

**The Afterlives of King Philip's War:
Negotiating War and Identity in Early America**

by

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Leonard Tennenhouse

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the Department of
English in the Graduate School
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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

“The Afterlives of King Philip’s War” examines how this colonial American war entered into narratives of history and literature from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, and investigates how narrative representations of the War restructured both genre and the meaning of the historical event itself. This investigation finds its roots in colonial literature and history – in the events of King Philip’s War and the texts that it produced – but moves beyond these initial points of departure to consider this archive as a laboratory for the study of the relationship between genre and knowledge on one hand, and literature and the construction of (proto-) national community on the other. Because of its unique place in the history of the colonies, as well as its positioning within literary studies of Puritan New England, King Philip’s War is an example not just of how one community faced a crisis of self-definition, but how that crisis was influenced by, and in turn is reflected in, the literature it produced. In this conception, genre is more than literary form, but represents a social technology with implications for the broader production of knowledge. Following the use and production of genre in narrative reveals both literary history and the complicated map of how narrative constructs knowledge in tension with the conventions of genre simultaneously hem in and catalyze reading practices.

Dedication

To Mildred Roach Miles, for unwittingly starting me down this path many years ago.

With many thanks and loving memory.

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Acknowledgments

One of the great ironies of graduate education is that the doctorate is conferred for individual effort, when the reality of the process is a much larger, collective enterprise, one involving classmates, mentors, fellow conference goers, writing and reading groups, librarians, friends, and family. By taking a moment now to thank those who had the greatest influence on my graduate career I hope that I can begin to at least recognize some of the debts of gratitude I owe, while simultaneously acknowledging that I could never hope to thank everyone who had a part my graduate education.

My decision to enter graduate school was initially made following an undergraduate seminar at Trinity University taught by Caroline Levander. It was in that class, following my conversations with Caroline and my classmates – Vanita Reddy chief among them – that I began to understand the promise and possibility of literary criticism. This enchantment was fed by discussions with my friends and general intellectual raconteurs Todd Ferguson and Kevin Beck – two others of a literary bent – whose rigorous and creative intellects prodded me forward, even in the most non-academic of settings.

While studying for my MA at the University of Arizona I learned that not only can detailed reading be rewarding, but so can teaching others to find their own literary recompense be a productive endeavor in its own right. I owe this to the training that I received at the hands of two dedicated teaching advisors, D.R. Ransdell and Joanne Behling, but also to my peers in our teaching group – Ryan Moeller chief among them – who demonstrated that passionate teaching need not usurp and engagement with life.

If Trinity gave birth to my passion for scholarship, Arizona offered me the language to articulate this desire; without a class in my first semester with Annette Kolodny I would never have understand the social and cultural importance of literary scholarship. The prodding and mentorship that I received from Greg Jackson, Eric Hayot Charlie Bertsch, and most especially my advisor Daniel Cooper-Alarcón, may have pushed me to move beyond Arizona, but if they caused me to change my geographic locale, the questions that they prompted me to ask still echo in my mind. Nor are my fellow students at Arizona forgotten, as Amy Hamilton and Emily Dagger continue to prod me out of the rutted tracks of intellectual laziness, even if from greater distances than before. More than anything else, I remember my years at the University of Arizona as ones in which the possibilities of the field of literary studies were revealed to be as broad as the clear blue Western horizon, silly though that may sound.

Whatever misgivings I might have had from time to time with the school at large, or frustrations I felt for the institutionalization thereof, I still consider Duke University's English Department to be the ideal model of engaged and exciting scholarship; as a community of scholars it has no peer, and I simply cannot express how lucky I feel for the years that I spent plodding about the campus. In its intellectual strivings, Duke remains my ideal of academia can be, and I hope that the professors, peers, and students that I met there will stay with me always. I can no more list the wonderful classes that I took while at Duke than I could read – or even name – all of the pivotal books that were recommended to me by those same classes. I will content myself to signaling out one graduate seminar for distinction – Matt Cohen's early American seminar in the fall of

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I must thank my committee members – Cathy Davidson, Jane Thraillkill, and Leonard Tennenhouse – for their flexibility and encouragement over the past two years. I cannot thank my chair Priscilla Wald enough for the guidance, prodding, and attention that she showed me over more years than I care to count. Any success in what follows I owe to her, while the faults are my own: it was only through her patience with my evolving interests, her close attention to my numerous drafts, and her encouragement during my scholarly and emotional low points that I have been able to complete my study. Matt Cohen was a perfect complement to Priscilla, giving me the scholarly sounding board and challenging friendship without which scholarly achievement is impossible.

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demonstrated that intellectual questing is necessarily perpetual. I could never thank any one of them enough.

I must also single out a certain group of academics that I must thank almost in spite of their intellectual interests, for without the decidedly non-scholarly bike rides with Ali Aslam, Chris Oishi, and Adam Haile – joined often by extra-academic presence of Brian Bergeler – I would never have maintained what little sanity I was able to present to the world. Two wheels good: ride on boys!

The support of my family – my parents, brother, grandparents, as well as an extended network of aunts, uncles, and cousins – is hard for me to quantify, as it is so pervasive and unquestioned that it almost goes unseen. Despite my defection first to the ‘wrong’ Wildcats, and then to the Great Blue Devil, they remained supportive of my interests, even if they didn’t always understand my fascination. For my parents, most of all, I cannot say enough: not only did they patiently read me my first book, but they listened to my interlocutor-starved ramblings on my all-to-infrequent visits home, and counseled me through times the depths of which they were kind enough not to point out; their love is unconditional and their support invaluable. For that I can only say thank you. And yes, Ben, King Philip: he dead. (Except that he can’t die; see below.)

If I can’t thank my parents enough, I don’t know how to begin to thank Lauren Coats for her help and love through a dissertation that was as trying on her as it was to me – if not more so. For my stress-induced snarkiness I apologize; for your generous support I can never thank you enough. You were there at the beginning, and you’ve had to live through every tortured sentence, all the while demonstrating a patience, kindness, and

love surpassing anything I could dare imagine. Many, many thanks for the hops. I hope to be able to one day repay you one-tenth of what I owe you.

John David Miles

December, 2009

Introduction

Remembering the Forgotten War: Using King Philip's War to Narrate American Community

Now from the dust arouse thee, Deathless Song,
Chaunt Metacomet's woe, forgotten long,
In measured sorrow wail the chieftain's doom
Whose corse unburied was a kingdom's tomb.
Immortal Truth the mournful lay inspire,
Forgive old Silence, nor the wrong require,
Speak forth in trumpet tones of Saxon might,
Scourge tyrant Force, and vindicate Right:
Back from the past roll sad th' unwilling years,
The causes sing, the wrath, the war, the tears.

James Cook Richmond
Metacomet (1851)

In May of 2007 the ruined timbers of a nineteenth-century clipper ship named the King Philip surfaced in the sands of Ocean Beach near San Francisco, California. Built in Maine in the mid-1850s and named after a seventeenth-century Wampanoag sachem, the King Philip ended its years at sea when it ran aground in 1878 off the California coast.¹ Since that time the shallow waters of the bay have covered the ship, save for brief periods of particularly low tide. The reappearance of the hulk every twenty years or so is greeted by headlines such as those in 2007's San Francisco Chronicle "Shipwreck makes romantic return," an article that opens with a comparison of the ship to "Brigadoon, the

¹ Accounts of when and where the ship was built are conflicting, as both 1854 and 1856 are listed in different places. In addition, both Maine and Boston are listed as sites of construction, though this may be complicated by one site being that of construction and the other of christening. See below, note 5.

mythical Scots village that appears out of the spring mist.”² Another article from the spring of 2007 muses, “while we're engaging in our own flights of [...] fancy, the timbers of the sad and sorry ship, the King Philip, continue to emerge from their sandy grave. [...] And if the King Philip's timbers, now exposed to the cold Pacific wind, are shivering – well then, so are ours.”³ [See Figure 1.] Long-lost and often-forgotten, the rotting beams of the passing age thrust themselves above the shallow waters of the bay, demanding attention from the present and recognition in print.



Figure 1: “Shipwreck makes a romantic return” by Carl Nolte and Meredith May. All photos taken from the San Francisco Chronicle’s website, SFGate.com, Wednesday, May 8, 2007.

² Carl Nolte and Meredith May, “Shipwreck makes romantic return: Remains of clipper ship appear again on Ocean Beach every 20 years or so.”

³ From the Kennebec Journal, “A Pirate with a PhD” (2007).

This image of the decayed timbers of the King Philip haunting the shallows off San Francisco illustrates two points of this project. First, just as the timbers of the ship are periodically disinterred by the shifting tides, so do the events of the war reemerge in the cultural consciousness of the nation, shaking off the obscuring sands of time and presenting themselves to the light of the present. The Native American chief King Philip first gave his name to the seventeenth-century colonial American war pitting New England colonists against allied Native American tribes.⁴ Second, during a period in the nineteenth century of renewed interest in colonial history, Philip lent his name to a number of towns, landmarks, and eventually the ill-fated ship the King Philip. The ship mutates with each uncovering – decaying, covered by barnacles, set against a constantly changing coastline – and likewise King Philip’s War changes in its meaning and importance as each generation rediscovers and reinterprets the actions of the seventeenth-century sachem.

The ship offers a handy metaphor – a material representation – of the way King Philip’s War resurfaces periodically throughout American history, and hints at how this reemergence takes place. The unimpressive and underwhelming timbers of what might be a ship poking hesitantly above the sand, without clear shape or identifying markings,

⁴ I use both ‘Indians’ and ‘Native Americans’ to refer to the descendants of the inhabitants of the people living in North America prior to early modern European exploration. While ‘Indian’ emphasizes the constructed nature of the term and denaturalizes the relationship between the people and the writing about that group, ‘Native American’ rejects the imposition of a label whose birth was in European colonialism. New England colonists used the term ‘Indians’ and I often use this term when referencing their views. I employ ‘Native Americans’ when implying less culturally and historically specific conceptions thereof. This arrangement is neither perfect nor immune to criticism, but I hope that it allows for some clarity while still being sensitive to the political and social implications of naming. Whenever possible, I refer to specific affiliations – Wampanoag, Mohawk, etc. – to forestall the collapse of distinctions that is one of the objects of this study.

hardly fits with the newspaper accounts describing the King Philip's mythic journey back from the watery depths. The triviality of the scene, one that begins with a few random bits of wood, heightens the drama as the text shifts to thoughts of Brigadoon and the author's shivering present. This move from the mundane to the mythical takes place not around the ship itself, but rather in the text associated with the ship, in a narrative that points to its vague outlines as jumping-off point and justification for a tour of the past, and the narrative competes with the object for importance. Indeed, without the accompanying narrative, the King Philip is little more than a few pieces of trash forgotten on a remote beach.

Like my project's, the ship's origin is in colonial New England. King Philip is the English name for the Wampanoag sachem who organized and led an alliance of Wampanoag and Narragansett Indians against the New England colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and Rhode Island between 1675 and 1676. The war was brief but violent, resulting in tragic losses on both sides, and eventually ending with Philip's defeat and the English colonies' decimation of his Indian allies. As the central figure of the War, King Philip was described as a violent, vindictive, dangerous, possibly satanic and certainly heathen Indian in a number of contemporary publications, ranging from some of New England's earliest secular poetry, to hastily written war reports, to early in-the-moment 'histories,' as well as Mary Rowlandson's famous captivity narrative. Neither the portrait of King Philip nor the meaning of the war remained constant as they moved from current event to past history. Philip's image changed from fearsome enemy to the more sympathetic portrait associated with the mid-nineteenth

century clipper ship, and the war's meaning shifted, as well as writers returned to resift the past and rearrange the contextual sands that buttress and cover King Philip.⁵ [See Figure 2.] Refigured in the context of the nineteenth century, King Philip as literary figure and national icon represented the cultural changes that moved New England's past from one of life-or-death expediency to the wellspring of national identity.



Figure 2: Advertisement for the clipper ship the King Philip that would eventually be shipwrecked off of San Francisco. Note especially the image of Philip dressed in the garb of a Plains Indian and set amongst teepees, as opposed to more period- and culturally specific clothing appropriate to a seventeenth-century Wampanoag.

⁵ The King Philip launched 1854 in Boston, Massachusetts. ([http://www.bruzelius.info/Nautica/Shipbuilding/Shipyards/Clippers\(MA\).html](http://www.bruzelius.info/Nautica/Shipbuilding/Shipyards/Clippers(MA).html)) Patrick Grant and William B. Reynolds were the owners. The same builder (George Thomas) who built the King Philip also built the Logan, the eighteenth-century Native American who was made famous by Thomas Jefferson after Jefferson included Logan's speech in Notes on the State of Virginia.

King Philip's War is central to the literary history of colonial New England in its relationship to the most important genres from the colonial period to the nineteenth century, especially the captivity narrative. This investigation traces how the interplay of historical context and literary genre shape a community's relationship to the past. As historical events and circumstances give rise to new genres, those genres in turn shape readers' expectations not only of the text, but also of the historical circumstances of its production. The process is evolving and dynamic, and failing to attend to its full scope risks misunderstanding the complex relationship between literature and history, the past and the present.

My dissertation examines the different ways that King Philip's War entered history and literature, and looks at how narrative representations of the war restructured both genre and the meaning of the historical event itself. Neither King Philip as an historical personage nor the War as an event remains stable or uncontested throughout this process, and it is this instability – the shifts in meaning and importance – that is my focus. There is a relationship between the headdress-wearing icon on the ship's advertisement and the one in the frontispiece of the 1770 edition of Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative, linkages by which the man Philip is cast as villain in the eighteenth-century text only to be reworked into the ship's figurehead in the next century. [See Figure 3.] It is this genealogy that I track, an investigation that finds meaning in chance, uncovers depth in mere association and complicates linear models of narrative progression and national history.



Figure 3: Detail of an illustration of King Philip from Nathaniel Coverly's 1770 edition of Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative.

The War Itself

“King Philip’s War” names the 1675-76 military conflict between the New England colonists – along with their Pequot, Nipmuck, and Mohegan allies – against an association of Wampanoags and Narragansetts joined under the Wampanoag sachem called King Philip by the English of that period, but also known as Metacom, Metacomet,

or Metamora.⁶ Born in the complicated inter-colonial and inter-tribal land disputes and social differences, the War was the largest and most deadly English-Indian conflict of the seventeenth century, and secured military dominance of New England for the colonists. Caught between these two groups were a number of smaller tribes, as well as towns of Indians who had converted to Protestantism and were known as “Praying Indians.” Initially, Philip’s Wampanoags and their allies had great military success with a series of ambushes and quick attacks on undefended and unprepared colonial settlements, such that by the spring of 1676 the colonists were uprooted from interior settlements and pushed back to within several miles of the coast. But the tide changed, and Philip’s alliance faltered in mid-1676, as a series of defeats left both the soldiers and non-combatants without access to their cropland, cut off from supply lines, and with their last food stores drying up. By August of 1676, when Philip was killed by a Native American soldier allied with the colonists, his confederacy had all but collapsed, and the English colonists began to return to the homes abandoned during the previous year.⁷ In the end, the War claimed a larger percentage of the English population than any other war in colonial America, as well as several thousand Native Americans from a number of different tribes

⁶ Philip is most certainly a name that was given by the English, but it seems that Philip also may have used it himself, at least when dealing with the English. He was also known by a number of other names, including Metacom, Metacomet, Pometacom, Metamora, and possibly Wewesawamit. This practice of using different names at different stages of life, or in different roles was not unusual among Algonquin-speaking people of the region. The name Philip is the most easily recognizable and probably the most historically accurate, for his use thereof is clearly marked in the historical record. For a discussion of the power and accuracy of the name, see Lepore The Name of War, xix-xxi.

⁷ Historians debate the length of King Philip’s War. Most agree that it began in the summer of 1675, but some push its ending until the late 1670s or into the 1680s, based on sporadic engagements in the northern settlements of what would later become Maine and New Hampshire. I do not want to overlook these battles, but I will consider the end of the war as marked by Philip’s death in 1676, as it has most often been understood. For a concise discussion see Lepore, The Name of War, 175-182.

– some of these lost to battle, others to starvation and disease, and many to slavery in the West Indies.⁸

The War was waged between parties whose makeup was complex, and through military campaigns whose progress was halting and confused.⁹ On one side were English militia forces representing the United Colonies of New England (Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and Plymouth), along with some forces from Rhode Island, and a number of Native American tribes, most notably the Pequots and the Mohegans.¹⁰ Philip led or fought alongside a number of loosely affiliated groups made up primarily from the Wampanoag and Narragansett confederations. Along the edges of these two principal groups were the French traders to the distant north who supplied the Indians with firearms; the Mohican Indians of the Hudson River Valley to whom Philip would appeal for – and be denied – military aid; the newly English colony of New York with whom New England had an often bitter rivalry; and England and the Crown itself, with which the Puritan colonists had a periodically tempestuous relationship.

⁸ For a brief history of the War see the Introduction to Slotkin and Folsom's anthology of documents about King Philip's War, So Dreadful a Judgment, 3-52. Slotkin and Folsom call the War "the great crisis of the early period of New England history" (3).

⁹ James Drake's King Philip's War (1999) stresses the complex relationships between these groups, and casts the War itself as a civil war, along the lines similar conflicts in England during the seventeenth century. His project is most compelling in its description of the complex and overlapping allegiances of the different Native American tribes, as well pointing out the tensions within the conflicting groups of English colonists. This view, one by which European models of political association are used to interpret colonial New England, is useful for understanding the subtleties of group association during the conflict, but is less demonstrative when considering how the outcome of the War is reflected in print.

¹⁰ The United Colonies of New England confederated in 1643 in response to the Pequot War (1635-6). Rhode Island was excluded based on its religious and cultural differences. The association lasted until 1690. For more information see Harry Ward's The United Colonies of New England (1961).

The roots of the conflict extend long before open hostilities began in 1675.¹¹ When the venerated leaders of the Plymouth colony Edward Winslow and William Bradford died in 1655 and 1657 (respectively) and the Wampanoag sachem Massasoit passed away in 1661, the peace agreement that leaders had brokered in 1621 was in danger of collapsing. Relations between the increasingly impoverished, yet ambitious, Plymouth colony and their weakening Wampanoag allies had been deteriorating for some time, and when the respected leaders died the fragile truce seemed on the verge of collapsing altogether. The status of Bradford and Winslow on one hand, and Massasoit on the other, as well as their mutual respect for one another, was the linchpin to maintaining amicable relationships between the growing Plymouth colony and the increasingly encroached-upon Indian communities around its perimeter.¹² Massasoit's mantle passed to his son Wamsutta (called Alexander by the English), and Bradford and Winslow were followed by a series of leaders lacking their vision and influence, as well as their desire to broker deals with Plymouth's Indian neighbors. Despite encroachment on the part of English colonists, the Wampanoags were still a powerful political force in

¹¹ Most historians point to Douglas Leach's 1958 Flintlock and Tomahawk as the most complete account of the war's military progress. Leach's work builds in part on that of nineteenth century historian Samuel G. Drake's many publications on the War, most of which are edited collections of original documents, to which he was in the habit of attaching rather lengthy introductions. See especially The Old Indian Chronicle, and the further discussion below. Leach also makes use of the 1906 history of the war by George Ellis and John Morris. Most important of the recent work is Jill Lepore's The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origin of American Identity (1998). Since then a number of other books have been published, such as James D. Drake's King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676 (1999), Eric Schultz and Michael Tougias's King Philip's War: The History and Legacy of America's Forgotten Conflict (2000), and most recently Jenny Pulsipher's Subjects unto the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England (2005). Also of particular help is Richard Slotkin and James Folsom's 1978 collection of original documents, So Dreadfull a Judement: Puritan Responses to King Philip's War 1676-1677.

¹² See Cohen, "Good Noise from New England" in The Networked Wilderness (forthcoming from Minnesota UP) for a discussion of how the Massasoit-Winslow relationship developed.

the region, and their situation around the Narragansett Bay at the intersection of the competitive colonies of Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts meant that relationships with Massasoit's successor were important to Plymouth's leaders. Frightened about rumors of Indian discontent, Plymouth sent an armed party to bring Alexander before them in 1662.¹³ After being questioned he became ill and died suddenly and suspiciously in the eyes of his people. With his death the leadership of the Wampanoags passed to Alexander's brother "Philip."¹⁴ Rumors regarding Alexander's death swirled, but Philip initially reaffirmed the Wampanoags' friendship with the Plymouth colonists.

Over the next several years it seems that Philip began to foment plans of armed resistance. Angered by English intrusion into Wampanoag lands at large, as well as into his own personal property, Philip began to solidify a coalition of related Indian peoples in opposition to the authorities in Plymouth. This was a complex process, by which the Pokanoket sachem solidified his status as leader of the entirety of the Wampanoag peoples, and began to extend his influence to other related groups.¹⁵ The alliances were tenuous, built as they were along complex kinship lines, often based along long-standing alliances, but sometimes running against historical tribal rivalries. This world had been thrown into disarray by over fifty years of contact with Europeans, beginning with the

¹³ By all accounts 'summoned' is a rather tepid description of how Plymouth compelled Alexander to speak to them, for though he was given a choice, it was one offered to him by a group of armed and threatening men. These circumstances – which the English ignored – would participate in the rumors of English complicity in Alexander's eventual death.

¹⁴ Alexander and Philip were named after Alexander the Great and Philip of Macedonia. Whether this was meant to be ironic or not, as in the tradition of naming black slaves 'Caesar,' is not clear.

¹⁵ 'Pokanoket' indicates a cohesive and regionally specific group within the larger association of Wampanoags. Philip's Pokanokets were situated around the Mount Hope Peninsula that thrust into the Narragansett Bay on the border between the colonies of Plymouth and Rhode Island.

fishing boats and explorers who visited the coast at the end of the sixteenth century, and continuing through to the Pilgrims' first settlement in 1620. This contact had decimated the native population by introducing virulent European diseases, and realigned trading alliances by introducing new supplies and demands that reconfigured old trading relationships and social structures. The seventeenth century saw the Native Americans on the eastern coast of North America thrown into drastic social changes that realigned old alliances and threatened traditional community relations, as tribal power fluctuated accordingly as a result of ravaging disease, changing economic relationships, and social upheaval.¹⁶ In 1620 the Pilgrims allied themselves with a Wampanoag people who were themselves fighting for survival against disease, emigration, traditional enemies, and potentially the English; by the 1670s, the Wampanoag – like the English in Plymouth and the other New England colonies – were responding to much different political, social, and economic pressures.

In 1671 rumor reached Plymouth again that the Wampanoags were planning some kind of an attack and, more alarmingly, that they were doing so with an alliance of Native American forces. Fearful, Plymouth's officials brought Philip before them for a public examination. Perhaps remembering the mysterious fate of his brother, Philip acquiesced

¹⁶ There are a number of accounts of the impact that European contact had on the New England coast, including Daniel Richter, Facing East from Indian Country; Neal Salisbury, Manitou and Providence; Charles C. Mann, 1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus; Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America; and (more problematically) Jared Diamond, Guns, Germs, and Steel. All of these accounts work to explain, to greater or lesser degrees, the dramatic changes wrought on Native Americans' contact with European diseases, trade goods, and often their outright aggression, thus correcting the years of proclamations by Europeans (and later white Americans) that the Americas were an empty continent innocent of humans. Some of the most interesting contemporary accounts come from European settlers themselves, who far from finding empty land describe a space both inhabited and cultivated. For accounts that are particularly pertinent to this region, see especially Mourt's Relation.

to their demands for subservience, and agreed that his followers would turn over a large store of firearms they had amassed.¹⁷ What the large number of weapons were intended for was unclear: while they may have been for use against the English, they might just as easily have been for hunting (Native Americans at this time preferred the flintlock to the traditional bow for most hunting), or for defense against the Mohawks, their traditional enemies to the west. Whatever the case, distrust continued on all sides. Rumors of Philip's discontent and general anxiety about Native American violence persisted for the next several years, reaching a fever pitch in 1675. During this anxious period for the English colonists, their inconsistent policies of friendship, conversion, and hostility toward their Indian neighbors reflected incoherent and contradictory ideas of what the

¹⁷ The English fear of Indians armed with firearms goes back to the first settlements; it was at least partially the cause for Thomas Morton's expulsion from Plymouth in the early years of the colony. Each colony passed laws that attempted to limit Indian possession of firearms, from prohibiting sale to forbidding English blacksmiths from repairing Indian weapons. However, there was a consistent supply of guns to the Indians, from the French to the north, to the Dutch to the South, to illegal dealings with the Puritans themselves. Still, the fear persisted. See, for instance laws pertaining to the sale of firearms to the Indians in The Book of the General Lawes and Libertye Concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts (1648), 28. The 1660 version of these laws contains a section dedicated to the sale of guns to the Indians by the colonists in which fines are set for each offense, followed by a section banning the same practice on the part of the "Frenchman, Dutchman, or any person of any other Forreine nation whatsoever, or any English dwelling amongst them" (41). Where they got the authority for such a proclamation or how they planned to enforce it is not clear, but the laws certainly point to the importance of this commerce to the Court.

relationship between the Indians and the colonists should be politically, theologically, and socially.¹⁸

Into this volatile situation stepped John Sassamon. Sassamon was a Wampanoag who had converted to Christianity and attended Harvard College for a time in or around 1653.¹⁹ Though his stay at Harvard was brief, he seems to have learned to read and write English well enough to serve as both a translator and a negotiator in legal dealings between the Wampanoags and the English.²⁰ The English missionary John Eliot befriended Sassamon at an early age, and later employed Sassamon in an attempt to

¹⁸ Plymouth's relationship with Massasoit symbolizes the early truce between the Pilgrims of Plymouth and their nearest Indian neighbors, but as the English colonial project grew and diversified the different colonies of New England took a variety of stances toward their relationship with Indians. Famously, Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts Bay in 1636 at least partially as a result of his suggestion that colonists needed to recognize Native Americans' right to the land. While this view was rejected by most colonists, Williams insisted on purchasing from local Narragansetts the land that he settled on in southern New England and that would later make up the colony of Rhode Island. Williams further came to symbolize a kind of friendship with the Native Americans through his work [A Key Into the Language of America](#) (1643), in which he provides the first published guide to the Algonquin language. The best recent work investigating the impact of Roger Williams work on his Native American neighbors is Rubbertone's [Grave Undertakings](#) (2001), albeit from an archaeological perspective. See also Perry Miller, [Roger Williams](#) (1953), and Edmund Morgan, [Roger Williams](#) (1967). Bradford and Williams have been held up as symbols of productive and even friendly English-Indian relations, and while there is certainly truth to these narratives, the actuality of these interactions are often much more complicated. Attractive as the two men are as symbols, the narratives of friendship more complex that such easy representations first suggest.

¹⁹ Sassamon was of Neponset extraction, as opposed to Philip's Pokanokets. These two smaller groups were traditional allies within the larger umbrella of Wampanoag society.

²⁰ Interestingly, Sassamon's stay at the college pre-dated the building of the Indian College on the campus. For more information on the Indian College and its role in the events of the latter half of the seventeenth century, please see below chapter one.

convert Philip to Christianity during the 1670s.²¹ Those efforts were unsuccessful, and may have further inflamed Philip's anger toward the English.²²

Sassamon served as advisor and translator to Philip, though their relationship seems to have been tempestuous. By the mid-1670s Sassamon had given up living with other converted Praying Indians in towns under the protection of the English, in favor of an elevated post with the Wampanoag tribe close to the side of Philip. But Sassamon also seems to have cheated Philip in land negotiations with the English at least once, somehow capitalizing on his role as translator to reserve a portion of Philip's land for himself. This may have caused friction between the two, or the dispute may have arisen elsewhere: it is not clear if Philip was ever aware of Sassamon's double-dealing, and Sassamon's conflicted personality – caught as he was between two cultural groups – seems to have been difficult and changeable.

Whatever the cause of the break between the two men, in January of 1675 Sassamon left Philip's side to inform the Plymouth governor Josiah Winslow that the Wampanoags were planning to attack the English, thus destroying Philip's hope of a widespread surprise attack. Winslow was suspicious of Sassamon's information

²¹ Along with Roger Williams and Daniel Gookin, John Eliot came to symbolize the hopes for Indian conversion that many English had. Eliot was responsible for publishing a translation of the Bible into Algonquin, as well as an Indian grammar book The Indian Grammar Begun (1666), similar to Williams' earlier work. While Williams' work was often solitary and involved little in the way of organizing, both Gookin and Eliot worked to establish a number of Praying Indian towns during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The best recent work on the Praying Indians in colonial New England is Kristina Bros's Dry Bones and Indian Sermons (2004). See Cogley, John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War (1999); Jaffee, People of the Wachusett (1999); Salisbury, "Red Puritans: The 'Praying Indians' Of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot" (1974); Winslow, John Eliot (1968). For the most famous account of Indian converts published in the eighteenth century, see Experience Mayhew's Indian Converts, originally published in 1727, but now available as an annotated edition edited by Laura Arnold Leibman (2008).

²² Eliot's attempts to convert Philip are detailed in Cogley, John Eliot's Mission to the Indians Before King Philip's War (1999).

(possibly Sassamon's motivations were now suspect in both communities), and the governor gave the intelligence little credence until Sassamon's bruised and disfigured body was discovered frozen beneath the surface of the Assawompset Pond in the center of the Plymouth colony. Stories circulated that Sassamon had been murdered by Philip (or at his behest) for betraying the sachem's plan to the English. Philip voluntarily appeared before the Plymouth Council in February, but the colonial court found the scant evidence insufficient to try him for the crime. The inquest was repeated in March without his presence, but to the same ends. Soon thereafter a previously unknown eyewitness to the crime stepped forward: a Praying Indian who claimed to have seen Sassamon's murder at the hands of three of Philip's counselors. The three men were rounded up and put to trial before a jury made up of Plymouth's colonists and Praying Indians from a nearby settlement. The accused were found guilty based largely on the witness's testimony and were executed on the eighth of June, 1675.²³ The complexity of Sassamon's trial is worth underscoring: the trial involved Wampanoag defendants in some relation of hostility to the English; a Wampanoag victim whose loyalties shuttled between the Puritans and Philip; a jury made up of both English and Praying Indians; a reactionary colonial government; and an Indian witness of unknown provenance and questionable (to the Wampanoags) allegiances.

²³ While all three defendants were hung on this day, only two died: the rope seems to have failed on the third, and he was temporarily spared on the understanding that he would confess to his crimes. While he did talk at length to the Plymouth authorities, he was hung 'by the neck until dead' a short time later. For a book-length treatment of John Sassamon's murder trial and his role in the events leading up to the War, see Kawashima, *Igniting King Philip's War* (2001). See also Ronda and Ronda, "The Death of John Sassamon: An Exploration in Writing New England Indian History" (1974).

Philip was angered by the developing trial and especially by the executions of three of his people, as not only was the evidence against the three defendants questionable, but the jury itself was thought by many Wampanoags to have been stacked against any non-Christian Indian. Anger may have extended all the way back to the 1621 agreement that Massasoit made with Bradford that required Indians committing crimes against English to be brought before the Plymouth council, but made no such provisions for Indians wronged at the hands of the English.²⁴ Further, even if the events had transpired in the way that the court described, Sassamon's purported murder was a Wampanoag-on-Wampanoag crime, something over which Plymouth had no authority: the 1621 agreement gave the Plymouth jurisdiction over English colonists and extended to all English lands, but made no attempt to regulate land outside of the colony, and certainly had no provisions that imagined English law extending into the spaces of Native American society. English legal arguments remained implicit, but seem to be based on Sassamon's changeable nature with regard to English and Indian governments: since in his last acts Sassamon seemed to be siding with the English, he fell under their protection, presumably based on his (possible) conversion to Christianity, and extending after his death.²⁵

²⁴ As discussed in Bradford's history of the Plymouth colony, Of Plymouth Plantation, 88-89.

