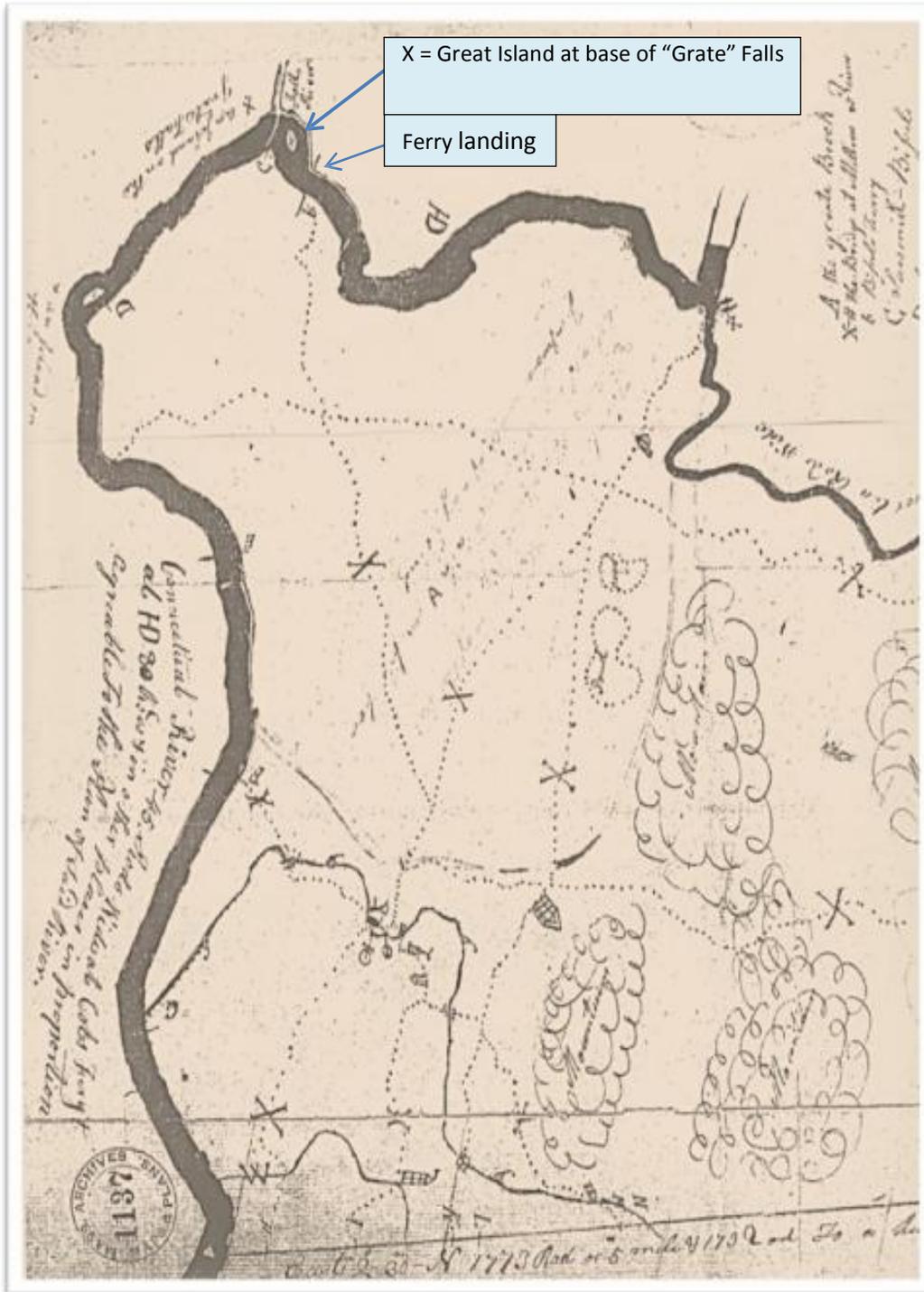
### **Map Review Continued**

No one has been able to locate any maps dating to the late 1770s or 1780s, as there was apparently little activity of note near the Falls during and just following the war years. In 1794, at the legislature's request each town in the new Commonwealth of Massachusetts was instructed to prepare a map of their town, including roads, bridges, important transportation features and significant buildings. Greenfield, Gill and Montague, the abutting communities, conducted formal surveys and compiled official maps which were filed with the Commonwealth.

What is significant about these maps for our purposes is that they are all contemporaneous, of roughly equal scale, and surveyed and recorded at a time when plans to dam the river and construct a canal around the falls were well underway and with residents in adjacent towns adamantly discussing how the dam would adversely affect their fishing rights and operations at the same falls. See Stoughton (1978) and Canning (1892) for different perspectives on events that occurred and how the issues were resolved. Thus, we might expect that a little more detailed information about the falls might be recorded on these maps. We find this to be true on both the Gill and Greenfield maps. All three 1795 town maps are represented on the following pages.

For the first time on the Montague map, we see the label “Great Falls.” Two islands are noted, one “an Island on the Grate Falls”, a second, Smead Island, anchored a saw mill. Several ferries were also active. Smead Island and a falls associated with a bedrock island are also recorded on the Greenfield map. Of note, the natural falls is recorded as being 14 feet high, which I presume to be the final drop after the river descended down some 400 yards of cataracts.

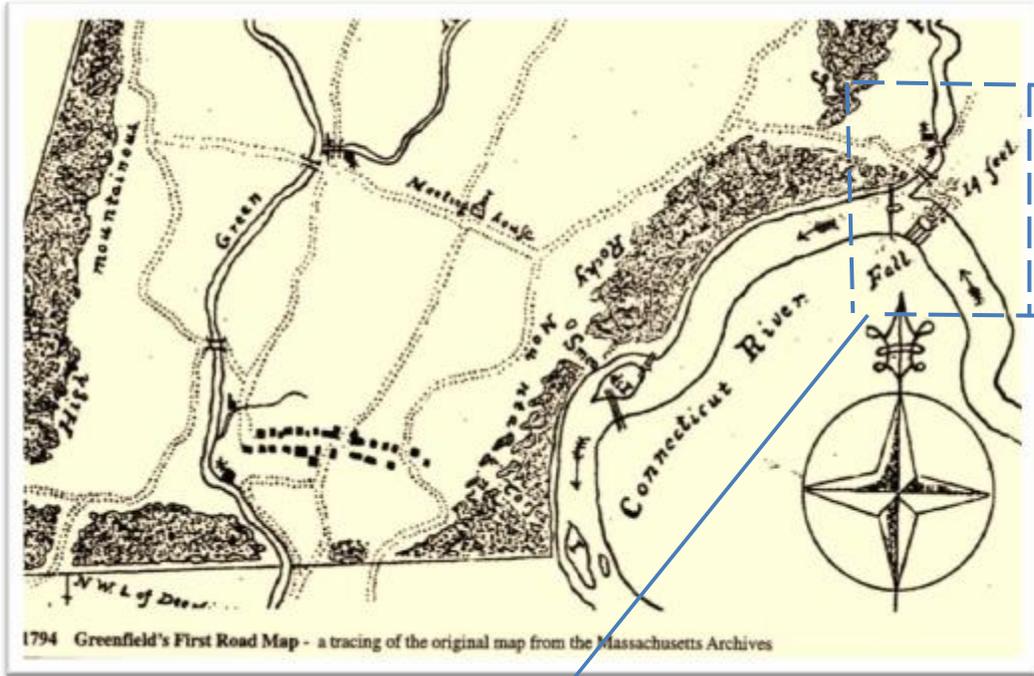
Neither the Montague nor Greenfield maps indicate that the dam constructed in 1794/1795 by the “Proprietors of the Upper Locks and Canals in the Connecticut River” had yet been completed. The proprietors were chartered to construct, operate and do what was necessary to render navigation safe below and above the Great Falls (Gregory 2006:4). This is our last look at an unencumbered river crossing.



**A Plan of the Town of Montague Survey, November 1794, By Elisha Root, 200 Chains to an Inch.**

Key: b = Bissel's Ferry; C = Bissel's Sawmill; x = an island on the Grate Falls; D = Saint Clair's Sawmill [on Smead Island]; F = Cobb's Ferry; G = River's Sawmill

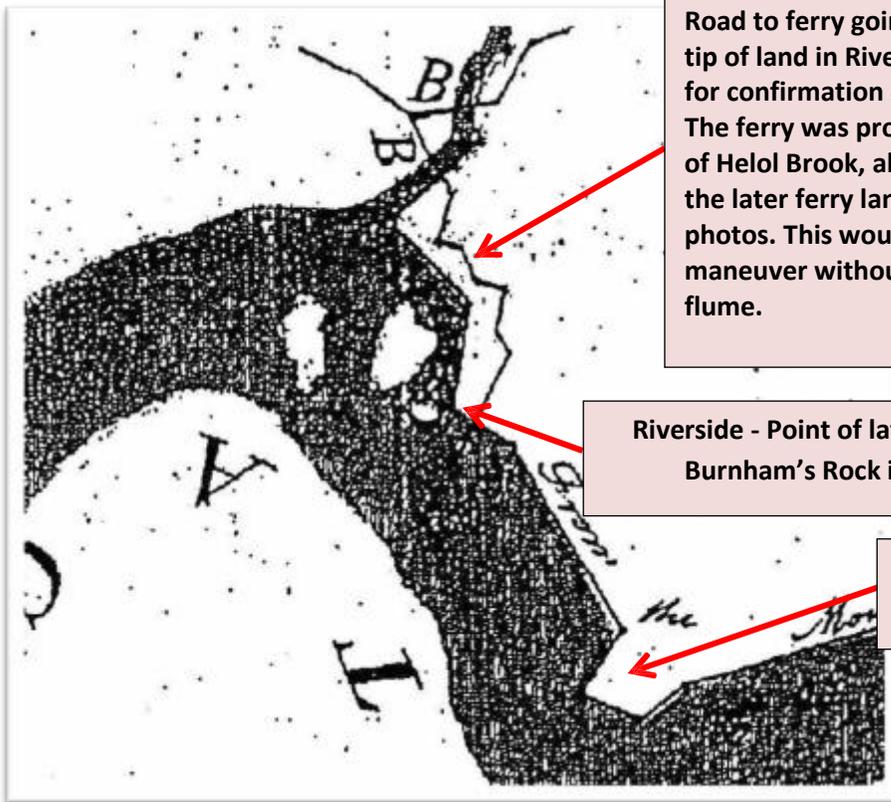
Source: Massachusetts Archives (map 12 x 15 inches)