²⁵ The trial offers a revealing snapshot of the evolution of the English legal system as applied to colonial acquisitions. The authority of the English law seems to be dependent upon a number of things, including the religion of the victims and the accused, the location of the crime, the history of political treaties in the area, as well as the relative strength of both the claims, and the parties' abilities to enforce those legal claims. Interestingly, the collapse of legal authority as coterminous with claims of property and the assertion of modern forms of state citizenship are not to be found in this example, as the traditional English legal system is confused by the complexities of the colonial space.

Tensions increased in both the English and the Wampanoag communities through late spring and into the summer of 1675. Several Plymouth colonists reported menacing or vaguely threatening groups of Indians in the woods at the edge of villages, and one group of Wampanoags, painted as if for war, looted and burned the village of Swansea on the 20th of June, 1675. When the Wampanoags returned to Swansea on June 24th and killed nine colonists in their raid, both sides began to mobilize for a full-scale conflict. As they moved toward war both the Wampanoag leaders and Plymouth officials were quick to take stock of their allies and enemies, and messengers from each group crisscrossed New England to secure allegiance from prospective allies and determine the strength of potential foes. Plymouth worked to solidify its ties with the other English colonies, even extending overtures to often-excluded Rhode Island. The English also enlisted the help of their one-time enemies the Pequots, and pressured the large and powerful Narragansett tribe in central New England to remain at least neutral in the squabble.²⁶ Philip also turned to the Narragansetts, seeking promises of aid and hoping for a formal military alliance. These different representatives made their way around New England, forging friendships and testing loyalties, their negotiation of the physical geography reconfiguring the networks of mutual interest and obligation of the groups they visited. The political geography of the region was undergoing a rapid transformation even before the first battles were fought.

²⁶ Interestingly, the Pequot War (1636-7) was supposed to have wiped out the Pequot tribe. While the losers of the War certainly experienced massive losses, by adapting to their new conditions, accepting new members into their tribe, and becoming friends with their former enemies, they maintained their identity and became an important part of the political landscape in New England. See especially Cohen, The Networked Wilderness (2009), chapter four for the story of their persistence despite repeated claims to the contrary.

The tale of the war over the next year is complex. The four colonies of New England sent militiamen into the field, and as the war progressed these forces were heavily supplemented by Indian allies from the Pequots, Nipmucks, Mohegans and others. The Wampanoags' most powerful ally was a group of Narragansetts under the powerful sachem Canonchet, who eventually joined Philip after the English failed to secure their support in the opening of the war.²⁷ These lines were neither stark nor uncrossable: small but important groups of Christian Indians were unclear as to their allegiances throughout much of the conflict, and other groups such as the small Sakonnet community switched allegiances during the war, a move often credited with turning the tide for the English colonists. Among the English, the colonists in Rhode Island joined with the United Colonies, but this alliance seems to have been somewhat troubled and reluctant on both sides, as Rhode Island contained a large number of Quakers, who in addition to being shunned by the rest of New England for their religious views, also did not take part in violence and war, further alienating both the sect and Rhode Island as a colony. Both sides were mixed – religiously, racially, and politically – though in many

²⁷ Understanding the importance of the powerful Narragansett tribe to the region, the English attempted to broker an alliance with them as soon as the War began. Canonchet, the tribe's primary sachem, was reluctant, but eventually agreed to what was essentially a pledge of neutrality: he would urge his followers to ignore Wampanoag requests for military and financial aid. But powerful though Canonchet was, the Narragansetts were a large and diverse group, and as conditions in the War changed so did many of the tribe's relationship to their neighbors. After only a few months the English began to feel that the treaty was being ignored, citing the asylum that many Wampanoag women and children had found in Narragansett villages. These refugees were often harbored by blood relatives, as the two tribes were closely intertwined. The English's retaliation and subsequent attack led to the majority of the Narragansetts actively joining forces with Philip and the Wampanoags. At the center of the Narragansett group was again Canonchet, who eventually brought at least as many and possibly more warriors to the fight than did Philip, drawing as he did upon a much smaller population. Indeed, Canonchet's death was one of the turning points in the war, and was recognized as such by both sides, but Philip seems to have remained the emotional center of the group in the minds of both his allies and the English. See especially James B. Drake, King Philip's War (1999) 131-2.

ways the 'English' were the more diverse of the two, containing as they did antagonistic religious and political groups from the different colonies, as well as Native Americans who had converted to Christianity, and an important number of smaller tribes who politically opposed the Wampanoags or the Narragansetts, but who still followed traditional Native American religious practices. Both sides were marked by a mixture of different religious and political groups: both "Praying" and traditional Indians fought on either side, for instance, and the large Narragansett alliance seems to have contributed at least a few warriors to either side. This was not a conflict that divided its participants along religious or cultural lines, but rather a complicated political and military campaign for the control of central New England.

The initial successes by Philip's Wampanoags and their allies came through a series of ambushes and quick attacks on undefended and unprepared settlements. Small raiding parties of primarily Wampanoag warriors attacked English settlements isolated from military aid, burning homes, killing inhabitants, and occasionally taking prisoners. The warriors melted back into the woods or swamps before the town could be fortified by distant reinforcements. When the colonial militia did venture forth in small, poorly trained groups, Philip's men staged ambushes and traps that left the inexperienced English at their mercy. The encounters were small, and the militia was cut down in dribs and drabs through the fall and into the winter, debilitating the morale of the troops and the psychology of the populace at large.

The colonial militia's greatest early victory came in December of 1675: the Great Swamp Fight was an attack on a fortified winter encampment of assembled women and

children of the Wampanoags and their Narragansett allies, defended only by a small force of armed men.²⁸ Led to the hidden fortress of the Narragansetts by an Indian spy, the English militia surprised the settlement at dawn and proceeded to fight their way through the village, with high casualties on both sides. The village was vigorously defended, but unwavering English resolve and a relative scarcity of Narragansett warriors eventually allowed the English to break through into the interior of the winter camp. Once inside the palisade, the English soldiers' attacks were directed indiscriminately at armed foes and noncombatants. After securing the fort the captains of the militia ordered the tribe's food stores destroyed, leaving the Narragansetts without winter provisions. This also left the English without food for their march back to their settlements through a snap of unseasonable cold, and the tactical blunder almost led to the starvation of the victorious army, unprepared as they were for the season's frigid temperatures. Moreover, the display of English brutality in that victory forced more Narragansetts over to Philip's side. The loss of the large settlement and its provisions was debilitating for the Narragansetts and Wampanoags, and weakened their resolve as the cold winter continued, but the immediate result of the fight was to swell the ranks of Indians willing openly to confront an enemy that would make women and children targets of military aggression.²⁹

After this December battle the fighting slowed during the remainder of the bitter winter of

²⁸ The Great Swamp Fight (or Massacre) is perhaps the largest and most well known battle of the War. For a discussion on the significance of naming the battle, see Lepore, The Name of War (1998), 87-89. For the larger significance of the battle with regards to English-Indian treaties, see James D. Drake, King Philip's War (1999), 119-120. For an account of the battle itself see Leach, Flintlock and Tomahawk (1958), 128-135, and Pulsipher, Subject Unto the Same King (2007), 126-127.

²⁹ Mary Rowlandson famously categorizes the privations that the Narragansetts undergo in her description of her time with them, though whether or not she is able to identify this as an unusual state for her captors, or whether or not she is even aware of the Great Swamp Fight is unclear. See Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, 1997.

1675-6, but with the exception of this one victory, success remained largely in the hands of those who opposed the English. Just exactly which groups comprised this opposition and how they could be identified away from an equally amorphous battlefield continued to vex the frightened colonists.

Victory, however, eluded Philip's grasp: without access to their cropland, cut off from winter provisions, and their last stores drying up, his alliance began to falter in the late spring and summer of 1676. Changing tactics on the side of the militia led to a string of English victories, culminating in the capture and execution of the powerful Narragansett sachem Canonchet in April. While Native American war parties continued to raid and destroy any settlements left undefended, the English increasingly relied upon larger bodies of battle-tested militiamen supplemented and often guided by increasing numbers of Indian allies from the Christian Indian communities, along with the Mohegans and other allies. Learning from the early raids that thin-walled houses were easily overrun, the colonists began to collect in villages with one or more 'block houses': fortified private residences with thick walls and defensive provisions that were easily defended and hard to destroy by Indian warriors lacking artillery. The English militiaman and Rhode Island resident Benjamin Church eventually brokered a treaty with the Sakonnets, and the warriors and knowledge provided by this group helped the English forces and their allies go on the offensive. The fighting continued through the summer, though Philip's followers were quickly diminishing and faced an increasingly bleak outlook. By the time Philip was killed by an Indian soldier in August of 1676, his confederacy had all but collapsed, and the English colonists had begun to return to the

homes they had vacated over the previous year. Those Indians who continued to fight were either killed in mopping-up operations by the now-seasoned English militia, or surrendered in an attempt to win some mercy from their enemies.

This mercy was rarely given. Hostile Indians who survived the brutal conflict and the widespread starvation and disease that followed were almost certainly sold into slavery in the West Indies upon their surrender.³⁰ That is, if they avoided outright execution: the heads of Indian leaders killed in battle or executed in the months after Philip's death decorated pikes alongside roads leading into major Puritan settlements for twenty years to come. Philip himself met with a grisly death: after he was killed by an Indian soldier, his corpse was cut up, and pieces of it were distributed as a reward to the colonists' Indian allies, while his head greeted visitors from a pike outside Plymouth, where it moldered for some twenty years.³¹

The English also suffered dramatically. By the end of the war half of the English towns in New England had been severely damaged or destroyed by fighting, and for a time in the spring of 1676 the colonists were driven back to a narrow band of settlements hugging the coastline; further, the English colonial economy was devastated for a generation to come, and one in every sixteen men of military age was killed.³² However tragic the early days of the War were for the English colonists, there is little doubt that their enemies suffered more militarily, politically, and eventually culturally. For the

³⁰ Lepore has a comprehensive account of slavery during and after the war: see The Name of War (1998), 154-167.

³¹ For more information on Philip's demise and dismemberment, see Lepore, The Name of War (1998), 174-5.

³² See the introduction of Slotkin and Folsom's So Dreadfull a Judgment, 3-4, for a brief summary of the effects of the war on the English community.

Native Americans of New England the loss of life, property, and land pushed many groups to the edge of destruction: the Wampanoags were devastated, but also reeling were the Narragansetts, the Nipmucs, and others of the region.³³ This social and political geography of New England had been drastically altered by the war itself, but writing about the war also reconfigured the relationships that had formed or evaporated as the war progressed.

Situating the Historical Event

King Philip's War is not unique as an illustration of the horrors of colonial war, nor is it peerless in its combination of military, political, religious, cultural, and racial concerns into one dramatic conflict. King Philip's War is situated alongside a series of colonial wars, following the bloody Pequot War in New England (1636-1637), and preceding some sixty years of French and Indian wars that began with King William's War (1689-97) and ended with the Seven Years' War in 1763, also known as the French and Indian War. Each of these conflicts differs in its actors and its specific social and political concerns, but together they represent a wider military and political context for King Philip's War that colors its historical and literary situation. The War is not an isolated incident, but is a part of a larger pattern of colonial violence and military conflict.

The Pilgrims' first contact with the Indians was marked by violence and remembered as "The First Encounter," but Plymouth's relationship with local Native

³³ See especially Leach 245-249 for a brief look at changing world of the Native Americans. See also the collection After King Philip's War edited by Colin Calloway for a collection of essays that examine how Native American life changed in New England in the decades following the war.

Americans has been famously characterized as largely one of mutual respect and benefit, as memorialized by innumerable Thanksgiving pageants.³⁴ Whatever the Wampanoag sachem Massasoit's motivations, there is little doubt that the deal he struck with William Bradford ensured the communities' enduring peace as the English grew their colony from a few rude buildings to an established settlement by mid-century. Massasoit also benefitted, gaining what he saw as a potentially powerful ally against inland tribes such as the Narragansetts, and securing land emptied by disease against incursions by his enemies to the north or south. While Squanto came to symbolize English-Indian friendship in elementary school plays, it was the leader Massasoit and his English counterpart William Bradford who forged a real calm between the Pilgrims in Plymouth and their Wampanoag neighbors that lasted for some fifty years.³⁵

This picture of cross-cultural cooperation falls far short of encompassing all English-Native American conflict in the first half of the seventeenth century, as demonstrated by the number and diversity of wars in North America during the colonial period. The small colony of Plymouth's relationship with its nearest Indian neighbor was generally peaceful while their leaders remained on good terms, but after the founding of Massachusetts Bay in 1630 and its explosive growth over the next decade, the Puritans of that northernmost English colony quickly found themselves at odds with the tribes

³⁴ The "First Encounter" was recorded in the publication that has since become known as Mourt's Relation (1663), 35-37, and is also related by Bradford in Of Plymouth Plantation (1981), 76-77.

³⁵ Bradford catalogues this relationship in Of Plymouth Plantation, but numerous histories of the colony have been written since then, including Samuel Morison's The Story of the "Old Colony" of New Plymouth, 1620-1692 (1956); Jennings' The Invasion of America (1975); and more recently Alden Vaughn's New England Frontier (1995); and Philbrick, Mayflower (2006). For a collection of biographies of the first colonist see Stratton, Plymouth Colony (1986); for a similar biography of Massasoit that includes descriptions of his relationship with Squanto, Samoset, and other Native Americans, see Weeks, Massasoit of the Wampanoags (1919).

surrounding their settlements on the Bay and the Charles River. Tensions grew during the 1630s as the Great Migration swelled the towns along the coast and the Puritan settlers failed to compensate local tribes for their encroachment. By the time the Pequot War broke out in 1636, each of the English colonies stood in varying degrees of friendship with one another, but they also had ties of allegiance to a number of Indian tribes in New England. The Pequots fought the Puritan colonists and their Narragansett allies in a war best remembered for the Mystic Fort fight, in which the English soldiers attacked and destroyed a Pequot village, slaughtering men, women, and children. Remembering the devastation of the scene, William Bradford lamented, “It was a fearful sight to see them [the Pequots] thus frying in the fire and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stink and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they [the English] gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them.”³⁶ The devastation seems to have been key to the colonists’ success, but it also horrified their Indian allies unused to European ways of war. When the same tactics were repeated years later during King Philip’s War, they were similarly devastating, though with the Narragansetts as the recipients of the aggression. Connecticut, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay formally unified in 1643 to prepare for and prevent future conflicts with local tribes through a show of strength. The religious and political interests excluded Roger Williams’ colony at Rhode Island, but the entirety of New England – English and Native American – seems to have benefitted from the

³⁶ Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation* (1981), 331. See also contemporary accounts by Mason, *A Brief History of the Pequot War* (1971); and Gardiner, *A History of the Pequot War* (1860); and Cave’s recent history, *The Pequot War* (1996).

stability imparted by the organization, and the years between 1637 and 1675 remained relatively quiet in New England.³⁷

The study of King Philip's War often participates in what might be called a "New England Exceptionalism" that largely ignores events south of New Haven. Expanding the geographic frame slightly situates the War alongside events occurring up and down the eastern coast of North America during the colonial period. South of New England in Virginia, England's first successful colony in North America, the years prior to 1675 were marked by a series of conflicts in Virginia loosely known as the Powhatan Wars from the 1610s to 1640s. These wars broke the fragile peace between the early settlements in Virginia and their Indian neighbors, and forever fractured the fantasy of Indian-English cooperation symbolized by the Pocahontas tale.³⁸ Similar to the later wars in New England, these conflicts eventually rearranged the political and trade alliances of the tidewater region to benefit the English. Like Squanto to the north, the story of Pocahontas 'saving' Captain John Smith has endured as the symbol of Indian-English relations, covering over the fact that the region was wracked by a series of conflicts that continued throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, and ended only when the Powhatans' ability to resist was broken by the English. The most famous single battle of

³⁷ For a detailed history of the United Colonies, see Ward, The United Colonies of New England (1961).

³⁸ John Smith's story of his purported rescue by Pocahontas appears in his General History of Virginia (2008). Recent studies of the relationship and its meaning for the Jamestown colony include Woodward, Pocahontas (1980); Townsend, Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma (2005); Allen, Pocahontas (2004); Price, Love and Hate in Jamestown (2003); and a version of the story culled from oral histories of Pocahontas from the Indians of the region by Custalow and Daniel, The True History of Pocahontas (2007). There are many historical studies of colonial Virginia, but for a thorough recent study of the region within the Atlantic context but still attentive to the impact of the settlement on Native Americans, see Hatfield, Atlantic Virginia (2004). Other studies of colonial Virginia's relationship with surrounding tribes include, Gleach, Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia (2000); Williamson, Powhatan Lords of Life and Death (2008); and Kupperman, The Jamestown Project (2009).

this period was the Jamestown Massacre of 1622, when a surprise attack on the English colonists by their Indian servants and trading partners claimed a larger percentage of a single settlement's English population than did King Philip's War.³⁹ Rivaling King Philip's War in its drama, this quick, bloody attack decimated what was then the dominant English settlement on the continent.

In a story similar to the war that would later rock New England, the Powhatan Wars combined military, social, political, and economic concerns, as Eastern tribes attempted to consolidate their power in the face of the encroaching English along the coast and their traditional inland rivals above the fall line. Like the conflicts to the north, those in Virginia did not end at the close of the last of Powhatan's Wars in 1646, and in 1675-76 – the same years during which King Philip's War raged to the north – Bacon's Rebellion swept through the tidewater region of Virginia. This war also found its roots in English-Native American conflict, but the primary fighting took place not along racial lines (however complicated), but among different factions of English settlers.⁴⁰ While the initial complaints by the leader Nathaniel Bacon and his rebels concerned the colony's failure to protect them from attacks on their farms by Native Americans, the loosely

³⁹ For the story of the Jamestown Massacre – also called the 'Massacre of 1622,' 'Powhatan's Attack,' or the 'Great Assault' – see the section in Rountree's Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough (2005), titled "The Great Assault of 1622."

⁴⁰ For a full history of Bacon's Rebellion see Washburn, The Governor and the Rebel (1957); and Wertenbaker, Bacon's Rebellion, (1957). For a critical edition of a contemporary account of the War see Oberg's edition of Samuel Wisemen's Book of Record (2005). For a version of the events of 1676 that is possibly most relevant for this study, see Webb, 1676 (1984), in which the author links the events of Bacon's Rebellion to those of King Philip's War through their effects on the Indian populations of the Atlantic Coast on one hand, and the English colonists' relationship to the British Crown on the other hand. Webb's evaluation of Native American history is ultimately largely circumstantial, and his centralization of the events of 1676 for English colonization seems a bit overwrought, but the book is provocative in how it attempts an analysis that simultaneously understands Native American history and the transatlantic nature of the English colonial adventure.

organized group of freeholders later turned their attention to a number of perceived abuses by the colonial government. Bacon's ragtag militia raided a number of Indian villages, but these were almost an afterthought with regard to the larger, anti-aristocratic concerns of his movement. They were not incidental to the Native Americans affected, though, and they rightly perceived the colony's preoccupation with its relationship with London as a sign of the increasing marginalization of Native American political concerns to the Jamestown establishment. More than just one in a string of Indian conflicts, Bacon's Rebellion represents a subsiding of Virginia's preoccupations about Native American hostilities, and a turning of attention back to the east in the face of rising tensions within the population of English colonists and growing conflicts with overseers in London. While the conflicts in Virginia had their local particularities, they offer a contextualization necessary to understand the events of the Atlantic coast within a large, loosely connected network, and not as a series of isolated and unique incidents.

Aside from the English colonies of Virginia and New England, the Dutch colony of New Netherlands also played an important role in defining the Indian-European relationship during this period. Although the importance of the Dutch is often overlooked, they helped to shape the colonial history of the Atlantic seaboard.⁴¹ Henry Hudson first explored the river that now bears his name in 1609, sailing north as far as present-day Albany, NY, though the first permanent Dutch settlement was not founded until 1613 and the real growth of the colony came in the middle of the seventeenth

⁴¹ There was also a small and short-lived colony of New Sweden on the Delaware River (1638-1655), but in terms of its size, and its impact beyond its limited boundaries was negligible. For more information, see the collection New Sweden in America (1995), edited by Hoffecker; and Ward, New Sweden on the Delaware (1938).

century. The Dutch focused on exploiting the fur trade with Native Americans – especially beaver skins to feed a rapacious European market – as opposed to the more settlement-minded English. Their relationships with the Indian tribes have often been overlooked, but the Dutch colonists had a number of conflicts with their Native American neighbors before the English took over the colony in 1664.⁴² There were three named conflicts during Dutch control of the Hudson River Valley: Kieft’s War (1643-5), sparked by the colony’s director Willem Keift against an association of Algonquin Indians, including the Lenape and the Wappani; and the First and Second Esopus Wars (1659-60 and 1663), between Dutch settlers and the Esopus Indians of the upper Hudson River Valley, as the latter attempted to resist the growing settlement efforts of the colonists.⁴³

Though the English colonists in New England were not directly affected by these wars – neither battles nor refugees seem to have spilled over into the nearby Connecticut River Valley – the settlers were connected indirectly by news passing from Algonquian-speaking nations along the coast, linking the Algonquian peoples of the Hudson River Valley with those of New England to the northeast and those of Virginia to the southwest.

⁴² Most of the work done on the Dutch colonial effort in North America has focused on central role of the port of New Amsterdam to the trade and shipping of the European colonies to the de-emphasis of the larger colony, where interactions with Indians was more regular, intimate, and fraught with controversy. Two notable exceptions to this rule are Merwick, The Shame and the Sorrow (2006); and Otto, The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America (2006). For a contemporary description of the settlement of New Netherland that focuses on the European explorers’ description of the Indians see van der Donck’s recently translated and republished A Description of New Netherland (2008). For nineteenth-century descriptions of the founding, growth, and fall of New Netherlands to the English, see Dunlap, History of the New Netherlands (1839-40); and O’Callaghan, History of New Netherland; or, New York under the Dutch (2003). Both of these focus primarily on the relationships between the competing European powers for the colony. For a brief description of Dutch-Indian trade goods see Jacobs and Shattuck, “Beavers for Drink, Land for Arms” (1996); and Roever, “Merchandises for New Netherland” (1996).

⁴³ There does not seem to be a great deal of standardization in terms of the names of these wars. Otto, for instance, names these wars the First, Second, and Third Dutch-Munsee Wars, and sees them of a piece; The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America (2006), see especially chapters four and five. See also Merwick, The Same and the Sorrow (2006), chapters eleven through thirteen.

Trade and information patterns linked the different Indian groups of New England with their neighbors to the south. The Dutch traded firearms and other goods to the Native Americans, and the New England colonists were acutely aware that the Iroquois to their southwest were in a tense alliance with England's European rivals. New Netherlands cut off overland travel by English colonists from New England to Virginia, and complicated seagoing travel, but also introduced a series of complicating conflicts and alliances with the Native Americans of the region, relationships that dictated the development of the region for a century to come. After England wrested control of the Hudson Valley in 1664 and New Netherland became the colony of New York, the imperial nature of these conflicts waned, but New England colonists and Indians remained in an uneasy relationship with their neighbors along the Hudson, owing partially to the difference in their historical colonial relationship with the people of this important transportation corridor, as well as to differing religious and cultural patterns.

Within this larger context of European-Native American conflict along the Atlantic seaboard of North America, King Philip's War stands not as an exception in the midst of a century of relative peace, but rather as yet another local war between European colonists and the Native American tribes nearest them. While both the Pequot War and King Philip's War crossed the colonial boundaries defined by the English, even these wars were contained regionally, and none of the wars escalated beyond the geographic boundaries that kept both the European colonists and their Native American neighbors relatively isolated during this period on the Atlantic coast. The bloodshed of King Philip's War is striking, but not remarkably so when viewed alongside the Jamestown

Massacre of 1622, or the devastation visited upon local Indians during Kieft's War. Even the bloody tactics of the King Philip's War, important though they were to the success of the English, are not out of keeping with the other conflicts of the colonial period. When viewed in terms of its martial concerns or immediate political outcomes, King Philip's War seems quite of a piece with similar wars of the early colonial period.

Why King Philip?

There are some aspects of King Philip's War that do single it out for particular attention and worthy of detailed study, even when considering its similarities to other conflicts of the seventeenth century. It is the last war in colonial America that did not involve professional soldiers dispatched from Europe. It is also the last major colonial conflict that did not have a direct and immediate European counterpart. When King William's War broke out in 1689 it was but one minor theater within the much larger War of the Grand Alliance (or the War of the League of Augsburg or Nine Years' War, 1688-97), in which England and France fought for international supremacy. When the War of Spanish Succession broke in 1701, its North American theater was known as Queen Anne's War, and like that which preceded it, the War was marked by its confused local variation on the international conflict. From the end of King Philip's War until the end of the colonial period, each time war swept North America it was part of the larger battle for political dominance between European powers. No longer would military

conflict have strictly colonial meaning, but instead would participate in a broader international context.⁴⁴

Without professional English troops in New England, King Philip's War was also fought entirely by a poorly trained and scantily equipped colonial militia.⁴⁵ Without either a navy or large artillery, the colonists squared off against their Native American foes on roughly equal technological footing in terms of their firearms – both groups used smooth-bore flintlock muskets – forcing political negotiation and inter-colonial negotiations to the fore if the leaders hoped for success. Lacking overwhelming numbers and superior firepower, the political leaders in New England saw diplomatic negotiations of political alliances as the primary means for English success, and these discussions took place entirely within the colonial space and without European oversight. English colonists were forced to resolve the conflict locally without recourse to European military might or political intervention.

This is not to say that 1675 saw nothing new in terms of the colonies' technological resources, for beyond the muskets of its soldiers the colonies had a tool that

⁴⁴ For a collected history of all of the French and Indian wars, from King William's War to the end of the French and Indian war, see Peckham, The Colonial Wars (1965). See also Leach, Roots of Conflict (1989). Both of these works have a definite focus on the wars' effects on English colonists and importance to the growth of an English colonial mindset. For a version of the period that focuses on the complicated negotiations and alliances of Native Americans, see Steele, Warpaths (1995). See also Richter, Facing East from Indian Country (2001), 151-188.

⁴⁵ Some of the officers in the militia had seen military action during the English civil wars, but the grave majority of the soldiers in the conflict had no professional military service. This inexperience was blamed for many of the Colonists' early losses, as the untested farmers and tradesmen were unequal to the task before them. The officers have often been singled out for particular criticism, as their lack of qualification – they were chosen due as much to their social standing as to any military aptitude – was thrown into relief by the complex colonial war. After military leaders gave more attention to training and provisions the militiamen got better, and by the end of the War they were fighting as a much more cohesive and confident group. For more information on the backgrounds of the soldiers in the War see George Bodge, Soldiers in King Philip's War (1967).

meant more for the communities' social and cultural identity: King Philip's War was the first war to sweep through New England after the establishment of the printing press in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1638. This made the war the first that colonists wrote about and published on within the new colonial print market; King Philip's War was the first war in colonial America over which the amount of ink spilt rivaled that of blood. The first printing press in England's North American colonies came over in 1638 and was established at the infant Harvard College in Cambridge, but was used only sparingly in the first decade or so of its existence, and then only for religious tracts. After mid-century, however, with the arrival of a second press and the increased activity of the first, the colonial print culture developed dramatically, and by the time of the War there was a significant publishing industry centered in Cambridge, and then on the other side of the Charles River in Boston, where an independent press was established in 1674. While the atmosphere was certainly not that of Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia and the fully developed newspaper culture of the eighteenth century, the War did find its way into a growing print market in the colonies at a moment in the print history of the colonies that represented a radical break from the decades prior to the 1670s.⁴⁶

Similar to the recent changes in the print culture of the colonies were the social changes that the Puritan community went through during the 1660s. One such social

⁴⁶ For a detailed story about the rising print culture in the colonies and the role of King Philip's War in that rise please see below, chapters one and two. For a discussion of the rise of printing in the colonies see Benjamin Franklin's famous account of his role in that growth in his Autobiography (1986), and Lemay's lengthy history of that involvement, The Life of Benjamin Franklin (2005-8). For an interesting early history of the establishment of printing in English North America see Thomas, The History of Printing in America (1988, first published 1874); Warner's The Letters of the Republic (1990) remains the best investigation into the social and political impact of the rise of print in the eighteenth-century. For an examination of literacy in colonial New England as it impacts the history of printing and the book in the region see the work of David Hall, especially the collection Cultures of Print (1996).

technology was the Half-Way Covenant, which allowed the Puritan clergy to extend church membership beyond the dwindling numbers of professing and covenanted elect, offering greater enfranchisement to the New England population and continuing the church's influence in the face of wavering religious sentiments. Following the increase in immigration in the 1630s, dissenters in the young colonies developed distinctly New England traditions for testing church membership, emphasizing the public testimony of faith above all else. With the rise of the second generation of English colonists after the mid-century, fewer churchgoers underwent the rigors of the public declaration of faith, and covenanted membership fell even while attendance at church remained high. The clergy relaxed the rules for membership in 1662, allowing the children (and later the grandchildren) of full, professing members to enjoy some of the rights of membership without performing their conversion publicly. These partial members could not vote on matters of church governance – that remained a privilege of full members – but they could partake in the communion and other rites.⁴⁷

The Half-Way Covenant served to shore up support for the Puritan clergy by effectively extending membership and thus ministerial influence. The doctrine was originally imagined as a way to encourage more full members in the church: their appetite

⁴⁷ The formulation and adoption of the Half-Way Covenant was a complicated process that evolved over a number of years, and the full social and theological repercussions of this process have been debated almost since its inception. The minister Solomon Stoddard was one of the proponents of the agreement, and while it passed an assembly in Boston in 1662, the diffuse and de-centralized nature of the Congregationalist order meant that it was adopted slowly and in fits through the remainder of the next decade. Eventually it would gain wide support during the last two decades of the seventeenth century, though it would be a point of contention during the reforms of the Congregational Church during the First Great Awakening and at the hands of Jonathan Edwards' (grandson of Solomon Stoddard) New Lights during the 1730s and 40s. For a comprehensive history of the Half-Way Covenant and its importance during the seventeenth century see Miller, The New England Mind (1953), especially chapters six and seven.

whetted by partial membership, more people would be enticed to undergo the rigors of becoming a full member. This seems to have had only limited effect, but the social compromise did allow more of the colonists to take part in the life of the church. The Puritan clergy saw a reduction in church membership through mid-century, as well as increasing checks on their power from the Crown, and the Half-Way Covenant helped to re-center the church within the life of the colonies and extend ministerial influence into the second half of the seventeenth century. When King Philip's War broke out in 1675 it tested this newly redrawn order, and the religious leaders of the colonies were the first to meet the military challenges of war with Philip. The point is worth underscoring, for the War represented the first significant secular event to challenge the clergy after the reworking of their political and religious influence by the Half-Way Covenant. Ministers met the Indian threat on the battlefield, in the pulpit, and in the press: a tripartite conflict, the contours of which were outlined by the clerical negotiations of the 1660s.