Burnham's Rock



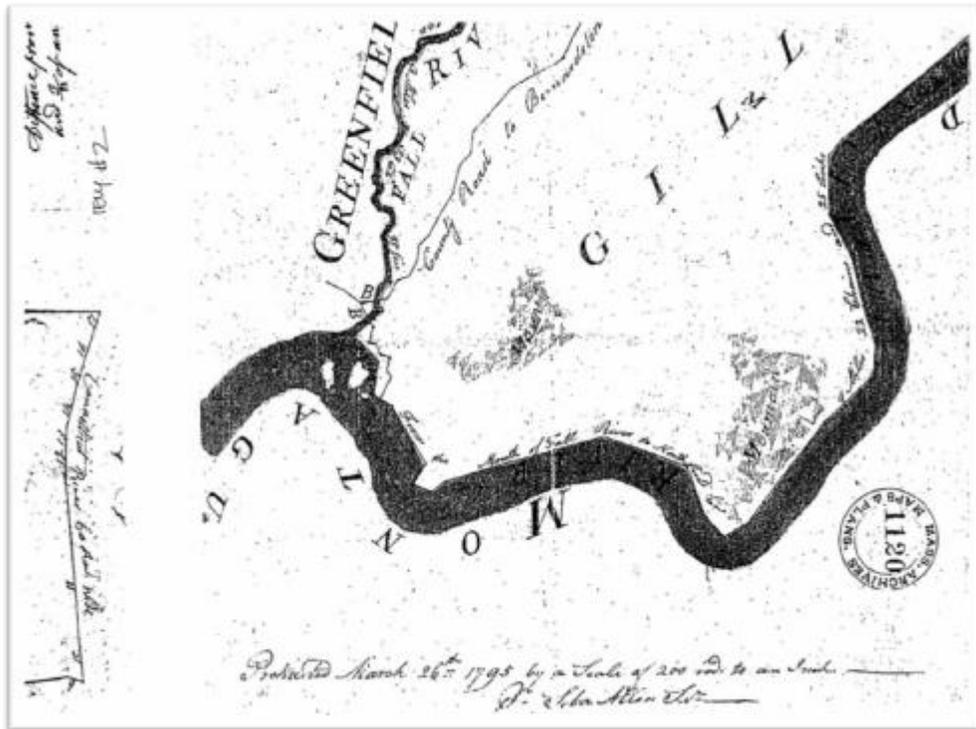
I interpret the Greenfield 1794 Map as follows. The four parallel lines represent the entire cataract/falls. The outer lines reflect the head and foot of the falls, with Burnham's Rock being on the upper line, i.e., "at the pitch of the cataract or falls". It lines up with a "U" shaped line downstream adjacent to Great Island. This is where the water would have gushed out from the end of the 1200-foot-long flume, ending in a 14-ft drop to the ledges below.



Road to ferry going around Fort Hill and the tip of land in Riverside (See Montague Plan for confirmation of ferry landing location). The ferry was probably tied up at the mouth of Helol Brook, about 100 feet or more from the later ferry landing that appears in photos. This would give the ferry room to maneuver without getting sucked into the flume.

Riverside - Point of later suspension bridge with Burnham's Rock immediately opposite.

Barton Cove Peninsula at the Narrows



Sources of Elements Depicted on the Sketch

**The Cataract or Falls.** This aerial photograph taken at an oblique angle of the falls and Riverside is the basic template used for the sketch. It was shot in 1930 at a time of very low water, thus exposing the expanse of dipping bedrock that makes up the channel bottom and the actual cataract. The bedrock at the falls does not lie horizontally; rather it dips steeply to the southeast across a fold. Individual beds of sandstone have fractured and broken off in step fashion, the “steps” rising higher and higher as one approaches the top, or “pitch” of the falls near the suspension bridge built in 1878 and taken down in 1942. Except towards the base, no steep drops are present to create an actual vertical falls. As Canning (1892) expressed it, “In olden times, instead of a perpendicular fall of water, as now, the falls were a mad rush of waters down a rocky declivity with irresistible force.” Or as Stoughton (1978:32) described it: “Between the island [Great Island] and the Montague shore there extended a continuous ledge of rock which formed a natural waterfall, though water flowed over it only at times of high water.” Referring to Great Falls, Henry Barton wrote in 1909: “Before the dam was built the rapids extended up to, if not above, the suspension bridge connecting Turners Falls and Riverside”.



**Aerial view of the Falls taken ca. 1930; the visible concrete dam dates to 1912.**

**Great Island** is the dominant bedrock feature at the base of the falls. Stoughton elaborates:

Great Island ... originally towered high above the normal water level, a rugged pinnacle of rock with a sheer drop on its western [northern] side to a lower expanse containing some three acres of fertile soil producing a heavy crop of hay mowed each year by the first settlers... Eastwardly [southwardly] it extended slightly farther upstream than present (1978) appearances indicate. Today, Great Island is hardly more than a rocky bolster for the present dams, heavy toll having been taken from its surface in each successive rebuilding of the dams, and the rising level of flood water occasioned by their obstruction has washed all soil completely away... The natural falls in the Connecticut River no longer contain the cataract along the Gill shore. Both have been supplanted by a more lofty hydroelectric structure which has changed even the current and contour of the river, and has shorn the island of its soil and vegetation. Blasting for the dam and for the log drives that for many years came down the river each spring has widened the gap that formed the cataract.

When “Great Island” was annexed to the Town of Gill by an Act of Legislation in the year 1805, one of the purposes of the act was to regulate the “fishery at and near the same.” By the Act, “Gill was to have the full and exclusive right of taking fish” in the locality, under the management of a committee to be chosen annually by the town. The benefits of the Act gradually disappeared, however, when construction of dams farther down the river presented an insurmountable barrier to the shad and salmon, and only in such years as these dams were swept away by flood water, were shad and salmon again seined or speared in this vicinity” (Stoughton, 1978:85). Since roughly 1848 with construction of the Holyoke dam, Great Island has been cut away with every new dam to appear.

For the sketch, I have extended Great Island farther upstream than the 1930 photo depicts it to be. I have also added a low meadow on the downstream side of Great Island which Stoughton says was once mowed for hay. The mere existence of such a meadow is taken on faith, as no other evidence of it exists. By the late eighteenth century, extensive clear-cutting of forests in the upper Connecticut River watershed had begun. Flash flooding and higher volume floods

occurred more frequently than in previous centuries. This three-acre parcel could have disappeared in a single storm.

**Flume and Burnham's Rock or Island.** Stoughton (1978) is the only author who indicates that a distinct flume, or narrow funnel of water, ran along the Gill shore and acted as the primary conduit for shad and salmon running the Falls. No visual image exists that depicts such a feature, but this is not surprising, since such a channel would have disappeared behind the impoundment of the first dam constructed in 1794/95. The fact that the Massachusetts legislature awarded Gill control of the fisheries at the Falls reinforces the notion that most fishing was undertaken on the Gill side of the river. The presence of this flume is evident in the sketch.