The political and cultural changes in England were even more dramatic following the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 and the resumption of monarchical rule. New England avoided the most dramatic aspects of the civil strife that swept through England and Ireland in the 1640s and 1650s, but they were not entirely cut off from the disputes of those years. While New England Puritans were largely sympathetic to Cromwell's Protectorate, their relationship was often a complicated one, and this complexity only increased when Charles II returned to the throne. The King sought to quell the disturbances that had led to the English Civil Wars, and the Puritan colonies in New

England were an obvious symbol of the religious disputes that had led to the conflicts.⁴⁸ His reach was neither swift nor sure, for while Charles II kept a closer watch on the colonies than had previous leaders, the western edge of the Atlantic remained peripheral to the throne's concerns until the revocation of the charter for Massachusetts Bay in 1684.⁴⁹

Intricacies of Royal authority aside, the War represents a post-Restoration test of both the new political order and the cultural identity that tied the increasingly far-flung English Empire together. New England colonists were politically suspect in the eyes of the new government, and the War tested the allegiance of those whose loyalty was questionable, if not overtly questioned. When King Philip and his followers attacked their New England neighbors in 1675, the Native American alliance vented its wrath against colonies that had been weakened politically by the rise of an unsympathetic Royal administration.⁵⁰ The colonists' reaction must be measured not only for their articulation of unity, but also for how that unity negotiates the tenuous construction of a transatlantic Englishness stretched, torn, and patched by the events of the previous quarter-century. In England this period of social and political upheaval resulted in the transformation of the political constitution of the state – particularly following the Glorious Revolution of 1688

⁴⁸ There are many good histories of the Restoration and its importance to the political life of the growing English Empire. Two recent books of note are De Krey, Restoration and Revolution in Britain (2007), and Harris, Restoration (2005).

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the political and religious controversies that led to the revocation of the charter see Miller, The New England Mind (1953), especially chapters 10 and 11.

⁵⁰ James Drake's King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-6 (1999) considers how the War participates in colonial negotiations of allegiance. By viewing the conflict through the model of European civil war, and with the English civil wars of the 1640s and 1650s haunting the text, Drake provides a look at the conflict that recognizes that political authority within the English empire is one aspect of the conflict. The analysis is not without its shortcomings, but it does provide a useful shift in focus.

– and the cultural changes that launched the nation into modernity.⁵¹ New England participated in the changes back in the home country and contributed its own set of concerns to the evolving construction of Englishness; the reaction to King Philip’s War represents one such test of the post-Restoration English nation.

The War in Literature

King Philip’s War holds a unique position within colonial literature, based at least in part on its status as the first war in New England after the establishment of the press first in Cambridge and later in Boston. While it was certainly not the first war to be written about contemporaneously – a number of wars had been reported on and discussed in London – it was the first war to be discussed in both locations, thus allowing for a comparison between those two different markets. The historical particularities of the War made their way into an increasingly complicated print market on both sides of the Atlantic. The literature from the War both reflects and shapes this representation, and the study of the literature in light of these historical circumstances reveals how literary work responds dynamically to the political and social concerns of its producers and consumers.

King Philip’s War was not the first conflict to spark a community debate over its significance. Following the Pequot war of 1637 the London press was the stage for the debate between John Underhill’s Newes from America: or, A New and Experimentall Discovery of New England and Philip Vincent’s A True Relation of the Late Battell

⁵¹ There are numerous accounts of England’s transformations during the seventeenth century, but for the purposes of this study the most useful has been Armstrong and Tennenhouse’s The Imaginary Puritan (1992), in which the authors look specifically at the rise of the private modern individual as reflected in the literature of post-Restoration England.

Fought in New-England (both 1638) debated the significance of the war for the colony and its Puritan mission.⁵² But while these publications certainly held at their center a debate over the makeup of the colonial endeavor, as a result of the rather limited size of the English community in New England at this time, and the relatively restricted print sphere, that war did not engender the kind of social and cultural transformations that King Philip's War initiated.⁵³ There are military similarities between the two conflicts – both wars were marked by an evolution of tactics and technologies of battle – and in some ways the narratives they produced reflect a similarly embattled Christian community. But unlike the Pequot War, New England's reaction to King Philip's War caused a shift in the community's self-representation, one that drew upon the proto-national understanding of the covenant of grace, but revised the religious implications of this theory in ways that produced a racialized, pan-Christian community. This shift allowed the English in New England to transcend the bitter inter-colonial religious rivalries and paved the way for a more secular understanding of the Puritan mission, and also had the effect of racializing the community in a way that it had not been heretofore. These changes were reflected in and produced by the subsequent literature on the war, but also in the demographics and social makeup of the colonies themselves. This shift inflected the relationship between England and the colonies with a tension regarding the colonies' changing identity, despite the colonists' attempts to influence the perception of New England in the minds of the English readership.

⁵² See, for instance, Slotkin, Regeneration Through Violence (2000), 69-78.

⁵³ Connecticut, for instance, was not even organized until 1639. While the press at Cambridge did arrive in 1639, it was largely inactive during its early years, and always under close control by the authorities in Boston. See especially Hugh Amory, Bibliography and the Book Trades, 106-120.

Histories of the war began to appear almost before the war itself was over: Puritan Ministers Increase Mather and William Hubbard published accounts of the war in 1676 and 1677 respectively, and Mather published another revised history also in 1677. Thereafter, the war has rarely escaped the notice of anyone discussing the history of New England during the seventeenth century, though attempts to come to some consensus on the meaning of the war have often been unsuccessful. Many early accounts are colored by a Puritan theology attempting to view worldly events through a religious prism (Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana, for instance), while through the nineteenth century many historians of the United States were only ever able to see the War as a precursor to the American Revolution.

Recent scholarship on the war has tended to broaden the field of inquiry to encompass the full scope of the war's cultural, social, and even racial implications. Often beginning with Douglass Leach's 1958 history of the war Flintlock and Tomahawk, in which the author reverts into tired clichés of "civilization" and "savagery," scholars have built on Leach's archival work to conceptualize the war not as a stepping stone on the path toward 1776, or a clash of civilizations, but instead as conflict that concretized social differences into military alliances, even as it changed the social landscape of the region. As an example, Jill Lepore's excellent 1998 study, The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity, also engages in a search for origins. For Lepore the "litteral advantage" separates the Indians from the English: literacy and print culture are an unbridgeable divide between the colonists and the Indians. As convincing as this argument may be, and as eloquently as she describes the subtleties of battle and culture

that lead her to this assertion, ultimately her argument implies the ‘clash of civilizations’ simplification that she herself tries to avoid.⁵⁴ Like many historians before her, Lepore’s study finds ‘America’ implicit in the events of 1675-6, as if Philip, Canonchet, and his peers release the nationalism latent in the Puritan colonists.

Literary historians, on the other hand, have been quick to skip over the details of the War and ignore the conflict’s social and cultural implications, while embracing the genre that it inspired: the captivity narrative based on Mary Rowlandson’s experiences as a prisoner of war. Critics such as Perry Miller and Sacvan Bercovitch treated the war as more of a clerical thought-piece than event: it served merely as an instance of community meditation on Puritan theology, less important ideologically than the Half-Way Covenant or the Salem Witch Trials of 1692-3.⁵⁵ Bercovitch, for instance, is right to note the detailed way in which the clergy’s response to the war transformed the jeremiad into the most important Puritan genre, but he fails to account for the larger changes of the community beyond this generic shift, or what role genre plays not just in reflecting, but in creating those changes. Other literary critics have ignored the events of the War itself in a rush toward the larger concerns of the Indian captivity narrative, but without examining the specifics of Rowlandson’s narrative in the context of the event that produced it.

Beyond Rowlandson’s text, few works from this time have gained much attention for

⁵⁴ I do not want to detract from the power and importance of Lepore’s book, for the vibrancy of her prose and the reach of her arguments remains provocative over a decade after its initial publication. When she asserts that “In the end, this book is just another story about just another war, but happily, along the way it is also a murder mystery, an adventure story, and a tale of peril on the high seas” (xxii), she implies the way in which her narrative is compelling for both its originality of thought and its attention to the literary aspects of the event. My work exists beside and not in opposition to hers, as well as exploring tracks that would have been impossible if not for her prior investigations.

⁵⁵ See Miller, The New England Mind: From Colony to Province (1953), 27-39; Bercovitch The American Jeremiad (1978), 80-3.

their literary merit. This is not to say that there were not poems, personal accounts, and sermons regarding the war – indeed, the presses at Cambridge and later in Boston were increasingly prolific in the waning years of the seventeenth century – but rather that these texts were often considered as unworthy of study, or of interest only to religious historians. For literary critics, it is almost as if the War is produced by the captivity narrative and entirely contained thereby; historians take almost the opposite view, suggesting that the circumstances of the event led unproblematically to generic change.

Comprehensive study of the legacy of King Philip's War demands attention to the literary aspects of the War while recognizing that the historical context is not independent from the texts it produces. The complexity and richness of the newsbook accounts and jeremiads of the war call for a nuanced approach to the events that the texts recount and to the texts' language, as well as to the history of their publication. More than simply recording the events of the War, the English responded to the Wampanoag threat with publications that showed a community forced to change its conception of itself in the face of bloody conflict. In this context Mary Rowlandson's text emerges first as one woman's account of the tragedy of the War, before being refigured by the pressures of the print market and a changing conception of the Puritan community into the prototypical captivity narrative, a move that happens around the text, but out of the problems posed in her narrative. Rather than positing that this war represents a preordained and understandable outgrowth of early Puritan actions toward the Indians on one hand, or that it should be read as clearing the way for the colonists' rush inland and the eventual establishment of the United States on the other, the contemporary texts about the War

depict a more complicated vision of how this war changed the people and the culture of the region during the closing decades of the seventeenth century, one that centralizes the technologies of literature in communal self-definition. The diversity of the people's experiences and the textual representations of them disrupt pat notions of Puritan cohesion or simplistic understandings of community evolution, and point instead to a fragmentary response to the logistical pressures of war that was only later solidified into an overarching theory of the War's significance to the Puritans.

Looking Ahead

This investigation finds its roots in colonial literature and history, in the events of King Philip's War and the texts that it produced, but moves beyond these initial points of departure to consider how this archive is a laboratory for the study of the relationship between genre and knowledge on one hand, and literature and the construction of (proto-) national community on the other. Because of its unique place in the history of the colonies, as well as its positioning within literary studies of Puritan New England, King Philip's War is an example not just of how one community faced a crisis of self-definition, but how that crisis was influenced by and in turn is reflected in the literature it produced. In this conception, genre is more than literary form, but represents a social technology with implications for the broader production of knowledge: following the use and production of genre in narrative demonstrates not simply a literary history, but a map of how narrative constructs knowledge in tension with the conventions of genre simultaneously hem in and catalyze reading.

Chapter one considers the documents that introduced King Philip's War to its London audience in 1675 and '76, as these different versions of the war competed for the attention of an English audience. These newsbooks served as the first record of Philip in London, describing the facts of the War and taking part in the transatlantic project of colonial self-definition. This colonial address of the metropole demonstrates how the process of reporting on the War did more than inform a concerned parent nation of its children's troubles: this starting point at the nexus of journalism, history, and literature helps trace how King Philip's War produced new genres to explain its importance to a transatlantic English audience, and how literary genre in turn influenced the reception and understanding of events as history. In this moment, as the colonists addressed London in a reaffirmation of their Englishness, a subtle shift was registered in print between the way that people on either side of the Atlantic perceived the shared – but now geographically split – national culture.

Chapter two turns to the most famous literary document produced by the War – Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative – and examines how it became the first best seller of the New England colonies, and then the founding text of the influential captivity narrative genre. This chapter reads Rowlandson's narrative in light of the newsbooks that preceded it to get a more complete picture of how contemporary audiences would have read the text, before turning to its later seventeenth-century publications for evidence on how it came to be read as the prototypical captivity narrative. This chapter uses Rowlandson's text as an example for the role that genre plays in textual meaning-making, a process with implications outside of the narrow field of literature on King Philip's War.

Chapter three investigates how King Philip's War changes as it flits between history and literature, particularly as it enters the nineteenth century and participates in the nation-building of the United States. Beginning with a brief look at how the first histories of the War treat it in the context of seventeenth-century New England, this chapter focuses primarily on how King Philip enters the literature of the nineteenth-century as a character who is always on the verge of gaining citizenship, but who is never allowed to be a living member of the national imaginary. This process highlights the role of literary reading in the historical investigations of the past, and in so doing illuminates some of the complicated ways that King Philip's War impacted the history of the young United States.

A brief epilogue follows, pointing to how this study remains relevant in the present day, and how the lessons taught by King Philip and his literary peers continue to have purchase on the present.

To return to the opening metaphor, this project is not an attempt to give the lie to the narrative of King Philip as 'haunting' the national present in some overly-determined way, or take issue with any such attempt to find the meaning of the present in our narrative of the past. Quite the opposite, for trite though it is, William Faulkner's truism about history in the South is equally applicable over the length and breadth of the United States and even human civilization at large: "The past is not dead. In fact, it's not even past." But the manner in which the past impinges upon the present is through narrative, and only through attention to the form and content of that narrative can we understand the

choice implicit in seeing the King Philip as haunting, or as identifying King Philip's War as simultaneously 'forgotten' and somehow illustrative of our present condition. To rephrase Faulkner, the past isn't dead, but it breathes through narrative and speaks in genre.



Figure 4: North, across the bow of the King Philip. Ocean Bay Beach, San Francisco, California May 19, 2007. Used with permission from Len Shneyder, via flickr.

Chapter One

Letters to London: King Philip's War Crosses the Atlantic

What joins men together, [Judge Holden] said, is not the sharing of bread but the sharing of enemies. But if I was your enemy with whom would you have shared me? With whom?

Cormac McCarthy
Blood Meridian (1993)

Crumbling Bricks

The Indian College opened on Harvard's College Yard in Cambridge in 1656.¹ Funded by the New England Company in London for the "enlargement of the college at Cambridge whereof there is great need and furtherance of learning [...] respecting the Indian design," the substantial brick building was roughly thirty feet long and twenty feet wide, with two bays and intended to house some twenty scholars.² The edifice was the result of several years of work by the New England Company meant to shift the young college's emphasis away from the training of Puritan clergymen and towards the conversion of Native Americans to Christianity. While the religious mission of Harvard

¹ Or 1655: the exact date is unclear. Even the precise location of the Harvard Yard is unclear, though it is regularly referred to in histories of the school. The oldest extant building on Harvard's campus is Massachusetts Hall, built in 1720. See Morison, Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century (1936), "Indian College and the Press," 340-360, for a discussion of much of the history surrounding the physical construction of the building. See also Morison Three Centuries of Harvard (1937), 59, for a discussion of the conditions surrounding the building of Massachusetts Hall.

² The New England Company Commissioners to Edward Winslow, qtd. in Cogley, John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War (1999), 220. For a larger discussion of the New England Company see Cogley, 206-216.

went back to its founding in 1636, the College's charter of 1650 reflected the influence of the New England Company in its dual emphasis on the education of Native Americans and that of the English: the school was to make "all other necessary provisions that may conduce to the education of the English and Indian Youth of the Country in knowledge and godliness."³ The Indian College was an outgrowth of this shifting mission, and the permanence of the brick building – relatively rare for the colonies at this time – implies both a significant financial commitment and hopes for the College's longevity.

Forty years later the building itself was in shambles, having hosted only a handful of Native American scholars. Significantly more English students seemed to have lodged in the structure, many of whom may have had missionary aspirations, thus changing what the building's name meant. The building stood largely empty for most of its life, and by 1677 only the bottom floor was occupied.⁴ By the early 1690s the building was in such bad condition that the College tried to find someone to demolish it and save the valuable bricks for some future project. They found no takers for five years, and Samuel Sewall finally records its destruction in 1698.⁵ Only one other Indian student would attend Harvard until the American Revolutionary War.⁶

³ Qtd. in Morison, Three Centuries at Harvard (1937). For a detailed account of the founding of Harvard College see Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (1935).

⁴ Morison, Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century (1936), 351-2.

⁵ Sewall, Boston's answer to London's Samuel Pepys, records the event such: "In the beginning of this Moneth of May, the old Brick Colledge, commonly called the *Indian* Colledge, is pull'd down to the ground, being sold to Mr. Willis the builder of Mr. Stoughtons colledge" in The Diary of Samuel Sewall, Volume I, 1674-1708 (1973), 398. See also Morison, Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century (1936), 359.

⁶ Only Benjamin Larnell entered Harvard after the destruction of the College. He died in 1714 before completing his degree. See Cogley John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War (1999), 222-223.

Many scholars have been quick to dismiss the failure of Harvard's Indian College as simply a symptom of the Puritans' hypocrisy with regard to their Indian brethren. In one of his magisterial histories, Samuel Morison describes the failure of his *alma mater's* Indian College with sympathy for the Indian students:

So ended in a heap of bricks the first serious attempt of the English to provide university education for American Indians. It was a failure, more pathetic than costly. Even now one reflects with sorrow on poor Joel, Caleb, and Eleazer, [students during the time of the Indian College], imbued with ambition to be the schoolmasters and saviors of their people, toiling against every healthy instinct of their race to achieve that proficiency in the Seven Arts and Learned Tongues without which, so their white masters insisted, they could never qualify as purveyors of regenerating grace.⁷

Later this sympathy will turn to a rebuke for the Puritan project, but here the failure takes center stage. The failure is rather striking: of the few Indian students who matriculated during the seventeenth century, only a handful lived through the experience, much less graduated. One after another succumbed to disease in his short residence in the grand brick building, and survival alone may have counted as success for the early Indian scholar.⁸ Morison, for whom "cost" is figured in English pounds and the Indian students are objects of pathos, sees the crumbling bricks as a one-sided failure of Puritan resolve, and a stumbling block in the march of western enlightenment.

Casting this collapse as a straightforward and resounding failure oversimplifies the full story of the Indian College, and ignores the larger social changes that led from the exuberance of the 1650s to the heap of bricks symbolizing that project's denouement in the 1690s. The transition by which the first English college in North America abandoned

⁷ See Morison on the Indian College in *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (1936), 360.

⁸ As Lepore points out with regard to Sassamon in *The Name of War* (1998): "While Sassamon's academic career at Harvard remains a mystery, surely his survival alone must be counted a success" (33).

the goal of extending its intellectual and religious influence to the Native Americans amongst whom its buildings were situated and upon whose menial labor the scholars depended is emblematic of a larger shift in the social and political composition that the English colonies in New England underwent in the second half of the seventeenth century. Morison's implication is that seventeenth-century English-Indian relationships in New England are symbolized by two sides of the same coin: Thanksgiving pageants memorialize the first half of the seventeenth century with the 1621 agreement of fellowship between the Pilgrims of the Plymouth colony and the Wampanoag sachem Massasoit, and the symbol for the latter half of the century becomes the decaying husk of Harvard's Indian College. How that change was made – how the coin was flipped – remains largely unexplained and outside a narrow view of the construction of New England that fails to see beyond the western edge of the Atlantic, for New England was constructed as much in the London print market as it was in the fields and forests of North America.

Presses in the colonies also played a role in this transition, increasingly so after the War. The manner in which they did so was both symbolic and practical. When Native American students failed to fill the Indian College, Harvard's press first took up residence in the space vacated by the pupils. This press was later accompanied by a second sent from England specifically to print the missionary John Eliot's translation of the Bible into Algonquian. With this change in its occupants, the output of the Indian College moved from the education of Native American scholars to the production of the material tools of Christian missionizing; the Native Americans of the Indian school were

supplanted by the production of the printed word. Many copies of the Indian Bible were returned as gifts to London benefactors, never to circulate as means of conversion, and eventually even this tangible product came to represent little more than a scholarly achievement with limited practical application in the conversion of the Indians. The Indian College was transformed from concrete evidence of the English commitment to Christian Indian education, to merely an empty symbol of that goal's hopes. In the years during and after King Philip's War the texts produced on the first floor of the College articulated the English military victory and eventual removal of the Indians that the presses themselves had already enacted.⁹

Both the English and the Indians adjusted to the relationships realigned by the most deadly military conflict ever to sweep through the lands surrounding Massachusetts Bay and the Connecticut River Valley. As critics such as Jill Lepore have pointed out, one of these adjustments resulted in a constriction of cross-cultural ties that made the inter-racial education imagined by the Indian College impossible.¹⁰ The War also led to a conception of the English community that plastered over colonial and religious divisions in favor of a New England community that positioned cultural Englishness – not religion – at the root of its identity. The English community began to see its Indian neighbors not as allies or potentially regenerate souls (as they appeared in discourse before the War), but as impediments to English civilization and threatening faces of possible enemies.

This construction worked back toward the London metropole to change the larger

⁹ For a look at the development of the press in Cambridge see Amory, "Printing and Bookselling in New England" (2004), 86-94. For an account of Eliot's use of the press see Cogley, John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War (1999), 216-219. See also Morison, Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century (1936), "The Indian College and Press," 340-360.

¹⁰ See Lepore, The Name of War (1998).

imperial project, with implications for England's North American settlements throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as enterprises closer to home in Ireland. King Philip's War produced narratives that created a proto-national community based on a new understanding of Englishness as the binding tie of community, over and above potentially divisive issues of religious doctrine. The change that is both recorded in and produced by the narratives about King Philip's War throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries has implications that not only explain the collapse of the Indian College, but also inform the larger trans-Atlantic approach to colonialism and nationhood. The real battle of King Philip's War was discursive, and took place not on the battlefield, but in print.

Philip in London

The first accounts of King Philip's War were published in London, not the colonies, making their way across the Atlantic and into the London press soon after the events they documented. These accounts primarily took the form of lengthy letters written by colonists for the consumption of London correspondents. Some letters remained essentially private, and others circulated in manuscript form, while a significant portion were published for the general public.¹¹ The archive of the letters in their various forms of publication – in the newspaper, independently as newsbooks, or in manuscript – offers the earliest example of how writers in New England described the War and its

¹¹ Some of these private letter manuscripts were later published in the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See, for example, Harris, *A Rhode Islander Reports on King Philip's War: The Second William Harris Letter of August, 1676* (1963), edited by Douglas Leach.

effects for the London public. Taken together, the group of letters is joyfully conflicted, confused, and diverse, but the archive is interesting in its depiction of how the English colonists constructed their coloniality both “at home” in America and “back home” in England. The short tracts bridge the ocean to form a trans-Atlantic reading community, and act as petitions not to the Crown, but rather to the larger audience of the metropole.

The first such letter to reach the general public was published anonymously in the August 16-19th edition of the London Gazette. The August 12, 1675 edition advertised the story that was to run the next week:

By a Vessel arrived from *New-England*, we have an account of the rising of some of the *Indians*, with design to fall upon the English; that they had already killed several, and burnt and plundered their Houses and Plantations: upon which the *Bostoners*, and they of *Plymouth* had set out several hundred armed Men to pursue the *Indians*, who skulked here and there, but durst not appear in any considerable Bodies.¹²

The story that followed in the paper the next week – and indeed the one that would play out over the next year – was much larger than this ‘teaser’ promised, but the outlines were there: Indians fall upon the English, burning and skulking.

The oldest newspaper in England (founded in 1665), the London Gazette served as the paper of record for the government, collecting short news items for public consumption, especially those dealing with trade and commerce. News from the colonies, such as this anonymously published letter, was common for the Gazette during

¹² Leach, "Benjamin Batten and the London Gazette Report on King Philip's War" (1963), 515.

this period.¹³ Thus, news of King Philip's War took its place beside other events of interest to the rising commercial class in London, who combed the paper for information that would impact the financial and political fortunes of England. The information reached the Gazette by way of a route that was circuitous, but not unusual: the short letter was penned by Benjamin Batten, an English merchant living temporarily in Boston, and mailed to Sir Thomas Allin in London. Allin then presumably passed the letter on to the Gazette, where it was heavily edited to narrow its focus to the bare facts and statistics of the early battles of the war.¹⁴ The summary on the 8th almost downplays the drama of the attacks – they are not characterized as part of any larger plot, for instance – but in the next issue Batten's letter garnered over three-quarters of the front page even in the brief style of the paper, representative of the interest that the London public would have in the War throughout its duration.

Batten's letter offers a window into how the story of King Philip's War was narrated on either side of the Atlantic, as not only is the Gazette version extant, but the original letter written by Batten in New England is also available. Thanks to the work of Douglas Leach, comparing both versions allows insight into what Batten thought fit to

¹³ The London Gazette began publication in Oxford under the title the Oxford Gazette, but quickly changed its name when the plague abated in 1666 and the court returned to the capital. The paper was the only one printed in England during this period, at a time when the post-Restoration government still closely oversaw the press. Two Secretaries of State oversaw the paper – Sir Joseph Williamson and Henry Coventry – and employed it for their own ends (Leach 1965, 504). For a brief history of the London Gazette, see Handover, A History of the London Gazette (1965).

¹⁴ Batten's letter in republished in Douglas E. Leach's "Benjamin Batten and the London Gazette Report on King Philip's War" (1963), in which Leach compares the Gazette version with the manuscript original. Leach includes a brief biography of Batten in his preface, one that he patches together from brief mentions of the man by the diarist Samuel Pepys and others. Batten seems to have been forced into business after having been denied at least a portion of his father's estate, "Apparently disgusted with the whole situation, Batten left England and made his way to Boston in New England, possibly on some kind of mercantile venture" (Leach 1963, 504).

describe – something that Allin must have found promising – and to what the editor of the Gazette thought would be interesting to his London audience.¹⁵ The discrepancies between the manuscript and the public version highlight some of the questions about community definition and self-presentation raised by King Philip's War as news of the event negotiated the crossing of the Atlantic, such as how a people separated by an ocean defines itself as a community, even in the face of diverging interests.

Batten was himself not a New Englander, and his identification with the different communities in Boston – manifested in his use of “we” throughout the letter – is questionable. In Boston only briefly (possibly no more than a year), Batten was a merchant whose interest in the colonies seems to have been largely economic, and his stake in the Puritan project and religious mission negligible. Nothing in Leach's biography seems to indicate either strong religious feelings or any particular sympathy for the upstart colony; instead, he owed his ownership of a merchant ship to a favorable ruling by Charles II, the same King with whom the colonies had such a tenuous relationship.¹⁶ He was in New England to ride the rising economic tide and make up for a lost inheritance.

Batten's status as a merchant interested more in the rising economic tide of Boston and less in the city's religious mission makes his ties to the Puritan leaders of the colony and their government officials tenuous at best, something reflected in his letter's

¹⁵ See Douglas Leach's side-by-side comparison for a detailed look at all of the changes.

¹⁶ See Leach, "Benjamin Batten and the London Gazette Report on King Philip's War" (1963), 503-4. Further, Batten's father's friendship with both Pepys and William Penn, as well as his willingness to go to see the theater (something noted by Pepys and frowned upon by the strict Puritans in Massachusetts Bay) offers further hints that Benjamin Batten seems to have come from a more secular post-Restoration world, one at odds with the heightened religious sensibilities in New England. See Pepys, The Diary of Samuel Pepys (2001).

relative lack of religious rhetoric or Biblical references. This omission does not mean that he ignored the potential devastation that King Philip's War represented for his temporary home, as indicated by his use of the third person plural in his letter. In a passage deleted from the *Gazette* account, he considers the long-term consequences of the war:

[W]e allso heare & haue great cause to suspect this is a Generall Insurrection Intended amongst y^e Indias whoe may^e be much more in numb^r yⁿ y^e English but thay^e haue neither pollecy no^r Conduct neither supoze provided wth armes ammunition & provision fo^r any longe time so that we hope verie shortly to heare of thaire finall defeat though this may^e sound straing in anothe^r p^t of y^e world we looke vpon y^m as Inconsiderat people dessigned to be destroyed otherwaies we might send farr greate^r forces.¹⁷

Batten here points out that while the problem of Indian insurrection is very real, the Indians are doomed to failure, as they lack the policy, conduct, arms, and provisions to defeat the colonists. The implications of these material and political differences are clear for Batten: inferior in policy, behavior, military strength, and material goods, the Indians are destined for destruction, unpalatable though this may be for his audience. Religion remains unmentioned, both that of the Indians and the English.

In his discussion of the letter, Leach suggests that the passage “reveal[s] so clearly a prevalent colonial attitude toward the Indians,” but to make this equivalency – Batten’s attitude represents general colonial sentiment toward all Indians – ignores the publication history of the letter, as well as Batten’s personal history, for he was not a New-Englander

¹⁷ Leach, "Benjamin Batten and the London Gazette Report on King Philip's War" (1963), 509. Leach transcribed this letter as it appears in the manuscript with little to no correction. That approach has been repeated here. Interestingly, this passage was also omitted when Batten's letter was published in the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series (1675-1676) in 1939-40.

in any permanent sense.¹⁸ If the few clues to Batten's personal history are any help – he and his family seem to have had no strong religious feelings and they were loyal to the Crown; his father was also a ship's captain; Batten went to New England to make up for a lost inheritance, did not take any family, and never settled there permanently – he might be more indicative of a mercantile English sensibility than a mouthpiece of colonial sentiments. In some ways his trip to find fortune across the Atlantic symbolizes the shifting position of the young port at Boston, as its financial importance grew alongside of the religious sentiments of its founders. More broadly, Leach's dismissive assessment fails to answer why this passage was omitted from the Gazette publication of Batten's letter. Though it is difficult to know if these revisions were because the Gazette editors were offended by Batten's suggestion of the annihilation of the Indians, or if the editors thought the London public would react against such statements, or simply because of more mundane concerns such as column inches or prose style, these questions are not so simply dismissed as Leach seems to suggest.

The bulk of the Gazette account parallels Batten's letter and most changes are typographical. Both accounts focus heavily on recounting the recent engagements in the conflict, which Batten's letter describes as an "insurrection," a word that he uses to introduce his letter and multiple times throughout the body, "LEat (Lest) yo^r hono^r might haue a misreport from these parts of ou^r Indian Insurrection (sic) I make bould to informe yo^r Hono^r y^e best I am Capiable."¹⁹ The Gazette omits the name "Indian Insurrection" for the conflict, and the battles instead are linked together as related, but curiously unnamed

¹⁸ Leach, "Benjamin Batten and the London Gazette Report on King Philip's War" (1963), 509, n. 28.

¹⁹ Leach, "Benjamin Batten and the London Gazette Report on King Philip's War" (1963), 505.

with regard to their larger import. This ambiguity over what to call the attacks is confusing: why report on an event without codifying it with a name? In its silence the Gazette's account remains mute on questions of political authority: insurrections, after all, are waged on sovereign powers by factions subordinate to that power, while wars are between two sovereign powers. A private citizen, Batten's choice of "insurrection" with regard to the conflict is telling in its implicit interpretation of colonial relations; the Gazette – the mouthpiece of the court – dodges these questions in favor of a bare recounting of facts. Unwilling to take a stand regarding Batten's understanding of Philip's status within English law, and thus the legal status of the military conflict, the Gazette's omission signals its confusion over the construction of colonial and Indian sovereignty, a confusion that it ignores in favor of a narrative of events understood as related, in an as-yet-undetermined way. The point is not a minor one, for questions of political authority and the right of resistance to that authority were foremost in the minds of the London elite during the Restoration, following the political turmoil of the Interregnum (1649-1660), through the tumultuous reign of James II (1685-1688), and eventually leading to the Revolution of 1688. In this context the disappearance of the word "insurrection" is more than a coincidence, but instead signals that the official newspaper of the court is unwilling to comment on the legal status of the conflict.

The Gazette's further omissions echo these questions of Indian sovereignty and the colonial treatment thereof. As before, Leach's presentation of Batten as the spokesman for all colonial authority and the historian's unwillingness to investigate the changes made by the Gazette lead to a flat reading of this relationship, for Batten's

original text is more concerned with the state of Indian-English relationships than the newspaper account indicates. Omitted in the Gazette account is the English decree partitioning the Indians and the English (“[under] penalty of 10^l forbid any English to Entertaine any Indian in this towne & one sight to Aprehend y^m”); and the execution of an Indian spy, “his head was plaiced at y^e gouernors dore.”²⁰ These actions of English aggression toward Indians disappear from the version presented to the London public, and they are left instead with a list of generic Indian attacks, lacking designation of tribal affiliation or a list of grievances. Stripped of any narrative that would explain these actions, and omitting the details of Indian political life, such as tribal affiliation and the role of various sachems, the account presents the events as linked through their perpetration by faceless, monolithic “Indians,” and as visited upon various English individuals, whose casualties are listed in detail.