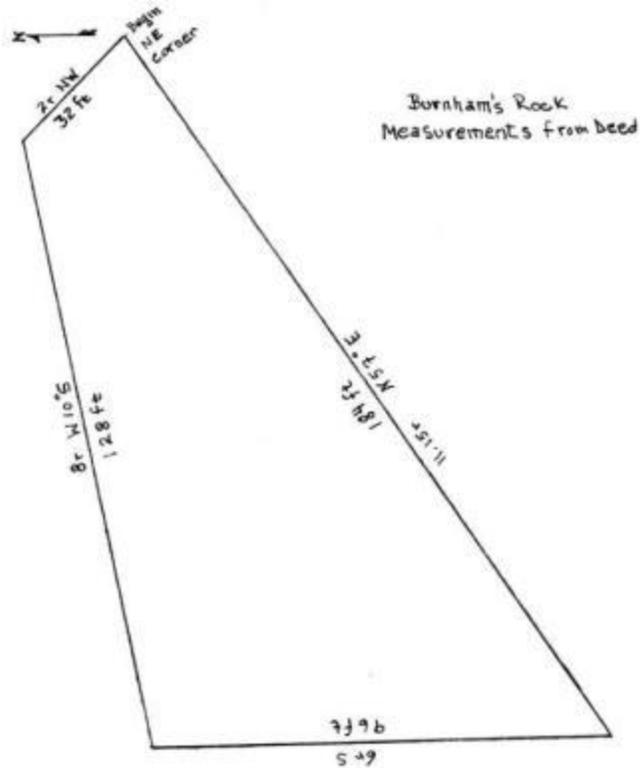
Five of the ten authors who described one or more aspects of the falls – Hoyt (1824), Canning (1892), Thompson (1902), Stoughton (1978) and Gallagher (2006) also reference the presence of Burnham's Rock or Burnham's Island. Stoughton provides a lengthy discussion of Burnham's Island, "the most coveted fishing place at the Falls" (Stoughton 1978:82-88). I begin with the earliest reference.

Epaphras Hoyt of Deerfield, writing at age 30 in 1824, is the only identified author who is likely to have seen the falls/cataract in its original state before 1795. His statement about the rock's or island's location is clear. Burnham's Rock ... "was situated *at the pitch [top] of the cataract [falls]*, and none but the most skillful watermen attempted to navigate a light canoe or bateaux to it; and even by these the task was considered extremely dangerous. It was approached from above by a delicate use of the paddle, and an eye that could measure a mite, and resolve compound forces at a glance. A deviation of a few degrees in steering was *certain to plunge the adventurer down the rugged cataract*, in which case, drowning must ensue. These phrases combined specify that the "pitch" was at the top of the cataract or falls, i.e., at the upstream point where the water began to drop. Both the Greenfield and Gill Town Maps of 1795 depict a small island in this location (see previous section).

Thompson (1909) – [Burnham's Rock, now covered by deep water, *then at the pitch of the falls*],

Stoughton [Burnham's Rock "was an irregular area over 100 feet long, but due to its dangerous position *on the edge of the cataract*, attempts to reach it were made only by the most experienced of the water-wise.], and Gallagher [*"just below the upper suspension bridge, on the edge of the cataract*, stood a great rock forming a small, island, known as "Burnham's Rock."] - mirror Hoyt's observations. Stoughton (1978:288) lists at least eight deaths from drowning at the Falls between 1771 and 1813 to reiterate that missing Burnham's Rock while approaching it from above was a very dangerous business. The last of the five authors, Josiah Canning, used such obtuse language that is it virtually impossible to decipher his specific meaning (see earlier discussion).

The size and configuration of Burnham's Rock is provided in a deed dated October, 1792 by which the Commonwealth of Massachusetts sold William Smalley and his associates exclusive rights to the salmon and shad fishing from Burnham Rock. In the deed, the rock is bounded, as is any other property: "the aforesaid Rock Island called "Burnham's Rock" lying in the Connecticut river between the towns of Greenfield and Montague, beginning at the northeast corner of said Burnham's Rock, called the "boiling place," and running on said Rock northwest two rods [33 feet] thence running on said rock west ten degrees south eight rods [132 feet], thence running south on said rock six rods [99 feet], thence running on said rock to first mentioned corner [184 feet]" (Copied at the Franklin County Registry of Deeds by Lynn Stowe Tomb, transcribed by Bill Schweikert; also in Francis M. Thompson, *History of Greenfield, Shire Town of Franklin County, Massachusetts*, Vol. I: 530-531).



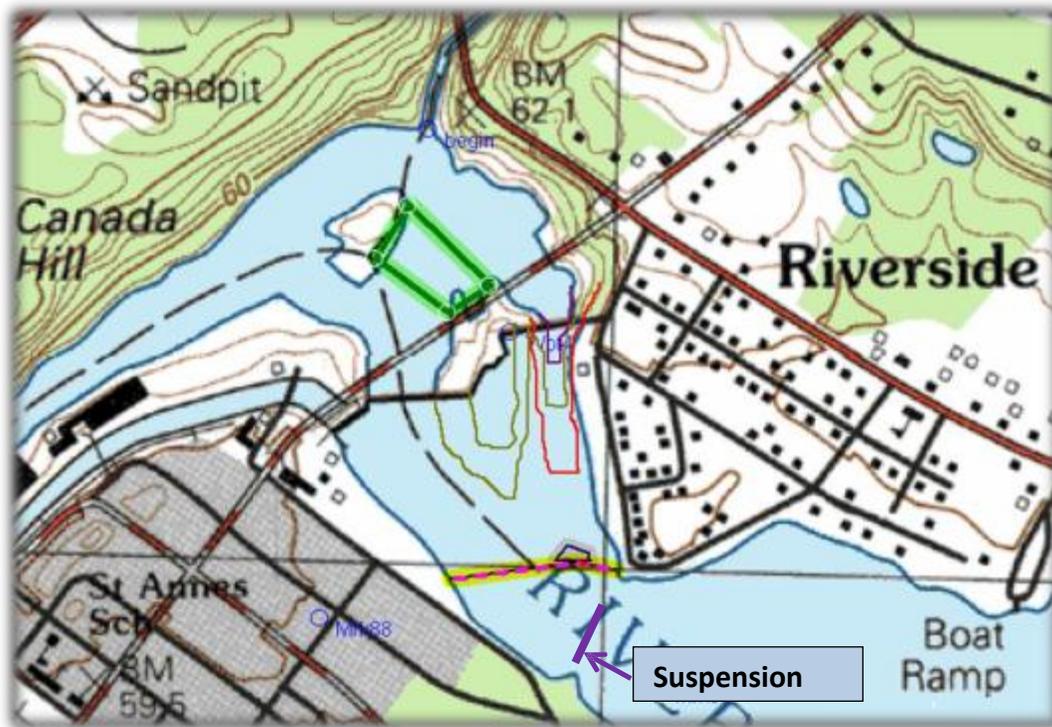
In the sketch, I use the projected pitch of the falls or cataract as the location of Burnham's Rock. The narrow end of the Rock I believe projected over the flume.

If we accept Stoughton's location of Burnham's Rock as being in a "dangerous position *on the edge of the cataract*", other elements fall into place. "Here [at Burnham's Rock] the river, except at flood times, entered a *flume about 5 yards wide and 400 yards long between the island and the Gill shore*, with walls of jagged rock through which the water hurled itself precipitously. This 400-yard distance places the upstream end of the flume at "the edge of the cataract" (just downstream from the former suspension bridge) and the downstream end at the modern hydroelectric dam which is tied into the downstream end of Great Island. Here, the Gill shoreline is characterized by a bedrock cliff.

Stoughton further notes that during periods of low water, the river's "current normally raced downward through the cataract [flume]. This deflection caused a sudden curve in the river's current when it reached the site of the old ferry, and the flow was abruptly drawn toward the Gill shore. In 1795, before any dams were constructed, the old ferry landing on the Gill side of the river was located upstream of the old suspension bridge (see both the Gill and Montague 1795

Town Plans.) Hence, the ferry was sufficiently above the head of the falls to avoid being sucked into the stronger current. In later years when the dam impoundments were in place and no current existed at all, the ferry landing was moved downstream where it is seen in nineteenth-century photographs.

An approximate translation of the upstream edge of the falls/cataract, Burnham's Rock adjacent to it, the flume running along the Gill shore, Great Island extended, and the 3-acre hay mowing attached to the downstream end of Great Island onto a USGS topographic map would look something like the following figure.



To this I would add the distinct possibility that the projection upstream and just to the right of Burnham's Rock was Foster's Rock. The latter, however, was likely obliterated during construction of the tower for the 1878 suspension bridge.

Several minor features remain to be discussed: the shorelines of the Montague and Gill sides of the river, and the broad, now submersed, floodplain upstream from the old suspension bridge. Of the Montague shoreline, Stoughton wrote:

The sand that came down the river at times of high water was constantly thrown off at this point [at the head of the cataract on the Montague side of the river]; very much as mud is thrown from a revolving wheel if there is no mudguard, until an immense sand bar was piled up along the Montague shore. Here the early boatmen beached and unloaded their rafts, and from it the ferry made the crossing. As soon as the cataract was dammed, flood water washed this bar away until no vestige remains.

Ed Gregory (2006:2) provides a slightly different perspective on the demise of this sand bar:

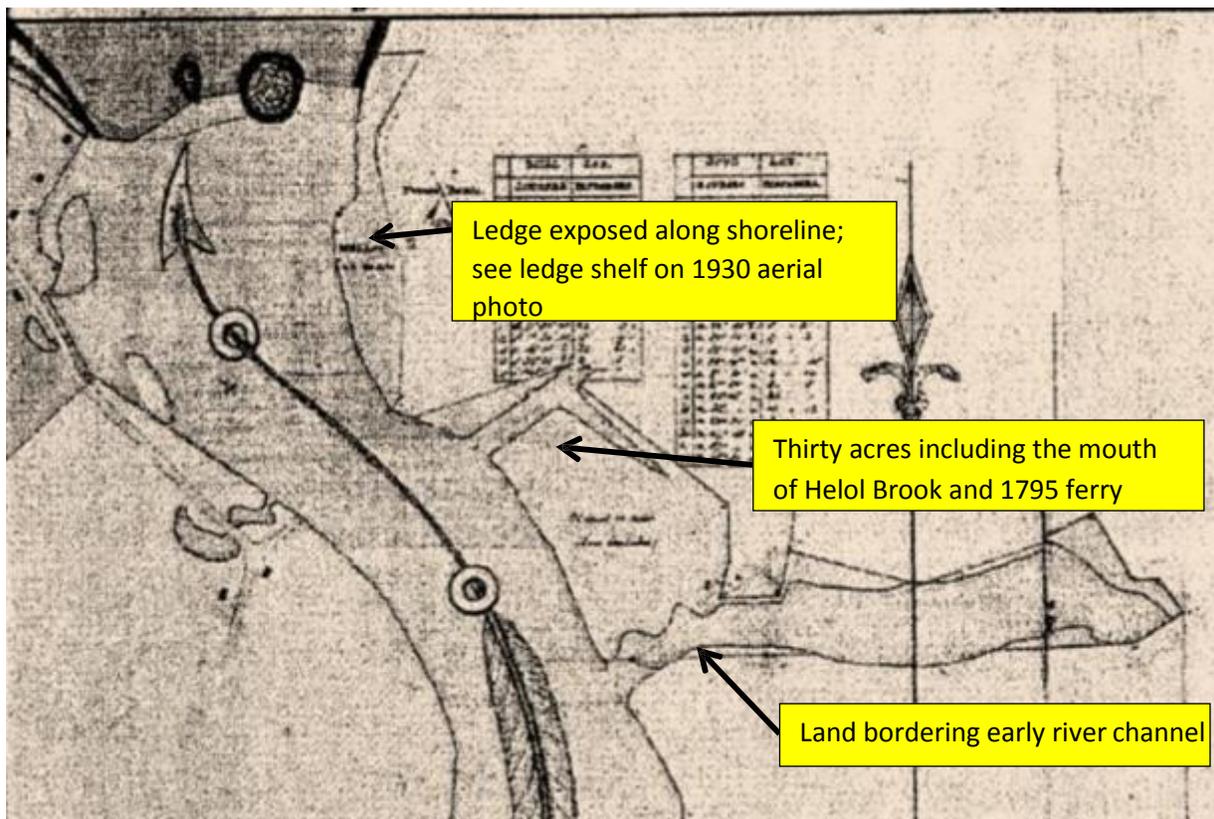
Uninterrupted travel on the Connecticut River was prevented by several waterfalls, and the “Great Falls” in the river here provided a definite obstacle. Laden boats or rafts coming down the river had to be beached at the “unloading Place” on the “Great Sand Bar” that extended along the Montague shore from above the ferry point almost to the brink of the falls. Freight and the boat or dismantled raft were then carted to the “Rafting Place” on a smaller sand bar below the falls close to the site on which the Russell Cutlery was later located, and after being reloaded, or reassembled and reloaded, again resumed the journey down the river...