The complicated publication history and the multiple audiences of the letter highlight the negotiations of transatlantic audience and community self-presentation that thread through subsequent London publications regarding King Philip’s War. These questions are underscored by the Gazette editor’s deletions, and implied by the letter’s seemingly secular language, but are ultimately answered only when considering this letter within the larger context of similar texts coming out of New England. Although the information in these short reports from the battlefield would find its way into the compendious histories of the war penned by Puritan divines, the secular accounts show how residents of New England from across the social spectrum saw the War when not

²⁰ Leach, "Benjamin Batten and the London Gazette Report on King Philip's War" (1963), 508, 512.

refracted through clerical or military conceptions of community relationships, as well as how these concerns were represented back to London. This self-conscious presentation of the colonies highlights both the changing conception of English-Indian relationships and colonial-metropole entanglements. These initial reports, moreover, offer insight into the creation of the war as an evolving textual event, one that would expand from brief battle accounts to dense self-justifying histories and community-realigning narratives of Englishness in America.

Præying Indians

The Gazette made only two more substantive references to the War over the next year, first in November 15-18, 1675 edition, and then again in the February 3-7, 1676 edition. Both references take the form of long paragraphs without attribution, offering some details of specific battles, but no idea of the larger sweep of the conflict. Indeed, the conflict is referred to as neither a war nor an insurrection, but merely “that disorder occasioned by the rising of the Indians,” as the paper continues to shy away from such larger statements on the political meaning of the conflict.²¹ The final reference to the War in the Gazette is not news of the conflict itself, but rather an announcement of the publication of a history of the War, A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England by Increase Mather in 1676.

After first breaking in the Gazette, news of the War moved to a series of newsbooks: short, occasional pamphlets by single, often anonymous authors. Filling the

²¹ Leach "Benjamin Batten and the London Gazette Report on King Philip's War" (1963), 515-516.

space between the Gazette's first notice and Mather's (first) history, these newsbooks recount the events of the War in greater detail than the Gazette and link the conflict to larger questions regarding community affiliation that the Gazette consciously avoids. The newsbooks represent a genre unique to the seventeenth century, one growing out of the newsletter tradition of the early part of the century. Like those manuscript newsletters, the newsbooks were tied to current events and published quickly to take advantage of their subjects' timeliness. These inexpensive, hastily composed and quickly discarded pamphlets made up a part of printers' popular trade during the seventeenth century. Taken from letters written by Englishmen in New England, the pamphlets regarding King Philip's War were published by London printers who hoped to capitalize on the public's interest. Much like Batten's account in the Gazette, these letters were published sometimes with the author's knowledge, and sometimes apparently without it.²² Though not yet resembling the newspapers of the eighteenth century, the pamphlets often contained a number of public and private documents – public addresses and proclamations alongside private letters – juxtaposed and held together by a unifying

²² The history of the newsbook is linked closely to the newsletter tradition of Europe, as well as to the English Revolutions of the mid-century, where they first saw widespread use. They were most popular in the period from their birth in London in 1641 until roughly 1660, when the Crown instituted greater restrictions on printers and the more polemic positions were suppressed. Mixing a relation of events together with highly biased interpretation thereof, the newsbooks of the mid-century were more political pieces than factual relations. The pamphlets regarding King Philip's War fall outside this genre's height, and do not display the high degree of partisan politics for which the form was noted during the English Revolution, but are still related in their form and content. Licensed by the Crown, these later pamphlets stressed events over rhetoric. See Frank, The Beginnings of the English Newspaper (1961); Williams, A History of English Journalism (1908), esp. 144; and Raymond, The Invention of the Newspaper (1996). Conboy's Journalism: A Critical History (2004) points out that later newsbooks might have more in common with the more neutral corantos; see especially 26-50. For an anthology of newsbooks see Raymond, Making the News.

narrative.²³ These early documents of King Philip's War were dynamic publications that tried both to report events and shape them in the mind of the reader. They offer a glimpse into the colonists' attempts to wrestle simultaneously with the martial logistics of the fight and to represent that conflict to the imperial center. Comparing the Gazette account to Batten's original letter offered a unique opportunity to glimpse the negotiation of authorial and editorial concern for their audiences' desires, the diversity of the newsbook genre offers a detailed portrait of how men with conflicting communal associations negotiated communal affiliation and what it meant to be English and/or colonial in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

There were nine short accounts of the war published in London between August of 1675 and November of 1677, most no more than a few short pages.²⁴ [See Table 1] These newsbooks are not so different from Batten's account in the Gazette in their emphasis on the military data of the War, and listing of battles engaged, villages raided, and numbers killed or wounded in action. Many of these accounts go further, however, and demonstrate how the colonists were reacting to the War and how their thinking was being shaped by the events around them; indeed, the newsbooks all designate the conflict as a war, in contrast to the Gazette's hesitancy to do so. Written by a variety of authors from across the social spectrum, these letters show how the society wrestled with the problems of social cohesion and community self-definition before the War was over.

²³ The Daily Courant, England's first daily newspaper, began publication in 1702, and marks the beginning of a vibrant newspaper culture in London.

²⁴ I refer here to all of the extant reports that I have been able to locate or seen referred to in secondary sources.

London Newsbook Reports

Table 1: A summary of the newsbook reports published in London during and immediately following King Philip's War.

| Published | Title | Author |
|--------------|---|----------------|
| 1675 | | |
| Aug 16-19 | <u>London Gazette</u> report | Anon (Batten) |
| Nov 16 | <u>A Brief and True Narration of the Late Wars...</u> | Anon |
| Dec 13 | <u>The Present State of New-England...</u> | Anon (N.S.) |
| Late in year | <u>New-England's Present Sufferings...</u> | Edward Wharton |
| 1676 | | |
| Feb 17 | <u>A Farther Brief & True Narration of the Late Wars...</u> | Anon |
| Mar 27 | <u>A Continuation of the State of New England...</u> | N.S. |
| Aug. 1 | <u>News from New England, Being a True and Last...</u> | Anon |
| Oct 11 | <u>True Account of Considerable Occurrences...</u> | Anon |
| Oct 13 | <u>New & Further Narrative ...</u> | N.S. |
| 1677 | | |
| Nov. 4 | <u>Warr in New-England Visibly Ended...</u> | R.H. |

Three letters printed by Dorman Newman and attributed to “N.S.” offer useful points of comparison spread out over roughly the year from the War’s outbreak until after King Philip’s death in the fall of 1676. Because the three are some of the longest written regarding the War, and because they are some of the most complex in the documents that they collect, they offer insight into the evolution of thinking about the War and what it meant to the writer and to the two communities that he straddled: that in New England, and that larger, more amorphous English identity to which he lays claim. The first of these pamphlets appeared in London on December 13, 1675, approximately six months

after the beginning of the War and one month after the letter from which it was drawn was penned in New England, as attested to by the date – November 10th, 1675 – on the title page.²⁵ The Present State of New-England, with Respect to the Indian War was the second newsbook account published after Batten’s Gazette report and concerns itself with the opening battles of the War, specifically those raids by the Wampanoags in which the colonists fared so poorly. The pamphlet had no attribution beyond the assertion on the title page that it was “Faithfully Composed by a Merchant of *Boston*,” but evidence such as a common printer and internal references marks it as the first in a three-part series that is attributed in the later two narratives to “N.S.”²⁶ Together the three are often referred to as “Saltonstall’s narratives,” after the Boston merchant Nathaniel Saltonstall to whom they are attributed.

The first of three pamphlets attributed to “N.S.,” entitled The Present State of New-England, with Respect to the Indian War, appeared in London on December 13, 1675. The eighteen-page pamphlet recounts the opening battles of the War and reproduces two contemporary broadsheets from the Boston Council, as well as a short passage from the minister John Eliot’s Bible in “the *Indian Language*.” While it recounts the basic events of the war, The Present State of New-England is not purely reportage: the array of materials offers an educated, complicated frame for the War, one

²⁵ Interestingly, The Present State of New-England seems to have gone through at least two editions, the initial one in 1675 and another one sometime in 1676. While the type seems to have been reset for the second edition, the two editions are almost identical, with only a few small mistakes occurring in both. Importantly, both use the black letter font for the Council’s broadside. I cite the 1675 edition. Both are available at “Early American Books Online” (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>).

²⁶ Specifically, the printer Dorman Newman was responsible for the publication of all three narratives, and in the second and third narratives (signed “N.S.”) the author makes reference to the unsigned first pamphlet. Taken together, and with a recognizable style, it is safe to say that these three pamphlets form a set, as have almost all historians of the War.

influenced but not dominated by the concerns of religious doctrine, as was the case in later publications by the ministers Increase Mather and William Hubbard. For instance, missionary John Eliot's Indian Bible is excerpted not as evidence of the imminent conversion of the Indians and the coming of the Kingdom of God, but as a personal scholarly accomplishment:

This Mr. *Eliot*, you must understand, is the Man that hath by his own Labour and Study, invented the way of Printing the *Indian* Language, and hath also perfectly Translated the whole Bible [...] into the *Indian* Language [...] For which Pains and Labour, he deserves Honour from all such who are Well-wishers to things of the like Nature, whose Name will never Die in *New-England*.²⁷

Eliot is here figured as a religious man whose scholarly pursuits deserve general praise, but also suggest social concerns that are neither purely religious nor purely secular. The passage arranges the Indians and the English into a hierarchy, situating the readers – the English – as people “Of The Book” and *of books*, and above the Indians who benefit from Eliot’s scholarly goodwill. New England is here divided from England – the author concedes that Eliot’s fame is mostly local – but the two are united through their ability to

²⁷ The Present State of New England (1675), 10. For a facsimile edition of all three narratives see King Philip’s War Narratives (1966) by the Readex Microprint Corporation. Narratives therein retain their original appearance and pagination. The compilation contains the second edition of this newsbook from 1677.

read. This literacy is a marker of difference, but will also form the action upon which the transatlantic English community is founded.²⁸

This distance from Old England is one that N.S. emphasizes in the opening to the pamphlet. Discussing the circumstances that preceded the war, N.S. begins:

There being many and various Reports concerning the Causes of the present War amongst us, it may not be amiss in the First place, to give you a true Account of the Reasons thereof; which probably may add something to the Satisfaction of our Christian Friends in *Old England*, which is thus:

About five or six Years since, there was brought up (amongst others) an *Indian* in the Colledg at *Cambridg*, named *Sosoman*, who after some time he had spent in Preaching the Gospel to *Unkus*, a Sagamore Christian in his Territories, was by the Authority of *New-Plimouth*, sent to Preach in like manner to King *Philip*, and his *Indians* [...].²⁹

The information offered for the pleasure of the Christian friends in Old England is that the college at Cambridge is successfully educating Christian Indians. N.S.'s language is vague – he identifies neither Harvard nor the Indian College – but the statement of the colonies' success at educating the Indians is clear. The facts are somewhat suspect, as Sassamon seems to have attended Harvard in the 1650s rather than the 60s as indicated by “five or six Years since,” and N.S.'s vagueness allows for the implication that Sassamon

²⁸ The passage that the author has chosen to excerpt from Eliot's Bible is also interesting. The text comes from the Book of Isaiah, Chapter 23, Verses 1-3, with the passage presented in Algonquin on the left and the English translation on the right. It is as follows:

The burden of Tyre. Howl ye ships of Tarshish, for it is laid waste, so that there is no house, no entering in: From the land of Chittim it is revealed to them.

2. *Be still ye Inhabitants of the Isle, thou whom the Merchants of Zidon that pass over the Sea, have replenished.*

3. *And by great waters the seed of Sihor, the harvest of the River is her revenue, and she is a Mart of Nations.* (10)

The passage is a communal lament (“Howl ye ships of Tarshish”) for the loss of a city, but one that seeks to pacify the inhabitants of an island, the “Mart of Nations.” While N.S.'s text makes no comment on the verses, the strong tradition of the Puritans' typological reading practices make the parallel between the ships of Tarshish and the colonies of New England, as well as Zidon and London fairly clear. Most interesting, however, is the fact that in both of these cases the tragedy is being used to chastise the community and unify it in common purpose.

²⁹ *The Present State of New-England* (1675), 2.

was educated at the Indian College. Instead Sassamon probably matriculated before its construction, as seems to have been the case with almost all of the Indian students. But the pamphlet's vagueness skirts some rather unattractive specifics in order to emphasize the success of the missionary project. Such news would have pleased the London audience of the pamphlet, an audience that included the backers of the New England Company who had been instrumental in realigning the Puritan mission in the colonies toward Christian conversion, as symbolized by their backing of the Indian College. By invoking the Indian Bible – the group's most tangible success, copies of which they may have seen in London – The Present State of New-England could hope to curry sympathy from its London audience for the description of the war that will follow, a war that might otherwise be said to represent a failure of English Indian policy. This frame – noticeably lacking from Batten's letter in the Gazette – situates the conflict within the history and landscape of the colony, and not as a sporadic outcropping of Indian aggression. Instead, the newsbook provides a context and a history that has its origin in London with the New England Company, drawing links to the metropole and stressing the relevance of the War to that audience.

From the outset The Present State of New-England is preoccupied with the identification of the colonies' friends and foes: the separation of those who threaten the colonies from those on whom they could work their religious mission. While specifying King Philip as the clear leader of the Indians allied against the English, the text labors to distinguish among the colonies' various enemies and allies. After a brief history of the causes of the War and an account of some of the early battles, the narrative moves to a

detailed description of the Indians: “Before any further progress be made in the Relation, it may not be amiss to give you some Account of what concerns our Neighbour *Indians* at Peace with us.”³⁰ Here begins a description of English-Indian relations that recognizes the Wampanoag Philip and his allies, but also points out the complex English negotiations with the Narragansetts, as well as identifying the sachem Uncas’s followers as “Praying Indians,” and loyal to the English. The text paints a picture of a densely populated region with complicated loyalties, depicting a political situation in which confusion is a foe as formidable as the musket. This description of the confusion of the social situation in the colonies is every bit as important to the newsbook as the resolution of that situation, and the text strives to convey some of the complexities of the alliances to a London audience for whom such confusion is literally foreign. Rather than just explain the relationship of the various groups, the text narrates how these relationships are variously parsed by the colonists.

This confusion is more than Carl von Clausewitz’s infamous “fog of war,” which results, as he explains, “because all action must, to a certain extent, be planned in a mere twilight, which in addition not unfrequently – like the effect of a fog or moonshine – gives to things exaggerated dimensions and an unnatural appearance.”³¹ While Clausewitz’s classic treatise on war refers to the soldier’s situational awareness on the battlefield and understands confusion as endemic to battle, the indeterminacy that characterizes accounts of King Philip’s War stems not simply from martial logistics, but

³⁰ The Present State of New England (1675), 7.

³¹ See Clausewitz, On War (1908), 105-106.

grows from this larger social context.³² The struggle for survival in the colonies certainly explains some of the fogginess of this account, but the confusion more obviously represents some of the basic social problems that the colonists faced in defining who they and their enemies were. In New England in 1675 this fog of war was not simply an expected aspect of battle, but was instead an outgrowth of the overlapping communities with shifting allegiances who inhabited the region. While the effects may be the same – certainly Clausewitz would recognize the confusion of New England’s battlefields – the causes are very different, causes that N.S. registers as he tries to describe the War and its effects on the colonial population.

The distinctions among the different Indian peoples are critical for the author, as demonstrated by the inclusion in its entirety of a broadside published in Boston that sought to distinguish between the hostile Indians and “the Indians that are in Amity with us.”³³ In its original form the broadside served as a public notice or proclamation; it was printed in Cambridge by the Boston Council and would have been distributed widely within the colonies and posted in public places. As it appears in N.S.’s newsbook, the Boston Council’s proclamation is set off in a bold script known as black letter, which was used during the seventeenth century to highlight textual difference, and in particular was

³² King Philip’s War does differ in terms of its military characteristics from the European conflicts to which Clausewitz refers, a subject upon which a number of historians have remarked, arguing that it was this “skulking way of war” that the English colonists supposedly learned from the Indians that was responsible for successes of the colonial militia during the Revolutionary War. See Malone, The Skulking Way of War (1991); Bodge, Soldiers in King Philip’s War (1967); Grenier, The First Way of War (2005); Starkley, European-Native American Warfare (1998); Chet, Conquering the American Wilderness (2003); and Zelner A Rabble in Arms (2009) for a variety of looks at how the military strategy of the English and the Native Americans evolved during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

³³ The Present State of New England (1675), 7.

often used for the word of God when printing the Bible.³⁴ [See Figure 5] The typeface emphasizes the official words of the Council and lends authority to their words as a result of the more formal, implicitly biblical font.

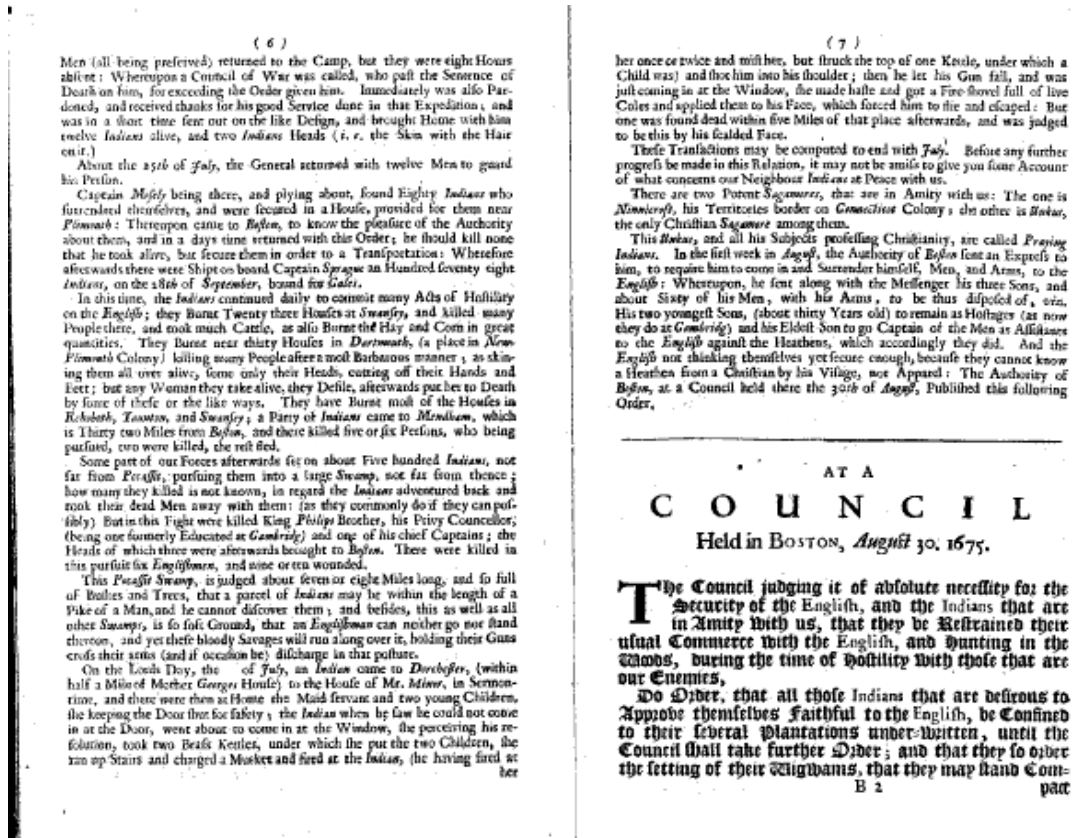


Figure 5: This page from The Present State of New-England (1675) shows how the Boston Council’s proclamation is set off in black letter font.

By manipulating the layout of the text, the pamphlet recreates for the London readers the experience of reading the broadside by those in New England, implying that the pamphlet’s audience reads not an account of the broadside, but a physical likeness of the sheet itself. Using a typeface understood by the audience to be more formal, and

³⁴ See Matt Cohen, The Networked Wilderness (2009), for the significance of black letter especially with regard to Roger Williams A Key into the Language of America.

separating the proclamation from the author's commentary, these passages serve as "in-text broadsides" that offer the pamphlet's audience a similar reading experience to that of the Boston reader. In fact, the pamphlet does not physically resemble the original broadside: rather than black letter, the Boston broadside uses a standard Roman typeface below the seal of Massachusetts, as was customary for such colonial publications. [See Figure 6.] Thus, the London pamphlet's interest is not in visual reproduction, but instead in recreating the experience of reading the order, reproducing the event of the war for the London readership and suggesting the immediacy of events transpiring an ocean away.



AT A
COUNCIL
Held in Boston August the thirtieth 1675.

THE COUNCIL Judging it of Absolute necessity for the Security of the English and the Indians that are in Amity with us, that they be Restrained their usual Commerce with the English, and hunting in the Woods, during the time of Hostility with those that are our Enemies;

Do Order, that all those Indians that are desirous to Approve themselves Faithful to the English, be confined to their several Plantations under written, until the Council shall take further Order; and that they so order the setting of their Wigwams that they may stand Compact in some one part of their Plantations respectively, where it may be best for their own Provision and Defence, and that none of them do presume to Travaille above one mile from the Center of such their dwellings, unless in Company of some English, or in their Service near their dwellings, and excepting for gathering and fetching in their Corn with one English man, on peril of being taken as our enemies, or their Abettours: And in case that any of them shall be taken without the Limits above said, except as above said, and do loose their Lives or be otherwise damaged; by English or Indians: The COUNCIL do hereby Declare that they shall account themselves wholly Innocent, and their Blood or other damage (by them sustained) will be upon their own heads.

Al'so it shall not be lawful for any Indians that are in Amity with us, to entertain any strange Indians, or receive any of our Enemies Plunder, but shall from time to time make discovery thereof to some English that shall be appointed for that end to sojourn among them, on penalty of being reputed our Enemies, and of being liable to be proceeded against as such.

Al'so whereas it is the manner of the Heathen that are now in Hostility with us, contrary to the practice of the Civil Nations, to execute their bloody Infolencies by stealth and soulding in small parties, declining all open decision of their controversie, either by Treaty or by the Sword,

The Council do therefore Order; That after the Publication of the Provision aforesaid, It shall be lawful for any person whether English or Indian, that shall finde any Indian travelling or skulking in any of our Towns or Woods, contrary to the limits above named, to command them under their Guard, and Examination, or to kill and destroy them as they best may or can. The Council hereby declaring, that it will be most acceptable to them that none be killed or wounded that are willing to surrender themselves into custody.

The places of the Indians Residencies are Natick, Punguapaog, Nashob, Wamefit and Hassanamisset: And if there be any that belong to any other Plantations, they are to repair to some one of theſe.

By the Council Edward Rawson Secrr.

Figure 6: This is the same broadside shown in Figure 5, but as it originally appeared when printed in Boston. Note especially the seal at the top (not referenced in the newsbook), and the much plainer typeface.

Linking the audience of the broadside with that of the pamphlet, and doing so through a common identification of enemies among shifting populations of Others, N.S.

shortens the distance between the Boston reader threatened by an actual attack, and the London reader for whom the physical threat will always be imagined, by yoking the two together in their reaction to the potentially devastating war. This positioning calls for the London reader to stand beside the Boston reader in passing judgment on the order's contents; it enlists the metropole in the Council's attempts to codify divisions between friend and foe. Behavior is one manner by which the enemy can be identified, as those Indians "Traveling or Skulking in any of our Towns or Woods" are to be identified by their behavior and then killed. Behavior, however, is insufficient to identify the enemy, a fact reinforced by the broadside's larger frame: Saltonstall's narrative is littered with passages betraying the English as unable to distinguish between hostile and friendly Indians. As if trying to answer this problem, the Boston order goes further attempting clarify behavior by fixing it to geography, limiting Praying Indians to "their several plantations under-written [...]. And that none of them do presume to Travel above one Mile from the Center of such their Dwelling, unless in company with some English."³⁵ Physiognomy has earlier been jettisoned as untenable when separating Indian friend from foe, and behavior is likewise useless – one person's skulking might be another's traveling, after all – so the Council here hopes to avoid confusion by fixing the geography of those Indians over whom they have some measure of control, effectively setting up three different classes of people in New England at this time: the English, the heathen Indians, and the Praying Indians, with the boundaries between these last two categories defined by religious persuasion and policed by geography.

³⁵ The Present State of New England (1675), 7.

In many ways the Boston Council's proclamation was in keeping with previous legal proscriptions on Indians in the colonies. From the earliest published laws in New England – those of Massachusetts written in 1647 and published in Cambridge in 1648 – the general courts of the individual colonies included sections specifically devoted to the governance of Indians.³⁶ Wedged alphabetically between rules governing “Imprisonment” and “Indictments” was a lengthy section governing the behavior of the colonists toward the Indians. While partitioning was always an issue, the statutes were more interested in keeping English and Indian livestock separated than in designating separate spaces for people. This changed slightly with the later editions of the laws for Massachusetts Bay, specifically those written in 1672, in which the issue of Christian Indians is codified. After a law designating that “*one end in planting these parts was to propagate the true Religion unto the Indians*” and proclaiming that “such necessary and wholesome Laws” necessary for the civilization of the Indians shall be yearly made known to them, the laws move to “*the better Ordering and Governing the Indians subject to us, especially those of Natick and Punquepaog*” (70). Like the August 30, 1675 order reprinted in N.S.’s narrative, this law links those “subject to” (but not subjects of?) the English to fixed points, but it does not designate boundaries, express anxiety about the potential transgression of that border, or display fears regarding the identification of these subjects. Printed three years before the John Sassamon’s death, these laws betray none of the nervousness regarding the behavior, physiognomy, or potential threats of the Indian

³⁶ The laws of Massachusetts Bay were printed either in whole or in part in 1643, 1648, 1660, 1663, 1665, 1666, 1672 (twice), 1674 and 1675 (twice). Those of Connecticut were printed in 1673, and Plymouth in 1672. They are all available from Early English Books Online.

subjects, though they do indicate an increasingly complex collection of communities in the colony.³⁷

John Eliot was one of the beneficiaries of the Massachusetts law calling for English officials to oversee the Indian conversion project. When Eliot appears again in The Present State of New-England he does so not as an example of the project of Indian conversion with respect to the New England experiment, but instead as a marker by which the colonists may identify friendly Praying Indians and figure their place in the War. While at times this place is geographic, as with the Boston Council's proclamation, at other times this position is more relational, with the English recognizing that even Indians beyond the bounds of the Praying Indian villages may be of use to the English cause.

That use is always in question, however, as the Praying Indians' liminality also signifies their untrustworthiness. N.S. recounts the story of a captured Nipmoog (Nipmuc) father and son, who claimed to be Praying Indians to avoid punishment, and only admitted their hostile intentions toward the colonists following intense

³⁷ Interestingly, the 1672 laws of Massachusetts Bay were reprinted in London in 1675, indicating a continued interest on the part of that audience in the workings of the colony, however legalistic they may be. My citations are taken from the London edition – The General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony in New-England – as the printing quality is better and it is much more legible. It is also worth noting how this fixing Native Americans to a geographical location represents a precursor to the policy of confinement to reservations that took place much later. In this early case the limits of the Praying Indian community are defined so as to enable easy identification of the Native American's religion, and thus presumably his political and military loyalties.

questioning.³⁸ This seeming digression in the midst of N.S.'s discussion of the specific battles serves to underscore the importance of proper identification of the Praying Indians, identification that had consequences that were no less than life or death. The consequences for all of the parties in this particular story were especially significant, as "after their Examination, they were both shot to Death."³⁹

The narrative further divides the Praying Indians, pointing to a subset identified by their close ties to the English: "another sort of *Indians*, (best known to the Commonalty of *Boston*) by the name of Mr. *Elliot's Indians*, or Captain *Guggins Indians*."⁴⁰ These Indians are not identified for any qualities that they themselves might possess, but instead through the work that Eliot and Gookin have done upon them.⁴¹ Moreover, the missionary projects are most important not in the conversions of the Indians, but rather for what those changes mean to the English. Eliot's work on the Indian Bible is praised – "For which Pains and Labour, he deserves Honour from all such who are Well-wishers to things of the like Nature, whose name will never die in *New-England*" – as is Gookin's

³⁸ The Nipmucs (also spelled Nipmucks) were a small tribe of Algonquin Indians who had been heavily missionized by John Eliot in the years prior to the War, and many of whom lived in Praying Indian villages at its outset. They were not universally loyal to the English, however, with the sachem "Sagamore Sam" fighting on the side of Philip, many villages attempting to remain relatively neutral, and others supplying scouts and warriors to the colonial militia. See Drake, King Philip's War (1999), especially 84-104 for a discussion of Nipmuc loyalties; and Doughton, "Unseen Neighbors" (1997), for a discussion of the tribe following the War.

³⁹ The Present State of New England (1675), 12.

⁴⁰ The Present State of New England (1675), 10. In the 1677 edition "known" is incorrectly printed "know."

⁴¹ I will use the standard spelling for John Eliot and Daniel Gookin's names. These two men were both instrumental in the missionary project of New England during the mid- to late- seventeenth century, especially organizing the Praying Indian Towns. Eliot was primarily engaged in issues of translation ultimately resulting in his publication of the Bible and other texts of conversion in the Massachusetts language. Gookin was more involved in the administration of these towns, as well as in the government of Massachusetts Bay more generally. His two books Historical Collections of the Indians in New England and The Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians remained unpublished during his lifetime. For more information on Eliot see Cogley, John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War (1999).

administration of Indian concerns. No Indians, though, are mentioned, nor are any traits of the group as a whole: they are described solely as objects of the missionary work of the two Englishmen. Distinguishing between Eliot's and Gookin's Indians and setting them apart from the larger and more ambiguous category of Praying Indians allows for a temporary category that might be called "proprietary Indians": those whose identity is linked clearly to an Englishman who has responsibility for them. Identified by their relationship to Elliot and Gookin, the Praying Indians are under the paternalistic care of the two missionaries. These groups seem to coincide with those Indians of Natick and Punquepaog that the Massachusetts law designates as being subject to the English.

The proliferation of categories here is hard to miss. N.S.'s emphasis on the differing systems employed to account for different aspects of Indian-English interactions is overwhelming, at times threatening to overburden a narrative purportedly dedicated to relating the events of the military campaign. When contrasted with Batten's assertion that the Indians lack policy (and are thus ripe for an easy victory), the English of N.S.'s narrative are closely identified with careful, detailed policy with respect to the Indians. This distinction may in part be an explanation made with the interests of London audience in mind – specifically the "Christian Friends" identified in the opening – as the New England Company and similar benevolent organizations were deeply concerned with how the English would systematize their interactions with the Indians. N.S.'s account begins by showing the realization of that policy on the North American continent, and continues by detailing a policy that evinces a nuanced approach to Indian-English interactions, while still stressing the Christian conversion of the Praying Indians.

The pamphlet is careful to build these distinctions – first tying Praying Indians to geography in an attempt to identify allies, then creating a subset of English-identified, more trustworthy “proprietary” Indians – making the utter collapse of these distinctions in the final sentences of the narrative dramatic and surprising. Justifying the actions of English as reasonable with regard to their treatment of Eliot’s Indians, the narrative then erases the distinctions among the different Praying Indians, reverting to two simple groups: Indians and English.

Care now is taken to satisfy the (reasonable) desires of the Commonalty, concerning Mr. *Elliot's Indians*, and Capt. *Guggins Indians*.