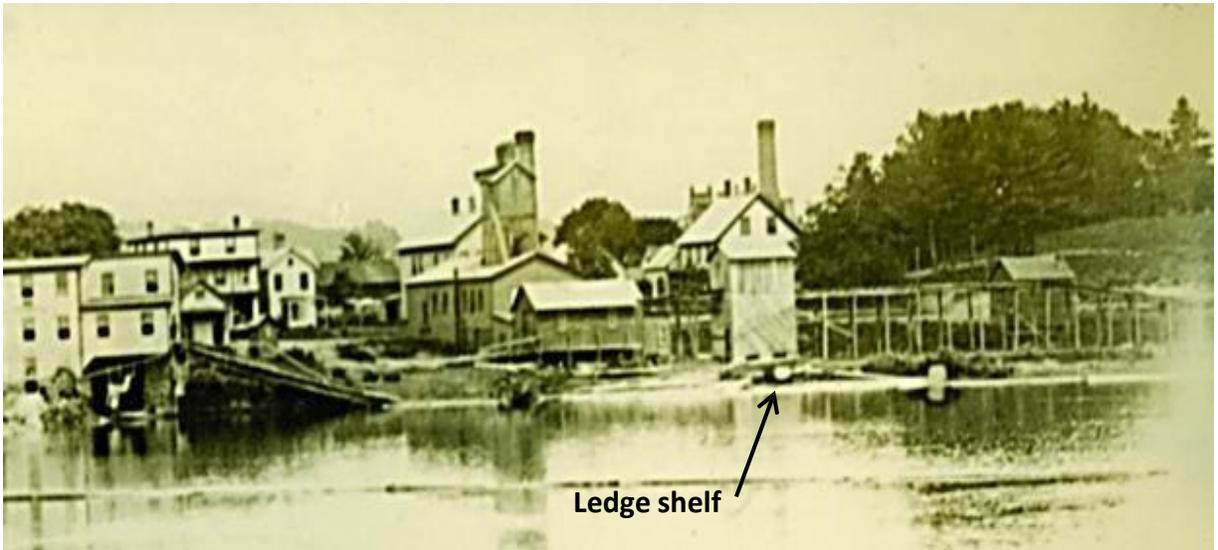
When the dam and canal for the industrial development of Turners Falls was constructed in 1867, the impoundment behind the dam was raised to 170 feet above sea level, inundating much of the former shoreline. In addition, the tailings from the canal excavation and widening were cleverly utilized as fill in the area we know today as 1<sup>st</sup> Street and Unity Park (which runs along the current river bank; Gregory 2006: supplement 16).

The shoreline along Riverside consisted of a narrow strip of bedrock ledge that sat above the flume, and at time may have been submerged by high water. Farther back from the bedrock shelf, a series of progressively higher alluvial terraces extend throughout Riverside. These terraces consist of silt and sand in various proportions; the top three feet of these soils contain black, organically rich, archaeological deposits reflecting a seasonal

occupation of the Falls by Native American communities extending back nearly 9,000. Several feet of older alluvium and rounded cobbles separate the upper archaeological midden soils from the underlying ledge. Moving away from the river's edge, organic staining diminishes and typical weathered soils become the norm.

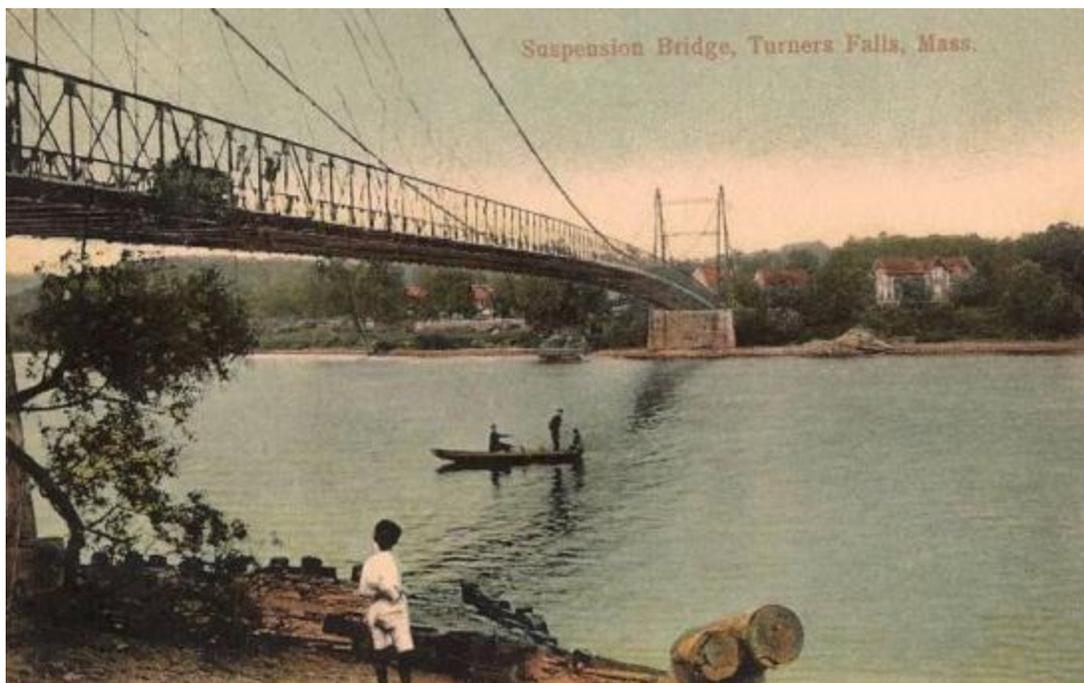
*A Survey of Lands belonging to Proprietors of the Upper Locks and Canals*, made by O. Roberts and drawn by B. Deane, dated 1836, shows the clear intent of the Proprietors to buy up the ledge, as well as other abutting properties to the impoundment along the Gill shore (Source: PVMA map draw). The confluence of both Helol Brook and the old abandoned channel of the Connecticut River that once poured over the Lily Pond barrier are reflected in this property plan. As the shoreline of the river in 1830 still followed the shoreline that existed before 1795 when the first dam was constructed, it seems likely that the height of subsequent dams got progressively higher. It may not have been until the 1912 concrete dam was constructed that this land was finally submerged.



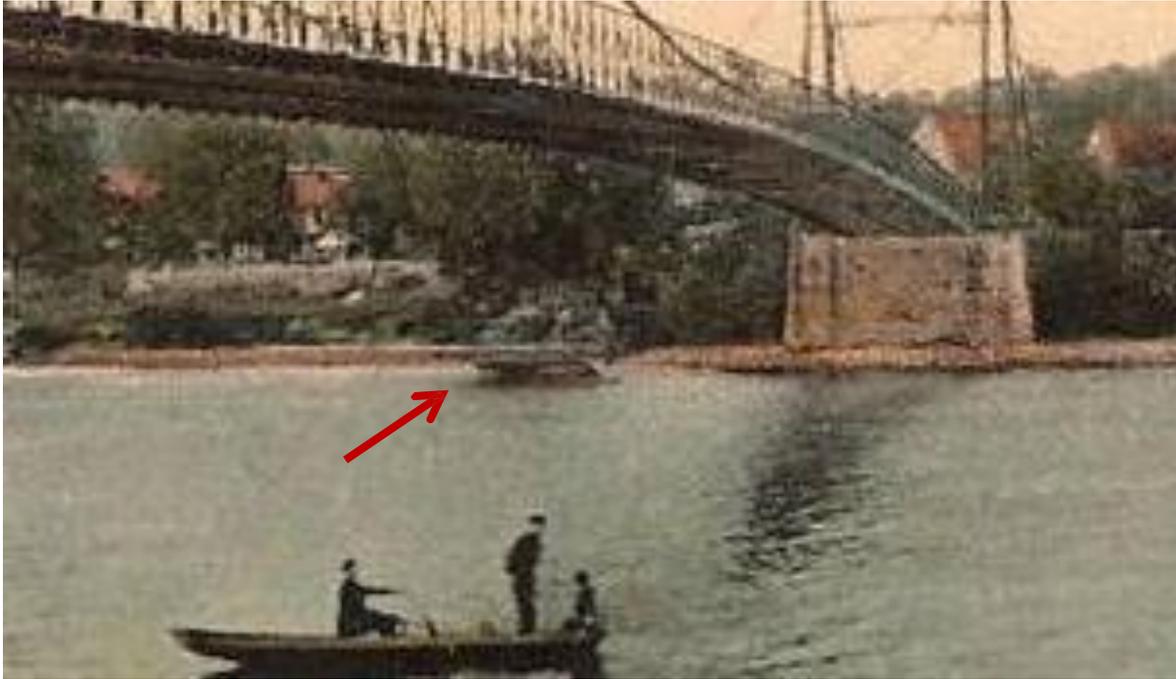


**This picture of the Gill shoreline taken between 1885 and 1891 depicts the top of a bedrock ledge upon which the footings for several substantial structures rested.**

Soft sediments would not have supported such buildings. Ledge was also exposed during a period of very low water sometime after 1878 where it is seen supporting the abutment of the suspension bridge.



**But might this postcard show the only surviving image we have of Burnham's Rock – that elevated behemoth of rock that extended over the flume at the head of the once mighty cataract? There is little doubt that Burnham's Rock, although much diminished in size, occasionally re-emerged exactly where Epaphras Hoyt and later residents and historians placed it.**



**Evidently Burnham’s Rock did emerge from time to time, as Canning actually noted in his poem. Perhaps all of our authorities did get a fleeting glimpse now and then. It might have saved much effort if they had simply told us so.**

The last feature of note is the broad, low floodplain and its shoreline upstream from the falls that is now totally submerged beneath Barton’s Cove. This floodplain and its banks are depicted on virtually all nineteenth-century maps that have been compiled and on the aerial photographs presented in earlier pages in this discussion of a changing landscape around Turners Falls and one of the most important scenes of engagement during King Philips War, May 19, 1676.

I have attempted to incorporate all of the landscape features noted in the previous pages into the final pencil sketch of “The Falls in 1676”.