They that wear the name of *Praying Indians*, but rather (as Mr, Hezekiah Usher termed *Prying-Indians*) they have made Preys of much *English Blood*, but now they are all reduced to their several Confinements; which is much to a general Satisfaction in that respect.⁴²

Pivoting on the word “pry,” the final paragraph plays on the homonyms pray/prey. First the Praying Indians are identified by their behavior as “Prying Indians” – harkening back to the skulking of hostile followers of King Philip – before sliding dangerously into the category of “Preying Indians.” With this, the transformation is complete, and the distinctions much belabored by the pamphlet and the work much lauded by Eliot and Gookin are lost in the account’s final paragraph: all Indians prey upon the English – or at least have that potential – and all are thus enemies. The account begins with an understanding of the relationships between the English and the different Native peoples among whom they are living that appreciates not only the differing tribes represented in the region, but also the different ways in which members of those groups may interact

⁴² The Present State of New England (1675), 19. Hezekial Usher was a bookseller in Boston who died in 1676.

positively or negatively with the colonists. It ends, however, with a racialized friend-enemy division, one that erases the complexities of the multi-raced community in favor of one starkly divided for the sake of waging war. The narrative's slide from Praying Indians to Preying Indians portrays both the difficulty of the English in physically identifying their friends and foes, and their failure to capture that distinction in language: words fail the text, and all Indians are enemies.⁴³

Questions of Authorship

While definitively identifying the author of these three pamphlets attributed to Nathaniel Saltonstall is impossible, posing the question highlights issues of authorship and colonial self-presentation – those of the original pamphlet itself, as well as that of subsequent historians. The complexity surrounding the pamphlet's authorship, from its anonymity in its initial publication to the difficulties deciphering it historically, speaks to the complicated ways that the colonists positioned the conflict for their London audience. Beyond simply reporting the events of the war, the author's presentation of the events – and presentation of authorship – exemplifies a colonial understanding of the importance of representing themselves and their cause back to a metropole with whom their goals were no longer consonant. The pamphlet itself seems to argue for that divergence while simultaneously making a bid for the readers' sympathy.

⁴³ The friend-enemy distinction can be traced back to Carl Schmitt's treatise on the subject, The Concept of the Political. See especially the 1996 edition for Strong's foreword: "Dimensions of the New Debate around Carl Schmitt."

If Batten's report represents a break from the authoritative Puritan voices regarding the New England experiment that was squelched by the editor of the Gazette, identifying the N.S. letters as coming from a merchant similarly signaled to London readers the outsider status of the documents. This distinction may have been the point of the designation that the pamphlet was "Faithfully Composed by a Merchant of *Boston*, and Communicated to his Friend in *LONDON*," though whether that was the intent of the author, the printer, or someone else is unclear. As Batten's sentiments illustrate, the rising merchant class in Boston had begun to shift away from the tight control of the colony's clergy, even if some evidence of friction was downplayed by the editors of the Gazette.

The Gazette account evinces the complicated authorial and editorial interest in the conflict; similarly, The Present State of New-England is complicated by the identity of its author, identified merely as a "Merchant of Boston" on the title page, substituting social rank for an author's name. Together with two later pamphlets identified similarly on the title page and signed with an "N.S.," these narratives are generally attributed to Nathaniel Saltonstall, a Harvard-educated figure of some esteem living in Haverhill, Massachusetts at this time. The nineteenth-century historian Samuel G. Drake seems to be the first person to suggest Nathaniel Saltonstall as the author in his The Old Indian Chronicle, with a footnote at the end of the second letter: "These Initials answer to those of *Nathaniel Saltonstall*, as well as to those of many other Persons, but for whom they stand

the Editor can make no Decision.”⁴⁴ Drake offers no evidence for this tentative assertion, but from this point on Saltonstall is regularly referenced as the author.⁴⁵ It is unclear how the attribution became so widespread from this point forward. Douglas Leach identifies Saltonstall as the letters’ author in his authoritative history Flintlock and Tomahawk, and all subsequent critics follow his lead.⁴⁶ Robert Moody, in his brief biography of Saltonstall in The Saltonstall Family Papers is the sole dissenter: “I give no credence, though I may be mistaken, to Samuel G. Drake’s suggestion that Nathaniel Saltonstall may be the author of the two anonymous narratives of King Philip’s War signed ‘N.S.’”⁴⁷ Similar to Drake’s initial assertion, Moody’s disagreement lacks evidence, and the footnoted assertion seems almost an afterthought in Moody’s rush to consider Saltonstall’s participation in the Salem witch trials of 1692.⁴⁸ None of the authors consider the question of N.S.’s identity important to understanding how and why his writings take the positions they do regarding the New England community.

It is improbable that Nathaniel Saltonstall was in Boston throughout the conflict, as he was a colonel in the militia charged with protecting the outlying village of Haverhill, though he may still have addressed his letter from the port city. Further,

⁴⁴ Drake certainly does so in the 1867 edition; it is not clear if he also does so in the 1836 edition. This identification – or suggestion thereof – appears first in a footnote at the end of the second letter (A Continuation of the State of New-England, March 1676) and again at the end of the third (A New and Further Narrative of the State of New-England, October 1676); he ventures no such supposition with regard to the un-initialed first letter. Drake, The Old Indian Chronicle (1867), 200, note.

⁴⁵ For an early-twentieth century example see Lincoln, Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675-1699 (1913).

⁴⁶ Leach, Flintlock and Tomahawk (1958).

⁴⁷ Moody, The Saltonstall Papers (1972-4), 56, n. 2.

⁴⁸ This latter involvement – Saltonstall’s possible dissent and refusal to serve on the court that tried the accused witches in Salem, Massachusetts in 1692 – is unsurprisingly the incident upon which most historical interest has focused. Saltonstall’s seeming unwillingness to be party to the court of Oyer and Terminer has garnered praise from subsequent generations of historians, along with Judge Samuel Sewall’s later apology over his involvement in the witch trials. See Moody’s biography in The Saltonstall Papers (1972-4), 48-60; for a lengthy discussion of Sewall’s role see Francis, Judge Sewall’s Apology (2006).

Saltonstall was not principally a merchant (if at all), but rather a magistrate in the colonial government and a large landholder. It is certain, however, that Saltonstall was a regular writer, that he was intimately involved in the health and well-being of the colony, and that he had contacts in London at the time of the war.⁴⁹ Saltonstall does make an attractive possibility as an author, as his level of education (he graduated from Harvard in 1659) and his role in the colonial government, as well as his interest in land acquisition (though not, it seems, speculation) is consistent with the letters' concern with legal identification of Indians, as well as their preoccupation with geography. Additionally, his position as a colonel in the colonial militia (if one that seems to have seen no action in King Philip's War) accounts for his military knowledge, and might allow for the letters' detailed accounts of military events. Also, the letters' relative lack of religious language might be tied to Saltonstall's decidedly worldly concerns, even if he was not an active merchant: despite family desire otherwise, no Saltonstall entered the clergy until Nathaniel's oldest son did so some years after the war. This would be particularly significant at the time, for Saltonstall's family was certainly prominent, and not having relatives in the large and powerful New England clergy would have been unusual.

If Nathaniel Saltonstall is in fact the author of these three later pamphlets, his – or his editor's – choice to obscure his identity with this occupational tag lends the publication a position of critique and a hint of criticism of the powers-that-be in Massachusetts not available were he identified as a respected magistrate and officer in the militia. Within the contentious and highly politicized newsbook culture of London, such

⁴⁹ For instance, his father seems to have been in London for an extended time during this period. See Moody, *The Saltonstall Papers* (1972-4), 48-60 and 163-280.

a place outside of the clergy but within the merchant class would have lent the pieces an air of authority freed of the taint of the period's religious scandals. This is more than just a private letter made anonymous for public consumption, but represents a recasting of the concerns of the colonial author for the politics of the London literary market.⁵⁰ In this case, the writer's anonymity is the base on which his position of "objective" criticism of the Indian-English relations – and community composition at large – is built. On the other hand, even if Saltonstall is not the author of the trio of newsbooks, the title page still offers hints as to how authors and printers negotiated the distance between North America and England and entered the London print market.

These issues concerning the situation of the pamphlets' author are most relevant with regard to N.S.'s treatment of the Indians and his positioning of the colonial process of Indian conversion. Though The Present State of New-England begins with an invocation of the worthiness of the missionary project, by the end of the first letter that project has collapsed into a simple distinction of friend and enemy. This critique of the New England Company's project of Indian education might be expected from a Boston merchant, as N.S.'s criticism agrees with many of Batten's implications about English-Indian relations that were edited out of the Gazette. But were such a critique to come from a respected member of the Massachusetts government and an influential landholder – as Nathaniel Saltonstall certainly was – the effects would be much different:

Massachusetts received money from the New England Company specifically for the

⁵⁰ London newsbook culture during the mid- to late-seventeenth century was marked for its partiality. While having shed some of the virulence of the pamphlet wars of the early seventeenth century and fallen under the yoke of Roger L'Estrange, the Crown's censor, the newsbooks were still noted more for their polemicism than for their objectivity. See Clark, "Early American Journalism" (2000).

project of Indian conversion (the Indian College is one example; another is the publication of Eliot's Algonquin Bible), funds that would be in jeopardy were a colonial official to admit to their ineffectiveness.

The complexities of the relationships between the Indians and the colonists, among the colonists themselves, and then between New England and concerned parties in England are lost when the letters are read simply as histories and obscured when failing to consider the process of their publication. Conversely, reading the pamphlets for what they say, how they say it, and why the author might make such assertions highlights how the colonists' portrayal of King Philip's War was always in an uneasy tension with the shifting ideas of race, religion, and transatlantic national community.

Strange bedfellows

This question of the author's identity lingers over the publication of the second two letters, even as they return to issues regarding the partitioning of the Indians and the English. A Continuation of the State of New-England; Being a Farther Account of the Indian War was published on March 27, 1676. The letter from which it was taken is dated February 9, 1676, at which time the author had yet to receive any reaction from London regarding his first letter. The author amends a number of the statements made in his first letter, in which he "made bold to acquaint you with sundry Passages, that before the date thereof, came to pass amongst us."⁵¹ The second missive begins with the same concerns regarding the Praying Indians that were found in the first:

⁵¹ N.S., A Continuation of the State of New England (1676), 3.

I also sent you two of our Orders in Print by Order of the Council here; The one for the Confinement of our *Neetop* (i.e. *Friend*) Indians, the other for a general Fast throughout this Colony: By the one you may see the great Care our Authority hath, as well to make a distinction visible, betwixt our Friends the Christian *Indians*, and our Enemies the Heathens, as also to secure the one from injuries, and to lay the other open, and make them liable to the hand of Justice [...].⁵²

Here the narrative betrays the author's concerns about his colony's confinement of Friend Indians (here employing a word not used in the previous letter) and their partitioning of different Indian peoples. The use of the Algonquin word "Neetop" is also odd, especially given that his audience was in England. The narrative adds an air of ethnographic "authenticity" by using a word that had entered the colonial vocabulary through the missionary work of Roger Williams and his 1643 *A Key into the Language of America*, and links this writer to the project of Christian conversion to an audience hungry for such markers.⁵³ The use also implies Native American complicity by bonding the writer to the Indian allies through shared language, thus hinting at the good-faith effort made by the English to engage their neighbors.

This linguistic signal of the real work of the conversion project comes in a passage in which the pamphlet attempts to rationalize Boston's proclamation to its London readers, and manifests an ethical uneasiness in the official documents. However concerned with making the Indians and their allegiances visible in such a way as to subject them to judgment – to render them readable by the colonists – Boston's proclamation concerning the Neetop Indians is here linked with another announcing a fast

⁵² N.S., *A Continuation of the State of New England* (1676), 3.

⁵³ From Williams' *Key*: "*What cheare Nétop? is the generall salutation of all English toward them, Nétop is friend*" (2).

day. Together, these two documents show the desire not only to justify the partitioning in terms of military goals or logistical concerns, but also through the lens of divine sanction:

and truly *Sir*, we have great cause to bless the Lord for that we have such Magistrates and Coucellers that we are so well assured do aime at the Glory of God, and the peace and welfare of his people in the Wilderness; that however the mighty hand of God is lifted up upon us, and he hath given Commission to the Sword to destroy, yes we are well satisfied there is nothing wanting that lyeth within the reach of their wisdom or strength: Wherefore in the midst of our troubles we comfort our selves in this, that we are satisfied they do what in them lyeth [...].⁵⁴

The author invokes the Boston Council's religious authority to make his own argument regarding the colonists' privileged place. Interestingly, this language of religious justification is strongest when associated with the official publications of the Council, as if the divine rationale spills over from the Gothic script of the proclamations and into the words of N.S. The secular narrative here harnesses the Biblical language of the Boston Council (itself a religiously inflected institution) in a way isomorphic to how it employs a quasi-Biblical typeface to lend authority to the broadsides themselves, and taken together they represent a threefold front of authority: secular, religious, and political.

These in-text broadsides are not the only place in the N.S. letters that the language of divine providence appears, but the fact that these official documents and the language used to describe them are so steeped in this rhetoric, while the language of the author is more hesitant to evoke the will of God in his explanation of events, suggests the underlying factions in the community. Both N.S. and the Boston Council recognize the Indians as a diverse and potentially threatening group, and seek to codify that difference by proscribing Native identities legally and geographically, but they do so with different

⁵⁴ N.S., A Continuation of the State of New England (1676), 3.

relationships to the interior of the community: the Council understands that interiority to be necessarily religiously-inflected, while N.S. seems more conflicted – and more secular – in his conceptions. The text attempts to weld these divergent rationales into a coherent justification for loyalties, but the construction of the narrative betrays the friction.

The republication of the Boston Council’s proclamation in N.S.’s second pamphlet implicates the London reader in a way that recalls the similar republication in the first. Yet, whereas in the first newsbook the in-text broadside linked the London reader and the Boston colonist in a similar judgment of the Indians, in the second letter the proclamation comes more as a plea directly to the reader, regardless of the side of the Atlantic on which he or she is standing. The text of the broadside begins with an address “To our Brethren and Friends, the Inhabitants of the Colony of the Massachusetes.”⁵⁵ This address, along with the contextualization that follows, is not in black letter, but is instead set in a standard typeface like the rest of N.S.’s letter (though slightly larger). It continues:

Although you cannot be Ignorant, how studious this Government hath been to preserve Peace in this Colony, and hath taken up and compromised diverse Quarrels that have Risen between our Selves, our Neighbours, the *Indians* [...] we have thought it necessary to let you understand the Rise and Progress of our present Troubles, with our endeavours to have prevented the same.⁵⁶

Following this, the font switches to black letter, and proceeds to give a review of the events that have brought the colony to its present place, “In June last...”⁵⁷ [See Figure 7.]

Rather than simply reproduce the words of the Boston Council in a font demanding

⁵⁵ N.S., *A Continuation of the State of New England*, 9.

⁵⁶ N.S., *A Continuation of the State of New England*, 9.

⁵⁷ N.S., *A Continuation of the State of New England*, 9. No copy of the original broadside has been located, thus making the comparison possible with regard to *The Present State of New-England* impossible here.

authority, the pamphlet's construction here betrays a fear about the reception of those words. After all, his previous publication had already offered some background on the War, and prior to this point even this letter has rehashed the controversy surrounding Sassamon's death, making these statements of the Council redundant to his London readers. What is most interesting regarding this insertion is not the implication that these facts demand yet another retelling in an attempt to convince readers, but that unlike in his first publication the words alone are insufficient to convey that meaning, even when set off in black letter. Instead, the first paragraph's imploring "you" invokes the difference between the Boston and London readers, and this plea for understanding recognizes a separation where the previous letter had invoked similarity.

It may not be amiss to acquaint you that the Night before the Fight was, and all that day, and the night after, there fell such an extraordinary Snow that the like hath not been known for many years; and in regard that we had no Port come from our Army for 4. or 5. days, many fears arose amongst us that our men were lost either by the Enemy, or the Snow, which made many an heart-ake amongst us: But so it was, that which we feared would spoil us, did very much disable the Enemy: for we having burnt down almost all their Wigwams, as also all their Corn that we could find, they thereby have less shelter and less subsistence left them, which misery of theirs is much aggravated by that great Snow. The Fight being over, our men retreated to Mr. Smith's House, where the Noble General gave Order that the Wounded and Sick should first of all be cared for, which was done accordingly; and that they might have the better Accommodation in the House, the General himself lay in a Barn belonging to the said House. Care is now taken to raise a 1000. men more to attend the General, which will suddenly march; what the issue will be the Lord knows.

King Philip supposing that *Hatfield*, a Town on *Connecticut-River*, was very thin of men; he drew together 7 or 800. of his *Indians*, among which they had several Horses, and suddenly entered the Town on the 19th. of *October*, 1675. which after they had set on Fire in three places, they divided themselves into two bodies, and began to set several Cruelities on the Inhabitants: The *English* by their diligence soon quenched the fires, and making up a body of 200. men, most of which were newly come into the Town, they fell on the *Indians* with a great deal of fury, and after two hours Fight, compelled the *Indians* to leave the Town with more hast than they entered, the *English* having slain about 100. *Indians*, with very little loss to themselves, pursued the rest to the *River-side*, where many were drowned that could not swim to the farther side. After this Fight, *Philip* and his *Indians* fled to the *Narragansets*, which caused the Council of the *Massachusetts* to publish in Print this Remonstrance before spoken of.

To



To our Brethren and Friends, the Inhabitants of the Colony of the *Massachusetts*.

Although you cannot be Ignorant, how studious this Government hath been to preserve Peace in this Colony, and hath taken up and Compromised diverse Quarrels that have Risen between our Selves, our Neighbours, & the *Indians*; And thereby at several times prevented those Calamities wherewith we are now Pressed: Yet to satisfie you that the same Mind, and the same Endeavours are continued in the present Government, we have thought it necessary to let you understand the Rise and Progress of our present Troubles; with our endeavours to have prevented the same.

In June last, we were Certified by our Friends and Confederates of *Plimouth*, that *Philip* the *Sachem* of *Mount-Hope* was in Arms, and had solicited all the *Indians* to join with him against the *English*; and that he desired our Assistance to Suppress him: which we by the Articles of Confederation could not deny, and therefore applied our selves to Raise some Force for their Assistance: but were still desirous to prevent a War with the *Indians*; and therefore upon a former Experience of a good Effect brought upon the said *Philip*, we resolved to use the same means, viz. sending Messengers from hence to *Philip* to Treat with him, hoping of the like Issue, which upon the like case about four years since we by Gods good hand obtained. But our Messengers arriving at *Swampy*, in their way towards *Philip*, found divers *English* scattered on the Road, and were informed by the *English* there, of divers Hostilities of the *Indians*, which rendered our

Design

Figure 7: This page from *A Continuation of the State of New-England* (1676) shows the transition from a normal typeface, to a slightly enlarged type for the introductory paragraph, and finally to black letter for the body of the Boston Council's proclamation. The original broadside employs only one conventional Roman typeface throughout.

Importantly, the invocation of this difference involves a justification of the War, something seemingly unnecessary in the first letter. The position of this justification within the document is significant, as the insertion of the broadside follows the relation of the devastating attack by the English on a Narragansett encampment. The Great Swamp Fight was both the first victory by the English, and the most shocking display of total war that New England had yet seen, with the numbers of Narragansett men, women, and

children who died in the assault numbering up to one thousand.⁵⁸ N.S.'s account of the assault is primarily focused upon the deaths of the English soldiers, though he does mention the deaths of Native American men, women, and children, and revels in the colonists' indiscriminate killing.⁵⁹ Immediately following the account of the battle is a detailed account of the numbers of English soldiers injured in the assault (underscoring the losses absorbed by the colonists), and then the insertion of the Boston Council's broadside. In fact, the battle took place on Dec. 19, 1675, twelve days after the broadside appeared, but rather than hold to a strict chronology, in A Continuation of the State of New-England N.S.'s linear progression is broken: the words of the Boston Council are positioned after the battle, preceding an explanation of the brutality of the Swamp Fight. The reordering of events strengthens the colonial justification for the battle by answering its brutality with an account of the English lives lost and then an illustration of the colonies' general confusion over the identity of their enemy. This desire to justify the actions of the colonists back to England signals an awareness on the part of the author of the potential distance between the two groups, an anxiety not seen in the first publication.

Beyond the inclusion of broadsides, A Continuation of the State of New England has two documents appended to the primary text that further shape the meaning of the publication. These two documents follow after N.S. signs the work ("*Your Friend to his Power*, N.S.), and do not themselves have any introductory or contextualizing material by

⁵⁸ The English lost 70 men, while the Narragansetts lost somewhere around 100 warriors and between 300 and 1,000 noncombatants. See James D. Drake, King Philip's War (1999), 119-120.

⁵⁹ N.S., A Continuation of the State of New-England (1676), 6-8.

either the author or the editor.⁶⁰ First is a Postscript providing deep background on the conflict, detailing Massasoit's 1620 agreement with Plymouth's Pilgrims, and spelling out seven conditions regarding the friendship between Massasoit and the English. The balance of these rules is on the side of the English, though not overly so. Most important is a rule that states, "That if any of [Massasoit's people] did any harm to any of ours, that then he should send the Offender unto us for punishment" (16), without offering a similar provision for Massasoit's people. This agreement is the basis for the legal – and, by extension moral – English settlement in New England, and codifies a relationship whereby law is not attached to the geography of the region, but rather travels with the Englishman.

The terms of this agreement also occur in Bradford's Of Plymouth Plantation and in G. Mourt's early description of the first years at Plymouth, now titled Mourt's Relation, though N.S.'s version differs slightly from both of those.⁶¹ Whereas all three versions contain an enumerated list of the terms agreed upon by the parties, both Bradford and Mourt refer to "he" and "theirs" with regard to Massasoit and his subjects, and "we" and "us" for the young colony of Plymouth. For instance, point three reads, in Bradford's version: "That if anything were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should do the like to his." Bradford's prose is certainly a bit confusing, but the impression that it gives is of two generic groups that stand in some potentially hostile but nevertheless at least tenuously peaceful relationship to one another. N.S., on

⁶⁰ A Continuation of the State of New-England (1676), 15. The first postscript is on pages 16 through 18; the second on pages 19 and 20.

⁶¹ See Bradford, Of Plymouth Plantation (1981), 88-89; and Mourt's Relation (1963), 56-57.

the other hand, describes the two groups as Indians and English, and is careful to emphasize these terms by italicizing them: “That if the *English* took any Goods belonging to the said *Massasoit*, or any of his *Indians*, they should restore them again: and he obliged himself to do the like.” With this move the Indians lose any tribal specificity, while the colonists’ allegiance to England is emphasized, a revision that heightens the tension of the agreement by implying an inherent difference between the two groups.

Further, while there are only six terms in both Bradford and Mourt’s accounts, N.S. adds a seventh: “That in so doing, our Sovereign Lord King *James* should esteem him as his Friend and Ally.” Mourt includes a similar sentence – “Lastly, that doing thus, King James would esteem of him as his friend and ally” – but it simply follows the list; Bradford makes no mention of the King whatsoever in this passage. The political context of the three documents is useful to remember, for Mourt’s Relation was both written and published during the reign of James I (1622), when such name-dropping would have been beneficial, especially for the questionable Separatists who had fled England specifically because they feared the rule of James. Bradford, writing this section during the political upheaval following the ascension of Charles I and when Puritans in England began to openly oppose the King, had no need for such political pleasantries.⁶² N.S., writing following the Restoration and addressing a London audience generally in favor of the policies of Charles II (grandson of James I and son of the beheaded Charles I) not only includes the sentence, but forces it into the political agreement, a contract that had previously ignored the sovereign King in favor of the elevation of local, decidedly non-

⁶² Moreover, while his work circulated widely in New England in manuscript form during the seventeenth century, it was not published and widely available to the public until the nineteenth.

royal negotiators. Even more so than for Mourt during the fragile years of the colony's beginning, for N.S. during the Restoration the King has a place at the primary political alliance of New England, a treaty that is implicitly broken by King Philip in his War, a war that is not only against the colonists, but against the Crown and indeed all of England. By reprinting and editing this agreement, the newsbook draws the colonies closer to their brethren in England, and positions King Philip as opposing not simply the colonists, but the sovereign King of all England.

The inclusion of this agreement simultaneously offers a legal justification for the War back to the London public by presenting them with the legal contract and situating that contract against an account of the Indians' violation thereof. The postscript extends the agreement down to King Philip's War, citing the ways in which Massasoit and his son Moanam's 1639 agreement was extended to Philip in 1662.⁶³ The effect of this Postscript is to show the legal violation made by Philip in his aggressions. If the previous section of the document detailed the martial aspects of the war and the moral quandaries of the English, then this portion of the text offers to the pamphlet's London readership the legal justifications for the colonists' position. Notably lacking are the discussions of the conversion of the Indians or the rationale behind that conversion, pieces replaced in N.S.'s second letter with legal justifications for the colonists' actions.

⁶³ Interestingly, this seems to be one of the very few places where Philip is identified as the grandson of Massasoit, as opposed to his son. This would make Philip the son of Alexander (here identified as Moanam), as opposed to his brother. The weight of evidence seems to be against this, despite the fact that Philip was substantially younger than Massasoit.

Also appended to the second N.S. letter is a dispatch penned by one “G.W.” describing a slave revolt in Spickes-Bay, Barbados, on November 30, 1675.⁶⁴ The two cases do not at first seem comparable to the modern reader in their details – this latter event is clearly a slave revolt, and not a war on the colony by sovereign entities – but the strikingly similar language used to describe them forces their comparison. The narrative is only two pages long, and G.W. relies more heavily upon the language of divine providence than does N.S., but G.W. figures the conflicts similarly with regard to their effects upon the English:

The manner of their proceeding I wrote to you more at large; and as the Lord did deliver us from the Tyranny and barbarous cruelty of Savage Heathens, and we still remaining obstinate, & refusing to return to him by Repentance; the Lord hath taken us into his own hand to chastise us, which chastisements lyeth very heavy on the poorer sort, and none of the Rich excepted.⁶⁵

G.W.’s account suggests that as with New England, the “savage heathens” (here the African slaves) are used by the hand of God to return the wayward community to the fold of the Lord. Interestingly, this is how King Philip’s War is described in New England by the jeremiads of the period: the signature genre of the Puritan clergy, these sermons identified the chosen community as falling away and punished by a wrathful but potentially forgiving God.⁶⁶ While G.W. does not follow the form of the sermon, his intent is similar. The effect of both the jeremiad and G.W.’s appeal is to create stark boundaries around the Christian community that characterize all that is external to it as a monstrous Other.

⁶⁴ More information regarding G.W. is not known, nor is anything known regarding his possible relationship to N.S.

⁶⁵ N.S., *A Continuation of the State of New-England* (1676), 19.

⁶⁶ The single most important and exhaustive study of the jeremiad during this period is Bercovitch’s aptly named *The American Jeremiad* (1978).

The author goes on to show how the natural world – in this case a storm – is used to chastise the chosen English, placing the Indians, the slaves, and the elements as external to the English and making them the seemingly anonymous tools of the Lord.

Sir, upon the last day of *August* last, about six of the Clock in the Afternoon, there did arise a Violent Storm of Wind & Rain out of the North-West, and continuing between the North and the South so violent, that before the hour of Twelve at Night, there was not twenty Houses standing in our Parish, in which there is above three hundred Families, and those that did stand, much damnified; our Neighbouring Parishes tasting of the same Cup.⁶⁷

Superficially, G.W.'s Barbados does not resemble the world sketched out by N.S.: even in his use of the language of divine providence, N.S. nowhere reduces people to the simple tools of the Lord. But for G.W. this emphasis on the religious nature of the conflict allows him to draw ties to New England and implicitly to England, linking them together in a grand colonial chain. While New England's writers were working toward a secular understanding of their community, for G.W. and his compatriots on Barbados the opposite was true: the economic nature of the colony was never in doubt, though its religious commitment was questionable. This explains his need to cast the island's struggle in a language that would be most familiar to Londoners as coming out of the mouths (and pens) of New England's ministers.

The publication of G.W.'s letter next to N.S.'s account, and his analogizing of the slave revolt to King Philip's War, positions the two similarly for the London reader, both with regard to the texts themselves and to the events that they represent. G.W. later makes the relationship between his narrative and that of N.S. more explicit, stating that, "Our fellow-subjects in *New-England*, have the 28th of the same month, tasted of the

⁶⁷ N.S., *A Continuation of the State of New-England* (1676), 19.

same Cup, and was very hard put to it this last Summer by one King *Philip* an *Indian* King, who hath revolted without cause given him by the *English*.”⁶⁸ Here G.W. positions the English in New England and Barbados similarly with regard to the London metropole, figuring the colonial populations as linked through their common relationship to the sovereign. He further opposes the colonists to the equally sovereign and opposing force of King Philip, and by extension that of the revolting slaves, themselves not sovereign. This equation at once positions King Philip as opposing the will of the English Crown, and undermines the legitimacy of that claim by equating King Philip’s followers to the slaves of Barbados, a group understood to lack sovereignty. The denial of sovereignty to the slaves of Barbados reinforces the legitimacy of the war in New England, in both cases restricting the sovereign protection of the Crown to white Englishmen. Whereas N.S.’s account is more hesitant to forward such a view and is much more detailed in his justification and account of the conflict, when read beside G.W.’s account of the slave revolt in Barbados, the two combine to produce a view of community character that is increasingly racialized.

The exceptional nature of this juxtaposition is worth underscoring. A Continuation of the State of New England concerns itself primarily with justifying the brutality of New England’s war with King Philip, and in so doing recognizes a gap between the New England colonists and the English readers that it had worked to deny in the previous publication. This account is then followed by a historical legal document that asserts the sovereignty of the Indian opponent of the colonists, thus rationalizing the

⁶⁸ N.S., A Continuation of the State of New-England (1676), 20.

war legally, though undercutting the ways that sovereignty had been complicated by subtle definitions of friend and foe in N.S.'s first letter. Finally, these two documents have attached to them another account whereby the revolt of slaves – clearly not sovereign themselves – is compared to New England's war with Philip, primarily on the basis of the general inhumanity of the slaves and the Indians. G.W. here asserts the very division along stark and uncrossable lines of religion that N.S. had previously worked to complicate. Just why this similar conception of the two events is convincing to G.W. is unclear, but taken together the three documents – not to mention the Boston Council broadside contained in N.S.'s narrative – forward and then retract different and opposing rationales for the conflicts, as well as suggesting contradictory bases for English supremacy: political systems on one hand, legal rationales on the other, and finally divine providence. These three narratives overlap and pivot on the concept of cultural Englishness – and, by extension, race – in a way none of them does individually, suggesting the production of a new racialized system of difference buttressed by these auxiliary rationales.

Once More unto the Press

In many ways N.S.'s third letter is rather disappointing, lacking some of the textual complexity displayed in the previous two publications. A New and Further Narrative of the State of New-England was published in London on October 13, 1676, and recounts events up through August of that year. The text serves as an anticlimactic summary of the last months of the war, one that N.S. does not inject with the same close

attention to racial difference and legal wrangling that had marked his previous two. For much of the narrative Native Americans are lumped together generically as Indians or “savage heathens,” with no distinctions made based on tribal affiliation, religious persuasion, or relationship to the English.

One of the few places where N.S. returns to a more nuanced understanding of the various Indian peoples is in his description of the allied English and Indian forces’ bloody and vengeful destruction of a captured sachem Myantonomy.⁶⁹ At first glance such detailed distinctions are surprising, as the instance is also one of the best examples of English-Indian cooperation:

[A]nd that all might share in the glory of destroying so great a Prince, and come under the obligation of fidelity each to other, the *Pequods* shot him, the *Mohegins* cut off his head, and quartered his body, and the *Ninnicrofts* men made the fire, and burned his quarters; and as a token of their love and fidelity to the *English*, presented his head to the Council at *Hartford*.⁷⁰

Here the Indians are galvanized not through their loyalty to the English, but through their mutual hatred for a common foe. It seems that they, too, have undergone a complex negotiation of the friend-foe divide, and the differing tribes join together under the eye of the English, though seemingly not simply at their behest. The rhetorical impact of the scene does not lie in its extension of sympathy from the English viewer to his or her

⁶⁹ Just whom this name refers to is unclear. The Narragansett sachem Miantonomi (also spelled Miantonomo or Miantonomah) was well known for his role in the Pequot War, but was most famous for his execution at the hands of the Mohegan chief Uncas in 1643. Uncas convinced the United Colonies of Miantonomo’s treachery against the English, then asked that the Narragansett chief be given to the Mohegans for execution. When the English acquiesced, Miantonomo died at Uncas’s hand. Almost all accounts agree that the person referred to here is more commonly known as Canonchet, a powerful sachem of the Narragansetts and son of Miantonomo. As the most powerful sachem of the numerous and influential Narragansetts, Canonchet would have led at least as many warriors as King Philip himself, if not more. Thus, not only was his death strategically important, but it symbolically repeated his father’s execution, also at the hands of Native Americans allied with the English. For a discussion of Miantonomi see James Drake, *King Philip’s War* (1999), 29-30; for more on Canonchet and his execution see *ibid.*, 131-3.

⁷⁰ N.S., *A New and Further Narrative* (1676), 9.

collected Indian allies in their destruction of a mutual enemy, but rather in the graphic brutality of the dismembered Indian body. The death may be complex; its relation, however, is not meant to illustrate the nuances of the Indian-English alliances, but rather to dramatize the total destruction of the Indian enemy. Obliteration is the point, not alliance.

As N.S. tells of the final days of the War and describes King Philip's last major victory, he invokes a scene that is both striking in its genre and complicated in its political implications. N.S. tells of the meeting between the Indians and Puritan gadfly Roger Williams just prior to an attack on Providence, Rhode Island. The small colony had been irksome to the allied New England colonies throughout the conflict, as the Quaker sanctuary reluctantly sent only a few troops to take part in the War. Despite that, and in spite of the fact that King Philip's home of Mount Hope abutted the small colony, the English colonists there had seen relatively few casualties. This troubles N.S., and he attempts to explain the seemingly light burdens visited upon New England's traditional scapegoats:

But indeed the reason that the Inhabitants of the Towns of *Seaconick* and *Providence* generally escaped with their lives, is not to be attributed to any compassion or good-nature of the *Indians*, (whose very mercies are inhumane cruelties), but (next to Gods providence), to their own prudence in avoiding their fury, when they found themselves to weak and unable to resist it, by timely Flight into *Rhode-Island*, which now became the common *Zoar*, or place of Refuge for the Distressed [...].⁷¹

N.S.'s annoyance with regard to Rhode Island's seemingly light losses is palpable, but he sees them as evidence not of any mercy on the part of the Indians (generically described

⁷¹ N.S., *A New and Further Narrative* (1676), 7.

and now always already preying), or on the fortitude of the Rhode Island colonists, but instead on their timely retreat.⁷² The slight only makes sense in the context of inter-colonial relations, where Quaker passivity was often criticized. Interestingly, N.S. again attempts a pun at the expense of Rhode Islanders, much as he did earlier with the “Pra/eying” Indians. This time the narrative plays on Providence/God’s providence/prudence, and while the wordplay lacks the bite seen in the first pamphlet, he deploys it once again to dismiss a questionable ally: the heavily Quaker Rhode Islanders.

Before their much-maligned (if militarily justified) retreat, Roger Williams left Providence to parlay with the Indians, some of whom he seems to have known personally from either his missionary work or through his trading post to the south of his settlement:

Mr. *Williams* at *Providence*, who knowing several of the chief *Indians* that came to fire that Town, discoursed with them a considerable time, who pretended, their greatest quarrel was against *Plimouth* [...] Mr. *Williams* reprov’d their confidence, minded them of their Cruelties, and told them, that the *Bay*, viz. *Boston*, could yet spare Ten thousand men; and if they should destroy all them, yet it was not to be doubted, but our King would send as many every year from *Old England*, rather than they should share the Countrey [...].⁷³

Perplexing though N.S.’s (bad) punning might be, this passage is even more confusing.

In it he tells the tale of an individual generally disliked in New England for his religious and political ideas, including his ideas concerning Indian sovereignty. As the author of The Key into the Language of America nearly thirty years before and a long-time friend of a number of powerful Native American sachems, Williams was New England’s most formidable Indian sympathizer, its most skilled and respected Indian negotiator, and a

⁷² The colony of Rhode Island was made up of a number of loosely related settlements, the largest of which was Roger Williams’ original settlement of Providence and Rhode Island proper (also called Aquidneck Island) in the Narragansett Bay. Thus, when the colonists at Providence retreated they did so across the Bay and out of the reach of a Narragansett force insufficiently supplied with watercraft.

⁷³ N.S., A New and Further Narrative (1676), 7.

constant reminder of the splintering of the Puritan project and the perceived dangers of plurality. Moreover, as he had relatively secure ties to the Restoration government and had been banished from Massachusetts Bay in 1636, Williams is a curious name for a Massachusetts writer to invoke before a London audience. This is especially true considering that the text had previously emphasized the good-faith efforts of the colonists toward Indian conversion in an attempt to curry favor with New England Company sympathizers, for to many Williams' work in Rhode Island and his denunciation of Massachusetts Bay gave the lie to the Puritans' supposed Christianizing efforts. Rather than a figure of consensus in New England, such as Bradford or Winthrop, or even one equally respected on both sides of the Atlantic, such as Eliot, Williams was certain to raise eyebrows in the London audience.⁷⁴

There is some reason to doubt the accuracy of N.S.'s report of the meeting between Williams and the "several [...] chief *Indians* that came to fire that Town," but his report is consonant with the vision of New England that he has been building throughout the three pamphlets. For instance, rather than offer the names or even the tribal affiliation of the chiefs, men whom Williams clearly knows, N.S. falls back on the generic and implicitly negative "Indians" that grew out of the end of his first newsbook.

⁷⁴ During the nineteenth century Williams was often touted as the unacknowledged prophet of the separation between church and state, and while it is certainly true that this is one of the things that he espoused, both his legacy and his contemporary reputation are more complicated than such a reduction can capture. It is safe to say that for his seventeenth-century interlocutors he might best be characterized as a provocateur, unwilling to compromise his (sometimes inscrutable) principles and unafraid to back down from any fight. His tortuous prose style seems to bear this out, even as it catalogues his public fights with the likes of both John Cotton and George Fox. Denied access to the New England press, Williams was well known in England as a result of both his frequent visits and his publications in the city's presses. For more information on Williams see Miller, Roger Williams (1953); Morgan, Roger Williams (1967); and Rubertone, Grave Undertakings (2001).

While referring to the Indians generically, N.S. recounts Williams' resistance to efforts by the Indians to divide the colonies with respect to their different interests and characters, and begins to assert a pan-New England identity, even through the mouth of the greatest symbol of that identity's fragility. N.S. invokes the Crown to point toward the inevitable numerical victory on the part of the English. Interestingly, he does not here invoke the Puritans and or the Christians, but specifically references the Royal intervention that the colonies had so long feared. On one hand the effect is to link the colonial cause back to the mother country, but in the context of the two previous pamphlets, the more striking outcome is the papering-over of colonial distinctions with national and racial ones. Roger Williams is here the voice of first pan-colonial and then transcendent English affiliations, despite having existed literally outside the circle of one or the other of these communities for a large portion of his life. While such a declaration might have been questionable in New England, where Williams continued to need official sanction simply to sail from the port of Boston, for N.S.'s London audience the declaration instead signals the conversion of Williams to the New England common mission and the articulation of a transcendent transatlantic English identity. Moreover, the great symbol and advocate of Indian sovereignty here acquiesces to the rising tide of English colonialism and a simplified version of Indian-English hostility.

Though A New and Further Narrative may not be as interesting as the previous two dispatches in terms of the documents it brings together or how it presents them, this newfound simplicity results in part from its adoption of monolithic national categories as supplementing previous complexities. The movement from rhetorical complexity and

racial specificity to broad generalizations and monolithic constructions of affiliation represents a transformation of the Puritan project in New England, one that may have been presaged by Batten's rather simplistic initial account, but that was produced by the exigencies of the war, as well as by the texts that reported that conflict. Tracing the arc of these three publications demonstrates how the project of the newsbooks changed with regard to how the writer presented English coloniality to the London audience in such a way that implicitly argued for a transatlantic understanding of Englishness that was based upon race and vaguely defined culture over and above far-flung geography and religious differences.

The Day After

As the formal hostilities of King Philip's War ceased, the newsbooks about the event did as well, giving way to other genres explaining the conflict in retrospect: "That black cloud (God be thanked) begins to waft almost to nothing," R.H. states in the final newsbook to mention the war in 1677.⁷⁵ As the horizon cleared over New England, the sun shone on a region that had changed both in its composition and in its understanding of its own identity. These changes resulted in the vacating and eventual destruction of the Indian College, a building that symbolized much of the community's mission at mid-century.

⁷⁵ R.H.'s The Warr in New-England Visibly Ended is exceedingly short – only two pages, little more than a broadside – and unsurprisingly free of details, but does proclaim the end of both the War and newsbooks about that war. See the newsbook collected in King Philip's War Narratives (1966).

The casualty rates and the shifting demographics following the War offer some evidence of this change. It is well documented and perhaps unsurprising how followers of King Philip were decimated by the war, with great numbers of dead resulting directly from the fighting, or indirectly from disease and famine. Still others were removed from the region and sold into slavery in Bermuda. This removal was alluded to in some ways by G.W.'s yoking of their fate and that of the West Indian slaves, as if after being joined in print the Indian prisoners of war and the African slaves were logically consigned to the same geographic location and yoked in servitude. The process is even more unusual than it might seem to twenty-first century eyes, for not only did the English have no official policy of enslaving military foes, but there was also no tradition of sending Native Americans to the West Indies to work in the cane fields.⁷⁶ Those who escaped slavery often sought refuge with nearby tribes spared the period's violence, or fled the region entirely for fear of retribution from colonists or Mohicans active on their western borders. All told, historians estimate that some sixty to eighty percent of Philip's followers died, were sold into slavery, or fled the region as a result of the war.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Included in those sent to the West Indies were Philip's wife and son, two prisoners over whom the leadership of the colonies. Increase Mather mused in a letter to Cotton Mather:

It is necessary that some effectual course be taken with him [Philip's son]. This makes me think of hadad, who was a little child when his Father, Chief sachem of the edomites, was killed by Joab, & had not others fled away with him, I am apt to think that David would have taken a course that Hadad should never have proved a scourge to the next Generation. (qtd in Lepore, The Name of War, 152)

While this does not sanction the wholesale selling of a people into slavery – indeed, it seems dubious grounds even for disposing of Philip's unnamed son – it does imply both that the leadership knew of the practice and that they were looking for some way to justify it. Records of the transactions are scarce, as the practice was probably technically illegal, but the disappearance of the defeated prisoners south is undeniable. For an account on the process see Lepore, The Name of War (1998), 150-167.

⁷⁷ While the actual number killed in action was not overwhelming – contemporary accounts vary from 900 dead to 3,000, including noncombatants killed – the total number of casualties was much higher. See James D. Drake King Philip's War (1999), 169.

While devastating, these losses are not as surprising as those recorded for the Christian Indian community. These communities were tied closely to the English, affording better records detailing how the people were changed by the war. Daniel Gookin counted a decline in the number of Praying Indians living in the specifically defined communities from 1,100 in 1674 to 567 two years later. While perhaps not as dramatic in raw numbers as the losses within Philip's followers, the Christian Indians' – ostensibly the allies of the colonists – loss of forty-eight percent of their population indicates that they were just as tragically touched by the conflict, even though they were allied with the victors, and played a prominent role in bringing about that victory. Native Americans suffered dramatically regardless of their political affiliation, and those allied with the English suffered as much as if not more than those against whom the colonists waged outright war, pointing to a racial conflict going on alongside the political conflict.

This difference is striking when compared to the colonists themselves, who are thought to have lost between 444 and 800 people to the war, but who were still able to see an overall increase in their numbers from 52,000 to 68,000 inhabitants in the decade between 1670 and 1680. While certainly dramatic in its effects on the English colonists, for Native Americans of any allegiance the results were devastating.⁷⁸ Whereas the English succeeded regardless of colonial affiliation – losses were no more drastic in the inciting colony of Plymouth than they were in the larger Massachusetts Bay – the Indians suffered roughly equally regardless of their political affiliation, their religious persuasion, or their geographic location.

⁷⁸ Taken from contemporary accounts. See James D. Drake King Philip's War (1999), 168-170, for a useful summary of all of these figures.

These numbers reflect the shift catalogued by N.S.'s three newsbooks. The slide in these publications from the Praying/preying Indian as a possible Christian convert, to an always-potential enemy, to one recognized only in the moment of communal self-destruction, prepares the way for a new conception of the Puritan project in New England. When this basis was imagined as primarily religious in nature, the extension of community had remained potentially open to entry by the Christian Indian. When this conception was revised in the crucible of King Philip's War, it was supplanted by a proto-national understanding of inter-colonial Englishness that denied the possibility of the extension of the covenant of grace – and thus entry into the community of God and man – to the racially understood Indian. This understanding was not exclusively or even primarily racial in its conception, but is cultural *and* racial, eclipsing concerns about place of birth or the specifics of religious affiliation in the construction of the idea of Englishness.⁷⁹

This shift explains why the Indian College remained empty following the war, for not only were there fewer potential Christian Indian scholars, but those that existed were no longer afforded the possibility of entering into the Christian English community. Theoretical and not actual though this possibility may have always remained prior to the war, it was still a possibility, and its allure was strong enough to tempt individuals despite the rigors of study and the dangers of disease at the College. After the war the doors to

⁷⁹ One of the things that is interesting about the English colonial project certainly is how it failed to develop the complex system of valuing European birth over colonial birth, as did Spanish colonialism in the Americas. Benedict Anderson discusses this creolization at length in his chapter "Creole Pioneers," but without proposing why it might be that the English failed to develop this stratification. Instead, what marks the English project is a transatlantic Englishness, one that ignores birthplace for culture and racial Englishness. See Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (2001), 47-65.

the College were rhetorically closed, though they took another twenty years to fall under the weight of their own failed promises. The building was not replaced, and not until the next century would there be a call from either side of the Atlantic for a similar philanthropic project.

The irony of the Puritan press first supplanting and eventually destroying Harvard's Indian College is too rich to overlook. The building that was meant to symbolize the hope of the English Protestant mission in the colonies not only failed to be occupied by Native American students, but then the English missionaries were forced out to make room for first one and then two printing presses. The symbolism is striking: failing to produce Christian Indians or Christianizing Englishmen, the Indian College settled for speaking to and about Indians, but not with or for them. Under the pressure of war and the need to define political community, the Puritans lost the missionizing spirit in favor of the production of the Word. More importantly, because of the way that the community changed its idea of itself and its relationship to the metropole, it no longer needed the Indian College – either as symbol or fact – to justify the colonial project back to London. While the presence of scholars had always been secondary to their potential conversion, by the end of the War the colonies no longer needed to hold forth Indian conversion as the rationale for the extension of England across the Atlantic.

This metaphor is seductive in the way that it purports to reflect the changes brought about by King Philip's War, changes that would starkly realign the New England colonies from potentially inclusive to necessarily exclusive as a result of the devastating hostilities. But to do so – to fall prey to this admittedly convincing account – is to forget

the role of the press not merely as a new, modern occupant of the building, but as a tool whose use was in dispute on both sides of the Atlantic. The Cambridge press was not simply the site of manufacture for Puritan jeremiads and Boston's broadsides, it was – as the newsbook accounts of King Philip's War show – one node in the colonies' attempt to define the meaning of the colonial experiment back to the imperial center. While it is perhaps no surprise that the fact-driven accounts were published in London and not in Massachusetts, what is interesting is the way in which they strive to form a transatlantic community – an empire, even – on the basis of the practice of reading about Englishness. More so even than race, this ability to discuss race in print marked the spread of the English empire. This discussion of the English as a race is not based upon the circulation of newspapers, or even of the pamphlets themselves, but instead relies upon the common practice of using printed broadsides to galvanize a readership and create a community, something that those on the banks of both the Thames and the Charles could understand.⁸⁰

As N.S.'s work to collapse the distance between London and Boston shows, some of the English colonials were apprehensive about being rejected by the imperial center not because they were religiously dogmatic, or socially fractious, but because they were too enthusiastic in enforcing a separation from the Native Americans. These concerns highlight a tension based not upon religious or political differences, or arising simply

⁸⁰ This is obviously not the first time that the English people discussed race, nor the first time that they discussed themselves as a race, as such discussion had preoccupied English identity going back to at least the time of the Roman invasion. What this new conversation does mark, is the first time that this conversation took place not in the context of historical events – the various invasions by the Angles, Jutes, or Normans – but in relationship to current events spanning the Atlantic ocean. To reiterate the point, the English in London and those in New England are joined as much by their participation in the conversation about their Englishness, than by their political affiliation or geographic location.

because of the physical distance separating the colonies from England (though that was an issue), but produced by the role of the Indians within the English colonial project. Fearing retribution for failing at a missionary enterprise that was to have been the hallmark of the overseas venture, N.S. uses the drama of war to define a cohesive Englishness in opposition to the Indians, a cohesion that he not only works to spread over all of the disparate colonies of New England, but that also encompasses the rising imperial power of England. For N.S., by the end of the War the English are English because of the work done by the transatlantic reading process that unites them in common defense against the Indians, and the Indian College can no more be occupied by Indians than can the English surrender the power of print.

Chapter Two

Capturing Genre:

Mary Rowlandson In and Out of the Context of King Philip's War

There was a Report that they had forced Mrs. Rowlinson to marry the one-eyed Sachem, but it was soon contradicted; For being a very pious Woman, and of great Faith, the Lord wonderfully supported her under this affliction, so that she appeared and behaved her self amongst them with so much courage and majestick gravity, that none durst offer any violence to her, but on the contrary (in their rude manner) seemed to shew her great respect.

N.S.

A New and Further NARRATIVE of the STATE
of NEW-ENGLAND (1676)

King Philip's War launched a number of its actors into regional and national fame – “celebrity,” if of a seventeenth-century sort. King Philip himself gained the most notoriety, rising from an influential local sachem, wedged in among a number of competing tribes and English colonies on the western edge of the Atlantic, to a villain whose fame stretched from Barbados to London as a kind of transatlantic bugaboo of the rising English empire. The Puritan minister Increase Mather was also thrust into the public eye on the heels of his publications surrounding the War, assuming a place in a long line of Puritan divines who would monopolize the press in New England into the

eighteenth century.¹ Just as dramatically, the common soldier Benjamin Church became recognized as the foremost military tactician of New England following his strategic alliances with friendly Indian tribes and his innovations in the warfare of the young colonies.² Writing about the War elevated these men from levels of relative obscurity by placing their names in print and in English mouths around the Atlantic from the end of the War in 1676 and into the eighteenth century.

Alongside these three men was a woman whose move into the limelight was no less unlikely, as the War took her from the anonymous position by her husband's side to one of the most famous Englishwoman in New England in the latter half of the seventeenth century.³ Mary Rowlandson's story is as dramatic as it is well known, and her captivity narrative is arguably one of the most famous texts of colonial New

¹ For a discussion of Mather in the context of King Philip's War and his battle for primacy in the emerging New England print market see, Nelsen, "King Philip's War and the Hubbard-Mather Rivalry" (1970). Increase Mather was succeeded in that place of prominence by his son, Cotton Mather, easily the most published person of colonial New England.

² For a discussion of Church's importance to New England in the latter quarter of the seventeenth century, see Gould, "Reinventing Benjamin Church" (1996); and Chet, "The Literary and Military Career of Benjamin Church" (2007). Church solidified his fame with his 'autobiography' (told to his son, Thomas Church) in 1716, entitled The History of the Great Indian War of 1675 and 1676 (1852).

³ The list of Rowlandson's possible competitors is short, but must include Anne Hutchinson, made famous by the Antinomian controversy in the first years of the Massachusetts Bay colony; and the poet Anne Bradstreet, whose work was first published in London in 1650, and who died a few years before King Philip's War erupted. Later, at the end of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, both Hannah Duston and Hannah Swarton were made famous following their captivities and multiple accounts thereof, but they did not approach the staying power of Rowlandson's initial narrative. Not until the latter half of the eighteenth century and the rise of the Revolutionary generation would there be a number of women whose fame surpassed that of Rowlandson's.

England.⁴ Even in its bare outlines the story is striking: Rowlandson, the wife of a Puritan minister in Lancaster, Massachusetts, was taken prisoner by a Narragansett raiding party in the winter of 1676, during the height of King Philip's War, and spent eleven weeks as an Indian captive – most on the brink of starvation – before being ransomed for twenty pounds and returned to her husband in Boston. She wrote her narrative sometime during the next few years and the text was likely circulated in manuscript form before being published in 1682, received by an apparently voracious audience: the first edition is often said to have been “read to pieces.”⁵ The title for the New England editions was The Sovereignty and Goodness of GOD, and it went through a remarkable three editions in the first year alone, this at a time when the relatively

⁴ While Winthrop's “A Modell of Christian Charity” might be the most referenced single document (thanks in part to Ronald Regan's citation), there are not a wealth of primary documents from seventeenth-century North America that are read outside those who specialize in the period. Events are certainly discussed – here the Salem witch trials of 1692-3 leap immediately to mind – but few texts from early colonial New England are discussed *as books*. Along with Winthrop's sermon aboard the Arabella, Bradford's Of Plymouth Plantation is one exception, and Roger Williams' Key is also widely read in a number of different circles, but there are few books from the period that are still read widely. Poetry of the period has fared somewhat better, for Anne Bradstreet and Edward Taylor are still read widely.

This lack is, in part, an oversight that Michael Colacurcio attempts to correct in his lengthy study of the works by the first generation of Puritans, Godly Letters (2006). In it he argues that the Puritans were fine craftsmen of books, and that they should be read as such: “Not, then, to put too fine a point upon it: the first generation of New England Puritans wrote a remarkable number of *excellent* books – even if, at the outset, they did not intend to be ‘writers’” (xii). While his project is different than mine – Colacurcio seems more interested in rescuing literature from history, whereas I am interested in how the two work together to produce one another – I am sympathetic to his attempt to read the textual production of New England with excitement and attention to the craft of writing.

⁵ This phrase “read to pieces” occurs repeatedly in the critical literature, suggesting a public panting and hungry for the textual nourishment that had been denied them by the New England press, and that Rowlandson's text fully sated. I have not been able to identify the first critic to use the phrase, but the image that it evokes is striking one, suggesting both the visceral nature of reading pleasure and a level of elite control of the press, both ideas easy to imagine but somewhat difficult to substantiate. I have tracked the phrase as far back as David Greene's 1985 essay “New Light on Mary Rowlandson,” but while it has been used many times since then, I cannot be certain that this is the first such use.

primitive colonial presses published few works multiple times.⁶ Since that time Rowlandson's narrative has been published on both sides of the Atlantic, been recognized as the first American captivity narrative, and in the past three decades has exploded in its critical appreciation and canonical popularity.

Mary Rowlandson's work has been used for any number of political, religious, critical, and literary purposes since it was first written and published, but often in ways that loose the narrative from its moorings in the years following King Philip's War. Following its initial publication, Rowlandson's narrative seemed to transcend its historical context, and escaped its seventeenth-century origins to enter the literary and cultural fabric of first seventeenth-century colonial America, and then the young United States. This trajectory is an important one to trace, and the explosion in literary scholarship on Rowlandson during the 1980s and 1990s reflects the text's critical potential. The book has been summoned by critics to illustrate arguments ranging from Richard Slotkin's important works of mythopoetic criticism, to the book history of Kathryn Derounian-Stodola, to Annette Kolodny's field-defining ecocriticism, to any

⁶ Full title: The Sovereignty and Goodness of GOD, Together With the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed; Being a Narrative Of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson. Commended by her, to all that desires to know the Lords doings to, and dealings with Her. Especially to her dear Children and Relations. I will refer to the work by its specific title when citing a certain edition, but will otherwise refer to it generically as 'Rowlandson's text,' 'Rowlandson's narrative,' etc. See Derounian, "The Publication, Promotion, and Distribution of Mary Rowlandson's Indian Captivity Narrative in the Seventeenth Century" (1988), for a full account of the publication history of the text. See also Neal Salisbury's introduction to the Bedford edition of Rowlandson's narrative, "Mary Rowlandson and Her Removes," or his similar essay "Contextualizing Mary Rowlandson: Native Americans, Lancaster and the Politics of Captivity" (2000).

number of scholars working the rich vein of feminist criticism regarding the text.⁷ At the same time, the text became a mainstay of undergraduate anthologies and a regular in survey courses to such a degree that it is safe to say that the text is more widely read now (from a purely numerical standpoint) than it has been at any time in its history.⁸

Chronicling how Rowlandson's text became so popular that her story superseded the larger history of the War that made her famous has implications for understanding how genre is created, as well as how the categories of history and literature intermingle. Rowlandson's narrative grew out of its immediate context, shedding its peers in the marketplace to stand alone, and then at the head of a genre that is considered quintessentially American.

First, an assertion: Rowlandson's work was not read as a captivity narrative in the 1680s. Whatever else her audience might have received her work as, the captivity narrative genre simply did not exist at this time, lending readers no conventions of such a genre to fit Rowlandson's narrative. Moreover, Rowlandson herself was unable to construct her narrative against these conventions, meaning that she herself must have had some other models in mind when recording her time in captivity. While the text has long

⁷ See Slotkin, Regeneration Through Violence (2000); Derounian-Stodola, "The Publication, Promotion, and Distribution of Mary Rowlandson's Indian Captivity Narrative in the Seventeenth Century" (1988); Kolodny, The Land Before Her (1984); Sarah Rivett's "Keepers of the Covenant" (2006) is a good example of some of the best work on the text that might be broadly described as feminist.

⁸ Press runs in the seventeenth century were notoriously small on both sides of the Atlantic. In contrast to that, Rowlandson's text is now included in virtually all anthologies of early American literature in the past twenty years, along with numerous publications in collections of captivity narratives, women's texts, or early American writing, not to mention the narrative's publication on its own – four times in the past year alone (June 2008-July 2009). Given these facts, it seems safe to say that there are more copies of Mary Rowlandson's tale in circulation and being read in the twenty-first century than at any time previous.

been enshrined as the first captivity narrative, at its publication it could not be read as such, for the audience had no generic conventions to recognize it in this way.

One such context that critics have overlooked is the publication of newsbooks regarding King Philip's War, texts that require turning a careful eye toward Rowlandson's companions in the colonial and London press. Such attention offers a broader understanding of how the War was being described in a variety of different texts, and emphasizes how Rowlandson's text worked alongside its peers in the press. There is good reason for doing so, for the newsbooks form a significant part of the contemporary print market that Rowlandson entered in the 1680s, thus offering a more detailed picture of Rowlandson's textual context. Such a situation also de-centers stridently American-focused readings of the text by considering the book in the London market. Using the newsbooks as a lens through which to read Mary Rowlandson's narrative, adding to these texts others that joined them in the print market, and drawing attention to the historical context in the production of textual meaning, highlights the many different uses to which the text has been put over the past three hundred years: understanding the complexity of the text's genesis allows for a better understanding of the diverse uses to which it has been put since that time, and how the text's meaning has changed given how its audience approached it. This trajectory, by which Rowlandson's private "memorandum of Gods dealing with her" enters the canon of American literature, raises questions about the construction and use of literary genre in the production of a text's meaning.⁹ Answering

⁹ From the text's "Preface to the Reader," (65), generally attributed to Increase Mather; "Gods" for "God's" is in the original.

these questions requires following Rowlandson from her captivity during the frigid winter of 1676, through the initial publication of her narrative in 1682, and then to some of the text's reappearances, as it peaks into the world of print several times down to the nineteenth century, before solidifying itself in the canon of American literature during the late twentieth century.

Rowlandson's captivity narrative emerges from and responds to the historical context of the War, articulating the individual and communal concerns of the colonies in the grip of military and cultural crisis. Critics and historians have previously argued that Rowlandson's text displays a new colonial Englishness (or even Americanness, in the hands of some), and there is a long critical tradition of focusing on her text as central to understanding both New England's response to the War and its evolution at the end of the seventeenth century. I agree with the supposition, sometimes implicit, that the captivity narrative reorganizes reading practices and reflects changed historical conditions, but what I want to suggest is that a greater attention to the role of history in the production of genre as happening through time, and not in one transformative moment, shows how genre both creates and responds to historical conditions. Genre is necessarily neither progressive nor conservative, but elastic; only by attending to the fluctuation of genre can we understand the effects of literature on history, and vice-versa.

Rowlandson Speaks Out

When Rowlandson's text was printed in Boston in 1682 King Philip had been dead for six years, and his eponymous War had sputtered to a halt. The colonies of New England had begun to recover, though it would take almost a full generation for the colonies to regain the economic successes of the pre-War years, and almost as long for them to resettle all of the towns and villages that had been lost during the War.¹⁰ On the eve of Rowlandson's publication the War was no longer a pressing event, but it was still a preoccupation of ministers, officials, and the common citizens of the frightened colonies. Understanding how these different parties received and understood her text during this period requires a brief examination of the textual fabric into which her narrative was woven. While Rowlandson later escaped this immediate context, considering her text as a product of colonial print culture offers a detailed understanding of its initial reception and immediate popularity.

Rowlandson was already in the thoughts of many of the English on both sides of the Atlantic before her narrative was even written or published. Her capture and redemption had been prominently reported during the War in newsbooks such as N.S.'s A New and Further Narrative of the State of New-England, which recorded Rowlandson's captivity and her eventual return as the captivity of a prominent citizen.¹¹ These accounts record both the event and the community's interest in Rowlandson's captivity as the wife

¹⁰ See especially the introduction to Slotkin and Folsom's So Dreadfull a Judgement (1978).

¹¹ See also a short report in the anonymous A TRUE ACCOUNT Of the Most CONSIDERABLE OCCURRENCES That have hapned in the WARRE between the ENGLISH and the INDIANS in New-England (1676), also included in King Philip's War Narratives (1966).

of a well-known minister. The short notices also served to pique the interest of the public as to what happened to her during her time among the Narragansetts: despite a list of the captives, their relationship to various prominent Massachusetts officials, and a record of when they were redeemed (or killed, as the case may have been), the newsbooks at most reported in the negative what had not happened to the captive, i.e. Rowlandson *was not* married to the one-eyed sachem: the details of Rowlandson's captivity went unreported.¹²

This surprising silence on the details of the captivity is not immediately noteworthy when reported briefly in the newsbooks, but it must have been a source of curiosity for the public, generating rumors to fill in what the print account did not explicitly detail. The paucity of details regarding individual captivities is not surprising given the brief accounts of the War, but these gaps in the public knowledge of the events must have engendered rumors and stoked speculation about what happened during Rowlandson's time with the Narragansetts. There would have been curiosity toward others' fates as well, but as the most prominent captive, Rowlandson must have served as a lightning rod for English curiosity over what life as an Indian prisoner of war was like. The newsbooks offer the bare facts of Rowlandson's fate – her captivity without the apparatus of the captivity narrative – and Rowlandson's text expands on the newsbooks, filling their pregnant silences with her authoritative first-person narrative.

Indeed, Rowlandson's text hints at the rumors in a few of her asides to her audience, which – while rare – illuminate what might have been the social context for her initial composition. Rowlandson notes in one instance, "It was a great mistake in any,

¹² See the epigraph above for N.S.'s account. The one-eyed sachem is thought to be One-Eyed John.

who thought I sent for *Tobacco*,” seemingly fearing that she be thought both extravagant and comfortable during her detention: she points out that the tobacco was an un-asked for part of the negotiations to redeem her, and she stresses how she trades the unexpected gift for more practical items.¹³ It is the “any, who thought I sent for *Tobacco*” who loom over this passage, judging Rowlandson and haunting her even as she picks up her pen to rebut them. Rowlandson’s text directly addresses the concerns on the part of her audience – “any” – raising and rebutting the rumors that surrounded her captivity in New England, and that must have followed her story in the London newsbooks.