## **Appendix X: Results of Public Outreach**

Public outreach efforts included monthly meetings with the Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield Study Advisory Board, Three public and landholder informational meetings, a presence at the Pocumtuck Homelands Festival, and meetings with collectors and landholders to view artifacts or conduct visual surveys of properties. The MPMRC also constructed a website “Battlefields of King Philip’s War” (KPWar.org) which contains information on previous battlefield projects conducted by the MPMRC (i.e. the Second Battle of Nipsachuck) and the current project. The website is also a public space to display our latest finds, contain our contact information and reports produced by this project to encourage community dialog and feedback.

The Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield Study Advisory Board held regular monthly meetings which MPMRC attended most often on a bi-monthly basis. These meetings were used as project updates, to coordinate research efforts, to plan public informational meetings, and to hear public comments. These meetings were most useful from a planning and research standpoint, but were also an important means to gain public input and to meet with interested or concerned individuals. The public audience averaged around twenty people at any given meeting. Audience members contributed to the dialogue and overall project through their comments, suggestions, and willingness to assist in both research and marketing capacities.

The purpose of the public informational meetings (March 14, 2015 and September 19, 2015, March 26, 2016) was to update the board and public of the research process and progress and to solicit comment and perspective. The first public informational meeting was held on March 14, 2015 at the Montague Nature Center and there were approximately 65 people in attendance. Kevin McBride and MPMRC staff gave a 45 minute presentation detailing the goals of the project, a historical overview of King Philip’s War and the Battle at Great Falls, and provided equal time to solicit public questions and comments. The second public information meeting was held on September 19, 2015 at the Montague Public High School and was advertised in advance in local newspapers, through flyers and posters, and a MPMRC postcard mailing sent to landholders within the proposed Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area. At least 85 people were in attendance. In addition to an update from

the MPMRC research team the meeting included a talk by Peter Thomas on “Locating Wissatinnewag” followed by a panel discussion of Native and non-Native peoples with thoughts on the Battle of Great Falls project.

MPMRC staff participated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Pocumtuck Homeland Festival on August 1, 2015. It was advertised on our website KPWar.org and by festival organizers in advance that MPMRC staff would be on hand to help identify local archeological finds, and were especially interested in any lead shot or brass objects recovered from the towns in the project area including Gill, Riverside, Montague and Deerfield. MPMRC research staff created traveling exhibit text panels which provided an overview of the Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut and the Battlefield Archeology research process [Figure 15].



**Figure 26** MPMRC Battlefield Archeology Exhibit at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Pocumtuck Homeland Festival, Montague, MA – August 1, 2015

Six visitors brought personal artifact collections recovered from Gill, Northfield, Deerfield, and the Springfield area. They consisted primarily of lithic objects from the late Archaic, middle and late woodland periods [Figure 16]. Local field collectors spoke with

MPMRC staff and became aware of the significance of any lead musket balls, brass arrow points, brass or copper kettles, and other military and domestic objects that would assist in locating the boundaries of the battlefield site. Contact information was exchanged and it is hoped that such exchanged result in local collectors sharing information on such artifacts that they may be aware of. One historical artifact was brought by a collector who recovered the object from the Green River in Greenfield in the vicinity of the death of Captain Turner and where English forces crossed on their retreat towards Hadley. It was an iron blade fragment which had enough diagnostic elements (shape, blood groove, and length) to identify it as a blade from a Civil War era saber bayonet, possibly for a Model 1841 “Mississippi” Rifle or Model 1855 Rifle [Figure 17].



**Figure 27** *Examples of private object and lithic collections brought to the MPMRC Table at the Pocumtuck Homeland Festival, August 1, 2015.*



**Figure 28** *Iron blade fragment identified a most likely the remains of a Model 1841 or Model 1855 Rifle Saber Bayonet.*

The MPMRC research staff designed, created, and regularly maintained a “Battlefields of King Philip’s War” website, accessible at [www.kpwar.org](http://www.kpwar.org), during the course of this project. The purpose of the website was to provide information about King Philip’s War and the Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut in particular. Visitors have many options including reading original articles, viewing galleries of King Philip’s War era artifacts, study a timeline of the war, learn more about the American Battlefield Protection Program project, and stay updated as to upcoming educational programs. Through the website visitors can also submit questions, comments, and sign up to be added to an email list to receive periodic updates and notices. Those visitors who may be local landholders or collectors are also encouraged to participate in the project and solicit any information they may have regarding relevant historical records or archeological materials [Figure 10].

The MPMRC team reached out to a wide range of academics, and to encourage their students, to support a research consortium as requested by the Battlefield Study Advisory Board to conduct the research phase for the King Philip’s War Battle of Great Falls/Wissatinnewag-Peskeompskut (May 19, 1676). Interested academics would be given the opportunity to join a consortium of academics, Native cultural and historical specialists, local historians and other interested parties for future research collaborations on the 17<sup>th</sup> Century cultural landscapes of the middle Connecticut Valley and the histories of Native and Colonial peoples in the region. The long-term goal of the Battlefield Advisory Board is to support the region’s economy through historic tourism, develop preservation plans for significant cultural and historical sites in the region, develop a collaborative research and study process to discuss and debate a variety of topics and issues related to King Philip’s War, and provide space to host discussions, house research materials, and host annual meetings.

Consenting academics included: Christopher Clarke (Professor and Department Head of History, University of Connecticut), Christine DeLucia (Professor of History, Mount Holyoke College), Matt McKenzie (Professor of History, University of Connecticut), Robert Paynter (Professor of Archaeology, University of Massachusetts), Kevin Sweeney (Professor of American Studies and History, Amherst College), Jason Warren (Strategist, U.S. Army War College), Walter Woodward (Connecticut State Historian, University of Connecticut), Patricia Rubertone (Professor of Anthropology, Brown University) and Neal Salisbury (Professor of History (Emeritus) Smith College).



Figure 29 Battlefields of King Philip's War website screenshot, October 1, 2015