In another famous instance Rowlandson answers a question regarding her sexual treatment during captivity that is never posed by her narrative, but that must have addressed a perceived interest in her audience: “*I have been in the midst of those roaring Lyons, and Salvage bears, that feared neither God, nor Man, nor the Devil, by night and day, alone and in company: sleeping all sorts together, and yet not one of them ever offered me the least abuse of unchastity to me, in word or action.*”¹⁴ This passage hints at sexual tension (“sleeping all sorts together”) and stresses both opportunity (she was alone) and motivation (the Indians are, quite simply, animals: lions and bears), but does

¹³ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1997) 102. For an extended reading of this passage and the creation of a creole identity in the colonies see Bauer, “Creole Identities in Colonial Space” (1997).

¹⁴ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1997), 107. Toulouse offers another reading of this quotation in her article “The Sovereignty and Goodness of God in 1682” (2000):

The question of whether there was a more specific referent of the “some” who argue she speaks to her “own credit” is often overlooked, however. [...] Her acknowledgement of such slurs is not only a defense of her right as a woman to publish her captivity, it also appears to be an oblique admission about her own position as a member of a particular group and about the existence of other groups opposing her own. (934)

Toulouse’s argument places this quote in the context of the internal debate in the colonies regarding the larger scope of the “errand into the wilderness,” but importantly underscores my point about Rowlandson’s recognition and attempted manipulation of her audience.

so for the first time in the narrative, bringing up the subject of sexual violation to dismiss it immediately: a seemingly needless invocation in a text that makes few asides from the narrative development. Again the rumors haunt Rowlandson during her composition, causing her to address concerns that she could have been made aware of only after her release. She writes the answer to those rumors into the text, addressing those post-War rumors of a New England population recovering from the ravages of war and trying to make sense of the conflict that they had just endured.

In both cases – her rejection of tobacco and her assertion of chastity – Rowlandson addresses explicit concerns of an audience that already knew of her and her captivity through reports such as those found in the newsbooks. In these moments her reasons for writing her narrative are local – they respond to rumors in the community – and personal – they attempt to deflect criticism of her as a prominent individual. At these moments Rowlandson’s text might be best considered a personal history or memoir, one whose goals are limited and whose influence only enters the public realm to repair personal reputation. This was not Rowlandson’s only goal, but it is at least a reason for her text’s initial composition in the years following the War.

An Increase in Importance

While Rowlandson’s narrative circulated as a manuscript in the period between the newsbook accounts and before its 1682 publication, it came into contact with Increase Mather, the prominent Boston minister who played a large role in its publication. On its

way to the press Mather wrote the narrative's preface, adding another layer to Rowlandson's story's reception and elevating the text's stature within the community. More than just a stamp of approval, though, Mather's preface gives some insight into this process by which the manuscript made its way to the public. He gives at least one reason that Rowlandson wrote the text, in the process both endorsing the act of writing by a woman and trying to shape that writing's reception:

This Narrative was penned by the Gentlewoman her self, to be to her a memorandum of Gods dealing with her, that she might never forget, but remember the same, and the severall circumstances thereof, all the dayes of her life. A pious scope which deserves both commendation and imitation: Some friends having obtained a sight of it, could not but be so much affected with the many passages of working providence discovered therein as to judge it worthy of publick view, and altogether unmeet that such works of God should be hid from present and future Generations: And therefore though this Gentlewomans modesty would not thrust it into the Press, yet her gratitude unto God made her not hardly perswadable to let it pass, that God might have his due glory and other benefit by it as well as herself. I hope by this time none will cast any reflection upon this Gentlewoman, on the score of this publication of her affliction and deliverance.¹⁵

Somewhat in contrast to the friction between Rowlandson and her community hinted at in her actual text, in Mather's description of the journey to the press Rowlandson is coaxed by appreciative peers. Alluding to the manuscript version, Mather points out that Rowlandson's account was deemed worthy of "commendation and imitation" by those who saw it, requiring that it be brought into the "public view."¹⁶ The text itself is valuable not simply as a private history, but more importantly as a moral and religious

¹⁵ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1997), 65-6.

¹⁶ Interestingly, even in the relatively small English community in New England, "print" is here equated with "public," with manuscript circulation implicitly seen as private. It is worth pointing out that this understanding was a recent one in the colonies, one accelerated by the increase in publishing in Cambridge and later Boston on and around the War.

exemplum worthy of larger public circulation. Rowlandson's text – and by extension her life – have value in the print market that is religious, social, and financial.

Mather's introduction never explicitly names Mary Rowlandson – she is always referred to as her husband's "precious yokefellow" or "dear Consort" – but does address unvoiced criticisms regarding a woman's role in the print market.¹⁷ The text is the only one by a woman published in New England during the seventeenth century (Anne Bradstreet's poetry was published in London, not in the colonial press), and Mather's preface references that peculiarity.¹⁸ Critic Margaret Davis points out that Mather's comments in the preface help to answer questions about the place of the text in the marketplace: "Going public with her story in an age when all authorities in her social and religious environment enjoined women to silence makes Rowlandson an anomaly in a culture that valued conformity."¹⁹ By placing his seal of approval on the text, Mather explains and sanctions the text for its potential religious value. Unwilling to let the text stand on its own, Mather wraps it in a preface that explains and apologizes for its existence and for the female author's assumption of the prominent role in the male-dominated public sphere, as well as further highlighting the tale's religious importance. Hesitant though Mather is to bring a woman's voice into the male-dominated print sphere, Rowlandson's text is forgiven its female authorship in hopes that its public good

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 64 and 65.

¹⁸ Bradstreet's poems were taken to England by her brother-in-law and published without her knowledge. See Bradstreet, The tenth muse lately sprung up in America (1650), and Several poems compiled with great variety of wit and learning (1678).

¹⁹ Davis, "Mary White Rowlandson's Self-Fashioning as Puritan Goodwife" (1992).

will surpass conduct unbecoming a woman, namely projecting her voice outside the home.²⁰

Mather's preface also signals Rowlandson's text's place in the larger publication history of the War and points to a complicated chronology that addresses both Mather's preface and comments that Rowlandson makes in the narrative itself. Rowlandson's response to criticism in the text of the narrative and Mather's attempt to forestall further rumors develops an interesting interplay among famous captive, private writer, and an audience that is increasingly public. Rowlandson writes to preserve her memory of the (providentially important) experience and answers the rumors about her that had been reported on and sustained by the newsbook accounts of her capture. Her initial manuscript seems not to have quelled those rumors, for Mather's preface (written after the manuscript account itself, presumably just before publication in Boston) again addresses those concerns. This story is more than a simple one of colonial rumor mongering and idle interpersonal spats, for it represents an early attempt by a woman from the colonies to identify herself through the use of print. When the manuscript is printed it gains a wider audience, and (presumably) further works to establish an authoritative version of Rowlandson's captivity. This thumbnail sketch shows a literate woman struggling with writing and the press to present herself to the world at the prompting of that same press, and to the opposition of oral histories of the event, oral

²⁰ Anne Hutchinson's banishment from Massachusetts Bay offers one example of the danger of a woman assuming a public voice in Puritan New England. Hutchinson represented several different threats to the Puritan clergy, but at least one of them was her use of her home as a place of public worship, attracting many male and female worshippers to a service that was ostensibly private, but that quickly took on the proportions and tenor of a public service. For an extended history of the Antinomian controversy and Hutchinson's role therein, see Hall, The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638 (1990).

histories that she cannot control. With this act Rowlandson self-consciously writes herself into the community.²¹

The Importance of Increase

Mather's role in the project is important in other ways, for beyond simply writing the preface, he was instrumental in shepherding the narrative to publication, and the larger context of the minister's publications also influenced Rowlandson's reception. At the hands of Mather and within his larger and seemingly all-encompassing publication scheme, Rowlandson's text was a part of his turn away from strictly religious productions such as jeremiads, and toward texts that considered Puritan readings of the external world. Rowlandson's was the most popular of these texts, but it was initially read alongside other works that wrestled with the external world and attempted to interpret it through Puritan eyes.

By the end of the 1670s Mather was fast becoming the foremost writer of the colonies, having blossomed during the crisis of the War into a minister of both press and pulpit. This was not his first publication about King Philip's War: indeed, his 1676 A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New-England was the first history of the War (published even before the War's completion), which competed in the press with William Hubbard's version of events, the 1677 A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in

²¹ There have been many studies that have examined Rowlandson's production of herself through the act of writing. In addition to Davis (mentioned above), see Wakabayashi, "A Status of Lived Experience in Rowlandson's Captivity Narrative" (2000); Toulouse, The Captive's Position (2007); and Castiglia, Bound and Determined (1996) for a representative sampling of the positions taken.

New-England.²² Like his contemporaries', many of his publications were sermons: Mather was outspoken and articulate in placing the War in a theological context during his many publications from the 1670s.²³ Mather's earlier texts were primarily religious in nature: the most popular work that he had written prior to the publication of Rowlandson's text was a sermon entitled Pray for the Rising Generation printed in 1678.²⁴ As time went on his publication projects became more ambitious, and he turned from well-crafted jeremiads to narratives that used the religious perspective of the Puritan elite following the Half-Way Covenant to explain the social, political, and religious life of the New England colonies. In contrast, Mather's predecessors, such as John Cotton and Roger Williams, had focused their publications on theological points, often debating questions of theology and church polity in lengthy exchanges in the press.²⁵ Though Mather's publishing career never had the transatlantic drama of his father-in-law Cotton's religious arguments with Williams (or others), it began with a similar theological focus,

²² Both of these texts are now available in their entirety from Early English Books Online. For a more complete consideration of these texts as history please see below, chapter three. For a discussion of the Hubbard-Mather rivalry and the part that their histories played therein see Nelsen, "King Philip's War and the Hubbard-Mather Rivalry" (1970), in which she describes the how Mather's history helped to launch his typological reading of the Puritan experience into prominence, over and above Hubbard's more secular reading.

²³ See especially Bercovitch's chapter in The American Jeremiad (1978) titled "The Genetics of Salvation" for an extended discussion of Increase Mather's role in the development of the jeremiad.

²⁴ Pray for the Rising Generation went through two colonial printings (1678 and 1679); this was rare for the period.

²⁵ John Cotton and Roger Williams carried out a protracted dispute on the finer points of Protestantism – specifically election and church membership – through their publications in London, starting with Cotton's 1643 publication, A Letter of Mr. John Cottons, Teacher of the Church in Boston in New-England, to Mr. Williams; and continuing with Williams' 1644 answer, Mr. Cottons Letter Lately Printed; then Williams' 1644 The Bloody Tenent of Persecution; Cotton's 1647 The Bloody Tenent washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb; and finally Williams' 1652 rejoinder The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody. For a discussion of this controversy, see the first two chapters in Field's Errands into the Metropolis (2009). The exchange did not end until Cotton's death in 1652. Soon thereafter Williams found a new theological sparring partner in the Quaker George Fox, with whom he carried on a similar exchange, also published in London.

conservative in its approach to the religious mission of the colonies and its view of the community's relationship with God. Mather's writing shifted in the late 1670s and early 1680s, partially in response to King Philip's War, as he began to include attempts to explain the external world and natural phenomena through the lens of the orthodox Puritan worldview.²⁶

The publication of Mary Rowlandson's narrative was one of the results of this subtle shift in the focus of Mather's writing. Rowlandson's text was initially intended as part of Mather's planned collection of "remarkable providences": unexplained natural phenomena or remarkable events that Mather read as evidence of God's dealings with New England.²⁷ This work eventually ran to almost four hundred pages and was published in 1684 under the title An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences, in which Mather catalogues a wide diversity of unusual natural phenomena and curious events: "*In Order to the promoting of a design of this Nature, so as shall be indeed for Gods Glory, and the good of Posterity, it is necessary that utmost care shall be taken All,*

²⁶ It is worth underscoring that Mather's shift coincides with an increase in the interest in science in London following the founding of the Royal Society by Charles II in 1660. While formed as an association interested in furthering the study of natural philosophy across political and religious boundaries, the Royal Society drew the interest of a wide variety of intellectuals from its beginning. The Society both responded to and helped to create an interest in finding new explanations for natural phenomenon that were more descriptive than classical sources. Mather's move to explain the world around him is still motivated by religious interpretation, but the fact that he is making this move as opposed to returning to the ancients is demonstrative of the revolution begun – at least in part – by the Royal Society. Interestingly, Cotton Mather (Increase's son) seems to not only have been influenced indirectly by the Royal Society, but actively pursued membership, which he was eventually granted in recognition of his work Curiosa Americana (1724). Increase's slow move toward natural philosophy was thus in tune with the intellectual climate in London, and persuasive enough that it swept his own son into that most elite of intellectual circles, even if that circle was founded as a secular and not religious concern. See Winship, "Prodigals, Puritanism and the Perils of Natural Philosophy" (1994); and Beall, "Cotton Mather's Early 'Curiosa Americana' and the Boston Philosophical Society of 1683" (1961).

²⁷ See Toulouse, "The Sovereignty and Goodness of God in 1682" (2000), 935-941.

and only Remarkable Providences be Recorded and Published.”²⁸ The episodes collected include various sorts of deliverances at sea, medical miracles, observations of remarkable weather, accounts of witches and demons, as well as a few “philosophical meditations” on lodestones, thunder and lightning, and other such topics of what was then known as natural philosophy.²⁹ This project was first hinted at by Mather’s 1681 sermon Heavens Alarm to the World, or, A sermon Wherein is Shewed that Fearful Sights and Signs in Heaven Are the Presages of Great Calamities at Hand, which reads the natural world in the style of the jeremiad; that is, using the form of the jeremiad and focusing it on the physical world surrounding the community of elect, rather than simply on the elect themselves.³⁰ By 1684 Mather’s observations have been freed from the strictures of the jeremiad, and An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences takes the form of an exhaustive, loosely organized catalogue of the external world.

More interestingly, the book also contains a section about the “*bad experience of several in the late Indian War,*” which includes several brief relations of harm done to the English during King Philip’s War, as well as one much longer story of the captivity of Quintin Stockwell. Like Rowlandson, Stockwell speaks in his own voice, and Mather

²⁸ Pages in Mather’s preface are not numbered, and chapter one begins on page one. This quote appears on what would have been pages ix-x. Mather’s text was published in Boston in 1684, and then seems to have been imported to London – not reprinted – and sold there by the bookseller George Calvert. It was then reprinted in New England in 1687, signaling a popularity that endured for a short, though not fleeting, piece of time.

²⁹ Mather’s text with the most overt emphasis on natural philosophy also grew out of this project and fell between the publication of Rowlandson’s text and Illustrious Providences: in 1683 he published an investigation into comets both recent and historical entitled, Kometographia, or, A discourse concerning comets wherein the nature of blazing stars is enquired into. For a discussion of this work see Williams, “Shifting Signs” (1995). For a discussion of some of the other astronomical observations in New England during this period see Lockwood, “The Scientific Revolution in Seventeenth-Century New England” (1980).

³⁰ Heaven’s Alarm to the World was reprinted in 1682, making it one of Mather’s more popular texts.

quotes him at length: Stockwell's story is almost twenty pages long. Mather offers only a brief preface to the section, but in it he strikes the same tone as that found in his introduction to Rowlandson's work: "A Worthy Person hath sent me the Account which one lately belong to *Deerfield*, (his name is *Quintin Stockwell*,) hath drawn up respecting his own Captivity and Redemption, with more notable Occurrences of Divine Providence attending him in his distress, which I shall therefore here insert in the words by himself expressed."³¹ Stockwell's first-person account of his time with the Indians (he never identifies their tribal affiliation) describes many of the same hardships that Rowlandson did – want of food, being traded from master to master, sickness – and while the brief narrative is neither as gripping as hers nor as detailed, Mather ends it with the reflection that "in Gods good time [he was] set at liberty, and returned to his Friends in *New-England* again."³² Thus, the basic outline of the Stockwell's story follows that of Rowlandson: a private citizen taken captive by the Indians meets with great hardship, eventually to be returned safely back to his or her family.

Judging by both the tone of the framing narratives, as well as the time period and printers involved, Mary Rowlandson's narrative would likely have been figured similarly alongside Stockwell's had it not been so long. At almost twice the length of Stockwell's, Rowlandson's narrative would have broken the rhythm of Illustrious Providences, and forced Mather to give too much space over to another's voice, something he seems

³¹ Mather, Illustrious Providences (1684), 39. Stockwell was taken captive on September 19, 1677, roughly a year after Philip's death and the formal end of the War. Not all hostilities ceased immediately, and a low-level conflict continued for a few years on the northern edge of Massachusetts and into what would become New Hampshire. Deerfield was located in this region and Stockwell seems to have been a victim of the continuing, scattered hostilities.

³² Mather, Illustrious Providences (1684), 57.

hesitant to do. The choice might have also been made with the text's commercial value in mind, for when compared to Stockwell, both Rowlandson and her text were more famous.³³ While the fact that Rowlandson's text ultimately was published on its own is important, the larger work of Illustrious Providences shows how Mather thought of Rowlandson's work, and how he wanted it received: as further evidence of God's having chosen to punish the elect, if only they are correctly oriented to read this warning in nature and – by extension – his texts. Mather the preacher extended his teachings in his published work, teaching his (expanding) flock first how to interpret the Bible (as in the jeremiad), and then how correctly to read the world about them, a world that included fantastic comets and Rowlandson's captivity.

This context provides one reading frame for Rowlandson's narrative and gives a glimpse into how her text was initially received. As Toulouse argues, reading Rowlandson's narrative alongside the work from the period that it most closely resembled allows for an understanding of how the texts were meant to function at the time:

The overarching structure of captivity – its movement from affliction to providential restoration – and the defining characteristics of captive obedience – concretely demonstrated as no jeremiad could a relation between particular historical behaviors and divine intervention. As the ministerial interest in popular captivities from Rowlandson's text onward suggests, this structure and s/he whose characteristics defined it became increasingly useful as means of expressing and shaping a particular version of male as well as female colonial identity in the face of threats from within and without the colonies.³⁴

As Toulouse points out, the narrative of Indian captivity as written by Rowlandson and recorded in Stockwell's account fit well into the changing project of the Puritan clergy.

³³ See Toulouse, "The Sovereignty and Goodness of God in 1682" (2000), 935-36, for this discussion.

³⁴ Toulouse, "The Sovereignty and Goodness of God in 1682" (2000), 935.

With this story of a fall from English civilization, “punishment” at the hands of heathen Indian “devils,” redemption (a word with religious connotations), and return to the fold of Lord (as symbolized by the English towns and church congregations), the ministers found a fitting metaphor for the Puritan church in the wilderness of religious tumult. Were the people to read the world as the ministers taught, they too would see God’s providence in everyday events.

Rowlandson’s text certainly lends itself to such a reading, one that stresses the hand of God in simultaneously punishing and saving the Puritan community.

Rowlandson articulates this when she is given a Bible during her captivity: “I cannot but take notice of the wonderfull mercy of God to me in those afflictions, in sending me a Bible. One of the *Indians* that came from *Medfield* fight, had brought some plunder, came to me, and asked me if I wou’d have a Bible, he had got one in his basket.”³⁵

Rowlandson begins this passage “in afflictions,” only to receive a Bible through the “wonderfull mercy of God.” In reading the gift this way she seemingly ignores the role of the Indian who gives her the Bible, as well as the fact that the book was plundered from an English village, and most likely the property of a dead English colonist. The Bible was a valuable gift at a time when the printed word was dear, for even if the Indian had no interest in the book himself, he could have traded it to someone else – Praying Indians or indirectly to colonists in New York – for more practical items, making his gesture more significant for the giver and the receiver. For Rowlandson, though, these worldly concerns are eclipsed by the interpretation that the Bible provides, an

³⁵ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1997), 76.

interpretation that is two-fold: on one hand the gift itself is an example of God's charity, but it also allows for her to understand that charity as one instance of divine providence.

Upon receiving the Bible Rowlandson rips the book open and begins reading:

So I took the Bible, and in that melancholy time, it came into my mind to read first the 28. *Chap.* of *Deut.* which I did, and when I had read it, my dark heart wrought on this manner, *That there was no mercy for me, that the blessings were gone, and the curses come in their room, and that I had lost my opportunity.* But the Lord helped me still to go on reading till I came to *Chap.* 30, the seven first verses, where I found, *There was mercy promised again, if we would return to him by repentance; and though we were scattered from one end of the Earth to the other, yet the Lord would gather us together, and turn all those curses upon our Enemies.* I do not desire to live to forget this Scripture.³⁶

Here her reading parallels her fortune at getting the Bible at all: she begins in a “melancholy time,” and learns that “*there was no mercy for [her],*” for her “*blessings were gone.*” Hungry, cold, tired, wounded, having watched her child die a painful death, and having little hope of escape, Rowlandson must surely have counted few blessings.

But just as into this awful situation came the gift of the Bible, so does the Bible offer her new hope in the form of an extension of the blessing of God, one that offers “*mercy promised again*” if only “*we would return to him.*” With this final passage Rowlandson returns from the personal to the communal, switching from the first person in her reading of the Bible at the beginning of the passage, before sliding to “we” at the end.

Rowlandson reads personal blessing in her gift of the Bible, but in reading the Bible itself turns her personal redemption into hope for the elect “*scattered from one end of the Earth to the other.*”

³⁶ Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness of God (1997), 76-7.

This passage echoes the concerns of Mather’s jeremiads, whereby the chosen are shown the error of their ways even as they are offered a second chance at salvation, and Rowlandson’s pivot from the individual to the collective both points to the “genetics of salvation,” as Bercovitch terms it, and hints at the shift to a more individualistic, emotional approach to religion that would sweep through New England some fifty years later.³⁷ Rowlandson sees her own actions through her reading of the Bible, something that grants her not only emotional solace and religious comfort, but also the opportunity to reflect upon the typological meaning of her captivity. When considered alongside Mather’s contemporary publication projects, the gift of the book takes on another resonance, as Mather calls his audience to “Read therefore, Peruse, Ponder, and from hence lay up something from the experience of another, against thine own turn comes, that so though also through patience and consolation of the Scripture mayest have hope.”³⁸ Set beside Rowlandson’s passage above, the implication is that Rowlandson’s book might work for her – and by extension Mather’s – readers in the same way that the Bible worked for Rowlandson. The assertion is striking in the context of his larger work, granting to Rowlandson the power to inspire religious rebirth in her personal and secular – though religiously inflected – book.

³⁷ The first Great Awakening in the 1730s and 40s was marked by a turn toward a personal, emotional relationship with God that was nevertheless rational and based in scripture. Jonathan Edwards is the standard-bearer for the intellectual underpinnings of the movement, but the English minister George Whitefield stressed one’s emotional attraction to the Lord. While this movement was half a century away, it is worth mentioning at this point because the “New Lights” under Edwards looked back to the 1670s and 1680s as a time of inspiration, one that they saw as holding the keys to religious rebirth.

³⁸ Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness of God (1997), 67-8.

Mather's influence upon his peers in the clergy and upon Puritan society at large has been well documented, and his evolving publication project in the 1680s was central to solidifying that influence. For a public that was moving away from the tight-knit and religiously zealous communities of the first generation, Mather's focus on the external physical world resonated with a public less interested in the theological nuances of John Cotton or Roger Williams. Rowlandson's text fit into this project alongside similar accounts in Illustrious Providences, but ultimately it was her singular story that would escape his framing and grow in popularity. Rowlandson's four editions in 1682 – three in New England in one in London – were more than any one of Mather's texts during this period, and twice the number of editions of Illustrious Providences.³⁹ As if taking Mather's preface to heart, the audience perused and pondered her work over and above any other text in the seventeenth century, excluding the Bible. Even more than Mather's much grander Illustrious Providences, Rowlandson's text was the object of spiritual guidance during this time. While Stockwell's captivity was similar to hers in both its details and Mather's interpretive frame, when seen as a part of the larger corpus of Mather's publications it was but one more of a kind: be it the comet observed in 1680, a particularly daring escape from drowning at sea, or capture by Indians, all of these were equally useful to Mather for interpreting the relationship between the Puritans and their

³⁹ Illustrious Providences was published in 1684 in Boston, and then apparently imported to England to be sold by a bookseller there. This was an unusual practice for this time, as few colonial books were imported to be sold in London, as a result of the inferior printing quality of colonial presses. The book then seems to have been reprinted in 1687, as one edition exists with a new title page from this time, indicating that it, to be printed in Boston and sold in London. Rowlandson's text, on the other hand, was printed three times in New England in 1684 and one time in London, copies of which may have been exported to the colonies to feed their appetite for the book. See Derounian, "The Publication, Promotion, and Distribution of Mary Rowlandson's Indian Captivity Narrative in the Seventeenth Century" (1988).

God. Mather's preface offers an understanding of Rowlandson's work as of a piece with other moves to interpret the physical world through Puritan eyes, though her narrative would later transcend Mather's publication scheme both physically and eventually in terms of its social influence. Thus, when considering who else shared the press with Rowlandson, and what other texts hers would have been read alongside, it is useful to remember that Rowlandson's text had more in common with its peers than an ahistorical appreciation for the text solely as a captivity narrative can see. Holding Rowlandson's narrative beside Mather's other print projects puts her work in the context of a larger body of work by a man searching for new metaphors for the Puritan community in North America. While Rowlandson's work was the most popular of his similar texts, readers in New England first encountered the text through the work and works of Increase Mather.

A (Not So) Poetic Interlude

Increase Mather's name and work dominate the years around Rowlandson's publication, and thus provide some of the best context for understanding the reception of her work, but they do not encompass the entire horizon for colonial publications on the War. Benjamin Tompson, one of the first published poets of New England, was also mining the vein of King Philip's War for literary inspiration, though he did so with much less success than his later peer. Tompson's poem about King Philip's War is among the first poetry published in New England, and indeed some of the first written by English

colonists in North America.⁴⁰ A Harvard-educated schoolmaster and son of a preacher, Tompson was moved to memorialize the War in verse, producing New England's Crisis in 1676 about the War that surrounded his Massachusetts home.⁴¹ While never as popular as Rowlandson, Tompson's literary failure while working with similar source material helps to explain more fully how unique Rowlandson's success was, specifically with regard to its generic innovation.

Tompson's publication is relatively short: just over thirty pages, the original printing also included Tompson's related, "On a Fortification at Boston Begun by Women," a two-page poem that celebrated the defense of Boston by "some Amazonian dames" (230). The work attempts to fill a hole that Tompson felt existed in the writing on the War up to that point, specifically the proper memorialization of heroic events in poetry. In one section of the longer work he calls his peers to poetic action:

What means this silence of Harvardine quills
While Mars triumphant thunders on our hills.
Have Pagan priests their eloquence confined
To no man's use but the mysterious mind?
Have pow-wows charmed that art which was so rife

⁴⁰ Thomas Morton's verses about his May-Pole are the first recorded poems written by an English person in North America (found in his longer 1637 work New English Canaan; see Dempsey's 2000 edition). Other notable predecessors include both Anne Hutchinson (see note 16, above), and Michael Wigglesworth's 1662 The Day of Doom. Tompson is sometimes heralded as the first "native-born" poet, though not often without the qualifications that would make such a claim more plausible. Without delving too far into an unproductive search for the first "American" poem or poet, the point remains that there had been little output of English verse in the colonies prior to Tompson's effort, and that his work would have been novel for having been written and published on the western side of the Atlantic.

⁴¹ See Slotkin and Folsom, So Dreadfull a Judgment (1978), 207-212, for an introduction to Tompson and his work; and White, Benjamin Tompson, especially 1-64 for the longest and most detailed account of Tompson's work, as well as his social context. See also Eberwein, "Harvardine Quil" (1993), for a discussion of Tompson's background and a brief contextualization of the man within New England society, especially 1, and 17, note 1. Interestingly, Tompson graduated from Harvard in 1662, meaning that he would not have shared the campus with Sassamon, but that he would have strode a Harvard Yard with the Indian College at one end. See *ibid.*, 17, note 2.

To crouch to every Don that lost his life?
But now whole towns and churches fire and die
Without the pity of an elegy.⁴²

Tompson's mode through the majority of the poem is to sketch short, somewhat vague accounts of the colonists' triumphs that cast them as heroic in the classical tradition, despite the atrocities of the generically evil, faceless Indian foes. This passage offers his rationale: to fail to glorify the Christian colonists' deeds is to allow the pagan Indians to win in art – in literature, to be exact – just as they did on the battlefield (some of the work seems to have been written at the low point of the colonists' efforts). In some ways this is a recasting of the common trope of poetry offering a form of immortality, but for Tompson that immortalized object is not the poet's muse, but the colonies' defenders. Moreover, the fear is not so much that the Indians will somehow write better literature than the colonists, nor that New England needs to engage in a project of winners writing history. Instead, Tompson focuses on the colonists' failures, suggesting that because of the unidentified special nature of the colonists, the colonists owe it to their community and to God to record the War in poetry and memorialize those English martyred in the name of New England.⁴³ Without poetry – and especially epic poetry – the War will lose the kind of community-defining text that can turn tragedy into communal achievement and keep military losses from being compounded by cultural failures.

Tompson's concern in New England's Crisis is an extension of Winthrop's "city on a hill," what might be termed a "poetic jeremiad," in the Bercovitchian mode.

⁴² Slotkin and Folsom, So Dreadfull a Judgement (1978), 225.

⁴³ There is, of course, a long tradition of memorializing Christian martyrs, and Tompson's work shows the influence of the work of Protestant martyrologies following John Foxe's 1583 Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

Bercovitch does not mention Tompson in The American Jeremiad, as his project is focused on defining and understanding the sermonic form of the jeremiad, but Tompson's call to his audience is similar to that which Bercovitch finds in Increase Mather's sermons: "Combining as it [the jeremiad] does the doctrines of covenant renewal and National Conversion, it marks a high point in the process of by which the New England clergy tried (rhetorically) to meet the challenges of history."⁴⁴ Tompson's poem works in a similar fashion, welding the New England community together in an exultation of its past heroes, using the horrors of the War and the sacrifices of the colonists as proof of their election and a threat of future punishment. Like the sermons of his peers, Tompson's poem casts community tragedy as proof of God's love and their election, as well as the possibility that His love might be withdrawn, and a picture of the hell that absence would entail. With history all around him, Tompson took up the call that he heard from the pulpit and wrote the genetics of salvation into poetry, causing the twentieth-century critic Eberwein to call the work a source of "moral council" similar to the sermons.⁴⁵

Despite addressing the central ideological issues of the decade, and writing on events that were current and tragic, Tompson's poem was a failure, and sank into obscurity almost as soon as it was published. New England's Crisis was published only once in Boston and seems to have remained in circulation only as long as the events that

⁴⁴ Bercovitch, American Jeremiad (1978), 83. Bercovitch's use of "National" here differs slightly from the understanding of the New England community that I am arguing for, but despite that his thesis is particularly useful when applied to Tompson, as the latter is the contemporary of many of Bercovitch's key figures, despite working in a different genre.

⁴⁵ Eberwein, "*Harvardine Quil*" (1993), 10.

it described. It did cross the Atlantic, where it was published in London as New England's Tears and Sad and Deplorable News from New England in 1676, what amounted to essentially a two-volume version of the Boston original.⁴⁶ The poem remained unavailable in any form until at least 1895 and has been available only in a few scholarly editions since that time.⁴⁷ This was the height of Tompson's fame and production, and his published output from 1676 until his death in 1714 was almost non-existent, consisting primarily of a few poems published as a part of Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana in 1702.⁴⁸ Thomson's failure came during a period when the English reading public was actively consuming poetry of this type, most notably John Milton's famous and widely read Paradise Lost in 1667 (revised 1674). While the possibility that Tompson read Milton's work remains speculation, there is little doubt that both poets were working in the mode popular at that time, and that Tompson's work did not fail for lack of an audience attuned to the type of work he proposed.

⁴⁶ The three editions are somewhat difficult to collate, but New England's Crisis contains almost all of the material later published in London. There are inconsistencies, and critics differ on whether or not to consider them as revisions of one another or separate texts. White has one of the better discussions of the relationships between the different poems in his Benjamin Tompson, 115-6. He posits a chronological relationship between the different versions, and also suggests that Tompson made some revisions for his London audience, so as to appear more learned, as well as to provide some necessary detail for those readers. Interestingly, New England's Tears is also the title of a sermon preached in New England in 1640 by William Hooke, and published in London the next year. The full title of that publication is New Englands Teares for Old Englands Feares. I do not know if Tompson was aware of this relatively rare publication, and their publications having the same title could very easily be a coincidence, but it is interesting to consider Tompson choosing as his title one that had first been used for a sermon.

⁴⁷ Samuel Green published a small edition of Tompson's poetry in 1895, which was followed by another edition in 1924. No other editions appeared until Hall's in 1975, and the more widely available 1980 edition of Peter White. Tompson's poem is most widely available in Slotkin and Folsom's collection So Dreadfull a Judgment (1978), which is the edition that I have used for my extracts.

⁴⁸ Cotton Mather was Tompson's student at the Boston Latin School. For more information about his tenure as schoolmaster see White, Benjamin Tompson (1980), especially 22-25.

It might be easy to dismiss the poem's failure as stemming simply from its apparent lack of quality, a fear that Tompson writes into the poem. At the end of the above passage, Tompson muses:

Nay rather should my quills were they all swords
Wear to the hilts in some lamenting words.
I dare not style them poetry but truth,
The dwindling products of my crazy youth.
If these essays shall raise some quainter pens
'Twill to the writer make a rich amends.⁴⁹

Tompson protests that his poem should not be considered poetry, that it is merely a product of adolescent extravagance, and that its primary function is to spur other, greater authors to take up the subject.⁵⁰ Critics such as Eberwein suggest that given the poem's obscurity, it is tempting to take this self-deprecation at face value as the reason for the poem's obscurity, but as it follows the tradition of poetic apology, it is hard to see this as anything more than formulaic.⁵¹ That said, the poem is certainly rough in spots, with a simplistic use of rhyme and meter that trundles along at an unsteady gait, prompting

⁴⁹ Slotkin and Folsom, *So Dreadfull a Judgment* (1978), 225.

⁵⁰ Tompson offers a similar apology in his dedication to the reader:

*I never thought this Babe
of my weak Phantasie
worthy of an Imprima-
tur; but being an Abortive,
it was beg'd in the perplexing
Times to be cherished by the
Charity of others.* (White 83)

This apology for the work and the hint that only public acclaim brought it to the press echoes Increase Mather's discussion of Rowlandson's reluctance to publish her work. It also echoes the apology of the author common at the time.

⁵¹ I here differ from Eberwein, who argues: "Yet when he denigrated his verses as 'The dwindling products of my crazy youth' Tompson exceeded the tradition of rhetorical confessions of authorial incapacity to raise questions in the reader about the sincerity of his artistic ambition in versifying tumultuous and often confusing current events" (1-2). While it is true that Tompson's placement of his apology is odd—at the middle of his poem as opposed to the beginning—it seems neither overwrought nor out of keeping with contemporary work.

Slotkin and Folsom to say, “A great poet, or for that matter even a passably good one, Tompson is not, even by the most charitable definition of poetry” (207).

Tompson’s call to poetic arms went unheeded: New England’s Crisis barely outlasted the war that it chronicled, and the literature of the colonies went unaffected by Tompson’s earnest efforts at art.⁵² King Philip’s War inspired some of the first poetry in the colonies, but those efforts were far from successful, never achieving the popularity of Increase Mather’s myriad publications, and never approaching his countrywoman’s later effort.⁵³ Tompson’s attempt to fit the events of the War to the genre of epic poetry failed not because there was no interest in the events themselves – the popularity of other texts suggests otherwise – but because those events failed to be compelling in Tompson’s poetry. Either this was the result of Tompson’s inability to meet the requirements of the genre, or because the events were not consonant with the long national scope of the epic, but in either case the textual expectations created by the epic form played a role in the poem’s failure.

⁵² Tompson has also been largely ignored by twenty and twenty-first century literary scholars in addition to the critical editions mentioned above, the most sustained work on Tompson’s poetry is the chapter “A National Experience” in Egan’s Authorizing Experience (1999), 95-199. Egan argues that Tompson’s emphasis on the experience of the War was the most important aspect of his composition, significant because it shifts the emphasis away from providential interpretations of the event. Egan pairs Tompson’s poetry with William Hubbard’s history to say that “Hubbard and Tompson use the rhetoric of experience to argue that their political authority – and the future of England’s empire – depends on seeing the colonies as a wholly separate collective body” (98). This is an interesting argument, but not one that I find wholly convincing, given the importance of Englishness to the New England colonists.

⁵³ Interestingly, while Tompson does mention the attack on Lancaster, he does not mention Rowlandson’s captivity, something that sets him apart from many of his contemporaries.

Rowlandson *In Situ*

Rowlandson did take up Tompson's challenge to cast the War in literature, though she did not do so in verse. Rowlandson's record of her time as a captive of the Narragansett Indians was popular in the colonies from almost the minute of its publication in 1682, alongside other publications that offer some of the same factual material as her text, though packaged within a very different narrative. Read first alongside these text, Rowlandson's narrative first appeared as an extension of the larger body of literature on King Philip's War, and only later would it escape this context to be read as generically different. Tompson offers an interesting contrast, for his text failed within a well-established genre – the epic poem – at least in part because of his work's inability to satisfy readers' expectations of the genre. His text did address New England's desire for information about the War, and did so within a genre that was popular at the time, but his text failed to succeed within the genre of the epic poem. Rowlandson, on the other hand, succeeded because of her text's ability to exceed the limits of its initial generic context.

Rowlandson's text did not exist without a genre; that is, it could not function outside of the field of genre, as Jacques Derrida states in his oft-quoted formulation from "The Law of Genre": "A text cannot belong to no genre, it cannot be without or less a genre. [...] Every text participates in one or several genres, there is no genreless text; there is always a genre and genres, yet such participation never amounts to belonging."⁵⁴

⁵⁴ See Jacques Derrida, "The Law of Genre" (1980), 65.

Genre functions at a level of abstraction as the interaction among text, author, and audience over the meaning of category itself. Rowlandson could not have created the Indian captivity narrative Athena-like from the head of Matherian theology, neither could her text – or any text – not itself sit in tension with available genres of its time. The wealth of criticism about Rowlandson’s text has considered it within the context of the captivity genre, and placing it in other contexts is often overlooked, thus denying an understanding of what other genres the text participated in the 1680s. This is not to dismiss the value of an approach that begins with Rowlandson as the progenitor of the captivity narrative and then progresses from that, but rather it is to say that to do so obscures how the text was initially read, and that without this understanding of its initial popularity, it is difficult to track how the text eventually leaves its peers in the press and comes to be understood as something different altogether: a new genre. Here the context of Mather’s work and the negative example of the failure of Tompson’s poetry is useful, for they offer other ways of understanding Rowlandson, ways that do not participate in an anachronistic celebration of the Indian captivity narrative.

While Rowlandson’s text is certainly informed by Increase Mather’s project of recording illustrious providences, and may even owe its place in the press largely to Mather’s understanding of it in that light, her narrative moves beyond simply considering the world through the lens of providence, and includes a focus on individual experience

that is persuasive beyond the boundaries of New England's religious community.⁵⁵ Considerations of space may have initially caused Mather to publish Rowlandson's narrative separately from the collection of Illustrious Providences, but her approach to recording her experiences also differs from the other examples of God's providence recorded by Mather. Mather's text catalogues events from the past and his observations of the natural world as examples of neither history nor a secularly understood nature, but instead as evidence of the will of God. While Rowlandson's text is certainly sympathetic to such a worldview, it has an emphasis on the personal that Mather's other examples lack.

On one hand this is the byproduct of the length of the text, for it allows Rowlandson's text to develop a focus on the individual that is not available in a shorter description of divine providence. For as much as Quentin Stockwell may hold sway in Illustrious Providences, the reader gets little information about Stockwell personally. Instead, the text focuses on the events that affect the reader, as well as how those events can be religiously interpreted. In her much longer narrative – almost three times as long – Rowlandson provides both the events and framing that allow her tale to fit within Mather's view of the world, but also a focus on her very individual and bodily experiences that Mather's text lacks. When compared to Mather's Illustrious Providences as a whole, Rowlandson's text provides much more detail about her life, as well as more

⁵⁵ This mention of experience alludes to Egan's work Authorizing Experience (1999). Interestingly, Egan does not discuss Rowlandson at length, but my understanding of her text works well with his conception of the role of experience in defining a colonial English sensibility, even if I disagree with his understanding of that sensibility as radically different from "Englishness."

information about how she went about the process of living than Mather does in his few hundred pages. Rowlandson's text presents an author who is tortured by cold, driven almost mad with hunger, and suffering through real physical pain: Rowlandson makes herself and her body real for the reader, in ways that neither Stockwell nor Mather do. Mather's authorial presence, for instance, is not one that feels want or dwells on pain; it is impossible to imagine him telling a story of his dueling a child for a piece of horse's hoof, as Rowlandson does.

This difference in the tone of the two authors is important, for it highlights two strands that Rowlandson's text brings together: the personal and the providential. While Mather's text does make use of the first person in both Illustrious Providences and in his preface to Rowlandson, his use is incidental and disassociated from his body and largely uninformed by his personal experience: his voice serves primarily as a guide to the providential, a pointer for the reader that shows the correct orientation toward God for the community as a divinely inspired whole. Rowlandson's use of the first person is more akin to that found in the Puritans' personal narratives than it is to the tone of Mather's introduction. These personal stories of Puritan conversion and rebirth in Christ – Thomas Shepard's posthumously published God's Plot is the most famous example – meditated on the author's relationship to God and dwelt on discerning the always-unknowable status of their election.⁵⁶ Rowlandson's narrative employed this voice, but compacts the scope of the narrative: hers is not a tale of life-long spiritual struggle, but an intense period whose progress is marked on her body. Even more so than the autobiographic conversion

⁵⁶ See Shepard, God's Plot (1984).

narratives that her text echoes, Rowlandson's narrative centralizes the corporeal body of the individual as an index of her spiritual status. This tone – one that insists upon the situated nature of the author – is made all the more striking when contrasted with the editorial “I” of Mather's preface, a voice that substitutes the position of minister for the person of the captive.

This is the voice that introduces Rowlandson's work, and it finds its twin in the text that was attached to the end: when it was first published in the 1680s, Rowlandson's text was accompanied by the last sermon of her husband, Joseph Rowlandson, entitled The Possibility of Gods Forsaking a People.⁵⁷ Joseph Rowlandson – Mary's first husband – died shortly after the end of the War, and his sermon was included in all of the seventeenth-century editions of Mary's captivity narrative. Publishing the final sermon by a prominent minister was common in New England in the seventeenth century, and Joseph's sermon is most remarkable for being his last: he offers a fairly conventional jeremiad, opening with a passage from Jeremiah, then using this verse to set up and answer a series of questions relating to the past and future of the New England. Though Joseph's sermon is not particularly noteworthy in the canon of New England jeremiads, its inclusion alongside his wife's narrative reinforces the providential reading that Mather sets out in the preface: like Mather, Joseph concerns himself with a providential reading of events in New England, situating the colony as both punished and chosen.

⁵⁷ The full title of Joseph Rowlandson's sermon is The Possibility of Gods Forsaking a People, That have been visibly near & dear to him Together, with the Misery of a People thus forsaken, Set forth in a Sermon, Preached at Weathersfield, Nov. 21. 1678. Being a Day of Fast and Humiliation.

Bookended by Mather's preface and her husband's sermon, Mary Rowlandson's narrative participates in the providential reading set forth by the two texts that buttress hers, holding her meaning captive. The husband and wife's texts have other similarities that are emphasized by their juxtaposition: both Joseph's jeremiad and Mary's narrative make liberal use of Biblical quotations, and both read Providence in the world around them, but where Joseph's text works its way through a series of theological points by way of several numbered lists (there are roughly fourteen different sets and subsets in his narrative), Mary's is organized around a series of twenty numbered "removes." Mary organizes her experience in captivity as a single, linear story around her physical movement, numbering the removes in a style borrowed from the jeremiad's penchant for numbered lists. Alongside their similar liberal use of Biblical quotations, and an understanding of providence as organizing their lives, both Mary and her husband foreground a similar numbering system to organize their text for their readers. What they organize is very different – Mary plots a geographic course through the wilderness that has religious overtones, while Joseph delineates points of theology with an eye to communal salvation – but their systematization of their texts is similar. Read together, Mary's indebtedness to the formal structure of the jeremiad is apparent, as are her structural changes to that form: maintaining a penchant for nested numbered lists to organize material borrowed from the jeremiad, Mary's uses this form to trace what is primarily physical and metaphorically spiritual.

On one hand this format underscores the similarity in the texts' philosophical underpinnings, but it cannot help but simultaneously highlight the difference between Mary Rowlandson's narrative and the voices of the two men who accompanied her to the press: Rowlandson's narrative depicts her individual experiences as indicative of both God's dealing with her, and of His over-arching plan for the community of elect. Neither of the two men has this same focus on the personal – even, at times, the intimate – as Mary does, content as they are to focus on God's influence on the community at large. Mary Rowlandson combines these two themes in an oft-cited passage toward the end of her work:

*I can remember the time, when I used to sleep quietly without workings in my thoughts, whole nights together, but now it is other wayes with me. When all are fast about me, and no eye open, but his who ever waketh, my thoughts are upon things past, upon the awfull dispensation of the Lord towards us; upon his wonderfull power and might, in carrying of us through so many difficulties, in returning us in safety, and suffering none to hurt us.*⁵⁸

These lines begin one of Rowlandson's final paragraphs, in which she looks back and summarizes her time as a captive. In them she moves from the individual and personal concerns that she experiences as a result of her captivity – specifically her insomnia, something that she experiences alone, even when returned to the bosom of her family – to a communal reading of the event of her captivity: the power of the Lord in delivering people through danger and into safety. She here moves from the personal to the religious, from the individual to the group, changes that are registered at the level of the sentence by her shift from “I” to “us.” Her use of the latter pronoun is especially important, as here

⁵⁸ Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness of God (1997), 111.

the “us” refers not to a group of captives, or even the captives with whom she was redeemed, but instead is stretched to include the whole community. The identity of the community is not specified, but it implicitly includes the reader, and thus presumably indicates at least the religious elect among the New England colonies, and may extend further to include all the colonists, or even all the English. The ever-widening circle highlights the specificity of the “I” in the first sentence, evoking the solitary nature both of Rowlandson’s captivity, and of her lonely nights battling insomnia. Rowlandson’s history was unique and worthy of individual catalogue, but its events had larger communal and providential meaning.

This focus on the personal and/as the providential offers an understanding of how Rowlandson differed from her peers in Mather’s publishing portfolio, as well as from her own husband’s approach to the jeremiad. Rowlandson’s approach might not be unique – the Puritan autobiography took a similar approach – yet Rowlandson’s insistence on returning to a narrow, individual focus set her apart from her contemporaries.⁵⁹ Her memory of dire hunger is touching to the point of evoking a visceral response hundreds of years later; her fear of rivers, and utter dejection at leaving the “civilized” fields of the English is still moving. Opening her *Second Remove*, she laments:

But now, the next morning, I must turn my back upon the Town, and travel with them into the vast and desolate Wilderness, I knew not whither. It is not my tongue, or pen can express the sorrows of my heart, and bitterness of my spirit,

⁵⁹ There are several works that have looked at the Puritan spiritual autobiography, many focusing on Thomas Shepard’s work, available in a critical edition entitled *God’s Plot* (1994). See Watkins, *The Puritan Experience* (1972); Shea *The Spiritual Autobiography in Early America* (1988); and Aldrich, “The Children of These Fathers” (1988). These works generally focus on the evolution of the autobiography as central to understanding American literature, but their implications for the importance of the author-as-narrator apply to Rowlandson, as well.

that I had at this departure: but God was with me, in a wonderfull manner, carrying me along, and bearing up my spirit, that it did not quite fail. (73)

The wilderness had long been an important symbol for the Puritans, evocative of both Moses' sojourn in the desert and their own wandering in New England, but for Rowlandson the wilderness becomes not just theologically, but practically important, as the line that separates her from the English. Her insertion of her personal experience foregrounds geography and offers grounding for the theological musings of her peers, and it is this difference that sets her apart from both the narrative style of Increase Mather and those of the accounts compiled in Illustrious Providences.⁶⁰

This difference in her use of the first person hints at one possibility for Rowlandson's popularity; a glance back at the much-maligned Tompson offers another. Comparing Rowlandson across genres to Tompson does reveal some similarity, as both employ the same providential approach to events that Mather championed. Tompson does not use the first person and the personal in the same way that Rowlandson does – he does not seem to have taken an active part in fighting, after all – but he does often examine the individuals in the fights, such as when he lauds the Boston women who took part in fortifying the city.⁶¹ White states that:

Although we know that Tompson pledged allegiance to Massachusetts Bay and that he treated the wounded (and anatomized one of the enemy), he probably had little personal exposure to the actual fighting of the war. Nevertheless, in New Englands Crisis he used an almost journalistic approach to add power, verisimilitude, and immediacy to his descriptive passages. He does everything

⁶⁰ This passage is also important its combination of Biblical understandings of Wilderness with the roots of the "frontier line" marking the extent of European exploration of the North American continent. See chapter three (below) for a more complete discussion of this passage and its relationship to the work of Frederick Jackson Turner.

⁶¹ White, Benjamin Tompson (1980), 50.

within his power to give the reader the impression that his reports come from the thick of things.⁶²

Though Tompson's "man in the field" approach to his poem was a construct and did not reflect his actual experience, it does allow comparison to Rowlandson, for whom almost the entirety of her tale came from her own experience. Both authors emphasized individual experience – if not his own, in Tompson's case – and both used these episodes to reflect upon the providential meaning of life events. This emphasis individual experience is something that the two share, in contrast to Mather's less personal catalogues, though for all three the incident is only the first step on the way to providence. Most importantly, these texts emphasized the role of the common individual in war, offering a version of conflict traditionally reserved for the memoirs of generals or officers. By importing the Puritan autobiography's focus on the individual and applying it to a narrative of war, these texts produce an account of battle that is more local story than global account.

Despite this similarity, Rowlandson differs in one important way from both Tompson and Mather, something that may point to her instant and enduring popularity: Rowlandson's approach to personal experience eschews historical context in favor of a focus on the individual for whom historical context seems irrelevant and unworthy of mention. If there is one thing that Tompson does well, after all, it is record and narrate the history of the War: despite a clumsy poetic style and questionable descriptive powers, Tompson is accurate in his relation of the progression of the War and the motivation

⁶² White, Benjamin Tompson (1980), 50.

behind it battles. His approach is not purely historical – his goal, after all, is memorialization, not journalistic accuracy – but his narrative of events self-consciously produces a vision of the community’s response to the War, such that most critics have preferred to categorize his work as a “historical poem.”⁶³ Mather’s goal in Illustrious Providences and other related publications is similarly not “pure history,” but he, too, in his cataloguing and assemblage of stories offers a broad-ranging picture of New England society that gives a multi-faceted picture of the lives and ideology of the colonists.⁶⁴ For both Mather and Tompson the events that their texts record always point outside of the individual.

Rowlandson famously eschews history for a narrative style that emphasizes individual immediacy over larger social context. Whereas Mather’s preface to her work offers some sense of the situation of her captivity, Rowlandson’s narrative begins in the moment, with an intimate focus on her experience of the battle at Lancaster. Compare first Mather’s opening:

It was on Tuesday, Feb. 1, 1675, in the afternoon, when the *Narrhagansets* quarters (in our toward the *Nipmug* Country, whither they are now retired for fear of the *English* Army lying in their own Country) were the second time beaten up by the Forces of the united Colonies, who thereupon soon betook themselves to flight, and were all the next day pursued by the *English*, some overtaken and destroyed.⁶⁵

⁶³ See, for instance, Slotkin and Folsom: “Yet however inept the particulars of his verse may be, one feels that Tompson is in control – of his historical material at least, if not always of his poetic form” (208). Others have hesitantly labeled his poem as an epic (if a very short one), or as a mock epic. Regardless of what label is chosen his reliance on recording the facts of the battle is the same.

⁶⁴ For a more detailed look at Mather’s more forthright attempts at history, please see the following chapter.

⁶⁵ Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness of God (1997), 63.

Mather opens with a situation of the events within the social geography of Massachusetts, and then begins to recount some of the battles that would lead to the attack on Lancaster and Rowlandson's capture. He does not arrive at the attack on Lancaster until the middle of the next paragraph, by which time he has introduced the forces of the different colonies, as well as hinted at their Indian allies. While his introduction to the history of the War is not lengthy, it does occupy a significant portion of his preface and provide some situation for Rowlandson's capture.

Rowlandson's opening to her actual narrative is strikingly different:

On the tenth of February 1675, Came the *Indians* with great numbers upon *Lancaster*: Their first coming was about Sun-rising; hearing the noise of some Guns, we looked out; several Houses were burning, and the Smoke ascending to Heaven. There were five persons taken in one house, the Father, and the Mother and a sucking Child, they knockt on the head; the other two they took away and carried away alive.⁶⁶

Rowlandson begins on the date of the attack on Lancaster, almost in the middle of the action: the reader is immediately immersed in the battle. For her narrative there is nothing before that time, no event that would be worth mentioning to explain the attack or offer reasons for either the Indians' aggression or the colonists' utter lack of preparation. Rowlandson's narrative opens with the sunrise and the sound of gunfire, and then quickly begins to tighten its focus around her as an individual: she makes one of her rare references to a story that she was told and did not witness in the first paragraph (pointing this out to the reader by inserting "(as they told me)" next to it), before moving quickly to herself and her own experience at the beginning of the second paragraph: "At

⁶⁶ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1997), 68.

length they came and beset our own house, and quickly it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw.”⁶⁷ From this point on her narrative is tightly controlled by what she sees, with very few insertions of stories from others or gestures to a world outside of her intimate sphere of captives and captors. As such, there are few references to battles in the larger War – her mention of the Bible coming from the Medfield fight is one – and historians have been able to reconstruct a map of her travels only through painstaking research and reliance on other histories, such as the newsbooks. Rowlandson’s departure from the English settlements is traumatic to her because it marks a move into the unknown and the spiritual wilderness, but it also signals her break with history and her entrance into a time and space marked primarily through her numbered removes, and not with reference to the outside world.⁶⁸

Coupled with her focus on the personal as providential, Rowlandson’s attention to her own experience to the exclusion of almost all else amounts to almost a denial of history, and certainly a marginalization of any events that might have led to the attack and her captivity. Such a focus increases the emotional immediacy of the narrative – the audience feels her hunger and lives with her sorrow – but also results in gaps that are almost myopic: rather than recognize that her captors are starving as a result of having been forced to survive on food of marginal nutritional value after the destruction of their winter stores in the Great Swamp Fight, Rowlandson dismisses their food as filthy trash,

⁶⁷ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1997), 68.

⁶⁸ One exception to this rule is her criticism of English army’s unwillingness to cross the Bacquaug River, despite the fact that she did so accompanied by the women, children, and infirm of the Narragansetts, with whom she was then traveling. She mentions this episode in the fifth remove and then returns to offer even more biting criticism at the end of her narrative, where she see links this episode to God’s desire to continue to test “our poor Countrey.” See 78-80 and 105.

and her distaste for it becomes yet one more test that God has put before her. In one of her more famous lines she tracks her change during captivity through her relationship to the Indians' food:

The first week of my being among them, I hardly ate any thing; the second week, I found my stomach grow very faint for want of something; and yet it was very hard to get down their filthy trash: but the third week, though I could think how formerly my stomach would turn against this or that, and I could starve and die before I could eat such things, yet they were sweet and savory to my taste.⁶⁹

This passage is remarkable not the least for its ability to evoke hunger in the reader, drawing sympathetic bonds between Rowlandson and her audience; the incident is also noteworthy for her recognition of the change that she herself is undergoing, one that she registers as both mental and physical, but it is possibly most amazing insofar as she never realizes (or at least never records) that her captors are in the same dire straits she is, and that their reduction to gleaning frozen fields and butchering their horses is a response to starvation, not a mark of their barbarity. Rowlandson's focus on herself and preoccupation with the providential meaning of her life's events seems to preclude her from extending sympathy to her captors.

Nothing seems to have kept readers throughout New England from sympathizing with her, however. This pan-colonial popularity is important to note, for it indicates how from the beginning Rowlandson's narrative was able to transcend local debates (such as the Hubbard-Mather controversy, which centered on Boston and Cambridge), and cross colonial boundaries to gain a readership beyond Massachusetts. This is not to say that her narrative was read in the same way by all of her audience at this time: it is hard to

⁶⁹ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1997), 79.

imagine a Quaker in Rhode Island relishing her descriptions of Puritan theology in the same way that those in Boston would, for instance; or that those in Boston would be as focused on the details of how she physically survived her captivity as those in the remote Connecticut River Valley would. Instead, Rowlandson's focus on the individual as well as her downplaying of contextualizing history helped to facilitate her text's portability, and allow for it to signify differently to its readers as it wound its way through New England, serving as a handbook for captivity survival in one home, a source of colonial gossip in another, and a testament to the community's election in yet another. These aspects are the result of her narrative combining the providential worldview of the jeremiad with the personal focus of Tompson's poetry (and the spiritual autobiography), but importantly required the jettisoning of the specific history of those other works. What resulted was a personal narrative whose popularity was an index of its uniqueness.

Rowlandson in London

Examining Rowlandson's work alongside its textual contemporaries pays different dividends on the other side of the Atlantic. There, the newsbooks about the War formed a significant part of the context into which her narrative stepped, as they represented both the most popular and the most widely read publications about the War. Many of Mather's publications had crossed the Atlantic as well, as had Tompson's poems, such that Rowlandson met with a London market already crowded with publications about King Philip's War. The London audience had eagerly consumed the

newsbooks about the War, hungry as it was for information about the expanding English colonial project. Londoners' interest was primarily in news and entertainment from abroad, and less in the spiritual aspirations of the religiously suspect Puritans in New England. In London the book competed for an audience alongside the previously published newsbooks regarding the War, and other tracts proclaiming "news from distant lands": the most common use of "news" in a publication's title was in reference to reports from the colonies or the world at large, a category in which Rowlandson's narrative plausibly works, though one in which she has rarely been read. In London Rowlandson's narrative found an audience prepared to receive news about the War and the colonies more generally, but that did so in a way different from her colonial audience, for whom the War was an immediate event, and for whom Rowlandson's individual experience with the wilderness, the Indians, and the very real aspects of hunger and the elements were much more personal than they were for her cosmopolitan London counterparts.

Rowlandson's narrative participated in this same conversation about war in the colonies as did the newsbooks, one that brought intelligence and entertainment to the London audience. This was signaled in part by an important revision to her narrative's title that echoed those of the newsbooks. The change in the title from The Sovereignty and Goodness of God to A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, echoes the titles of the newsbooks that had preceded her text in the press and prepared a way for news about the War with the London audience, a change that

represents a shift in the text's anticipated audience.⁷⁰ No longer is divine providence stressed in the title, something that was understandably popular to a New England audience steeped in the ideology of the Puritans, but in London it is history that is emphasized over and above the text's religious content. This might be initially surprising given the text's seeming denial of history when compared to other colonial publications, but it agrees with publishing schemes that downplayed the more radical aspects of Puritan religious texts for the less zealous London reading public. Enthusiastic Puritanism was suspect in a London that in the 1680s was in the early stages of what would become the Glorious Revolution, and New England's increasingly distinct brand of Puritanism was less intelligible and more questionable. With specific regard to Rowlandson's text, it is unclear if she means to extend her use of "we" in the text across the Atlantic. This is a central part of her narrative strategy and is crucial to her appeal on the west of the Atlantic, but it is not hard to imagine a London reader hesitant to accept both Rowlandson's religious ideology and her use of the providentially inflected first person plural, as her repeated references to the English are more limited in scope and never reference England directly. Her construction remains ambiguous and the boundaries of

⁷⁰ For a much longer discussion of the importance of this name change see Toulouse, "The Sovereignty and Goodness of God in 1682" (2000). She introduces this section saying: "What becomes imperative is not only to consider the theological intersections of the text with other New England religious genres, as Ebesole and other have done, but also to locate some specific current conflicts with which its New England title could have resonated for local audiences. The use and then the abandonment of the focus on "Soveraignty" in the respective Rowlandson titles offers a central example of the texts's interplay with such conflicts" (928). Her discussion then enters into a longer situation of the text within London political events of the 1670s and 80s. Her argument places much more emphasis on the importance of this name change, and while our arguments largely overlap, my archive for her argument is the newsbooks I discuss in my first chapter.

her community of chosen peers are indistinct; this ambiguity is highlighted and heightened in the London context.

Perhaps for this reason, the popularity of Rowlandson's narrative did not cross the Atlantic with the book. While the New England edition could not be printed enough in 1682, the London publication of Rowlandson's True History went through a solitary edition. No other edition was published in England until the twentieth century, whereas at least one of the newsbooks (N.S.'s The Present State of New-England with Respect to the Indian War) went through two.⁷¹ This comparison is unjust on one hand – as news, Rowlandson's narrative was old, after all, while the newsbooks capitalized on their immediacy – but as the London title of Rowlandson's work seems to put it into a similar category, and the newsbooks might have worked (as did public rumors in the colonies) to whet the appetite of a London public curious about her fate, the comparison is useful, if not perfect. Moreover, her text's failure was not a case of market saturation on the part of the New England edition, for while books published in London were often intended for a colonial audience, it was rare for books published in the colonies to make their way to the market in London.

Or rather, it might be better to say that the market was not saturated with Rowlandson's story, for the production and sale of books in general, and books like this in particular, was strong. The London title of Rowlandson's text seems to suggest that it

⁷¹ This is the result of a search of the database of Early English Books Online. I was unable to find another English edition of Rowlandson, though it is possible that her narrative was collected and published under a different title and without her name prominently attached. The point would be much the same, though: Rowlandson's text never approached the sort of popularity in England that she enjoyed in New England.

fell into the broad category of “strange news from the colonies” – a category overflowing with cheaply printed pamphlets and short books – as opposed to the then-nonexistent category of the Indian captivity narrative. The London publishing market was flattened by the plague years in the mid-1660s and devastated by the Great Fire in 1666, but by the 1680s it had fully recovered, producing over sixteen hundred works in 1682 alone, over five hundred of which use the word “news” to proclaim things such as News from Ireland, touching the damnable design of the papists.⁷² Thus, while Rowlandson’s text was unique in London – it was the only prose work published by a New England woman during the seventeenth century – when considered in the context of the London print market and alongside those texts that structured her audience’s reading, Rowlandson’s London sales were mediocre at best.

This fact has implications for the captivity narrative as a genre, as well as for the rise of the English novel. If Rowlandson’s readership in London was limited, and no greater than the more numerous newsbooks, then we need to rethink theories of the relationship between the captivity narrative and the eighteenth-century English domestic novel. Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse’s pivotal essay “The American Origins of the English Novel,” calls into question the search for the English origins of the English novel, and suggests that the ideas of Mary Rowlandson and the American captivity narrative were central to Richardson’s Pamela and the rise of the novel. Taking seriously their geographic repositioning and looking to colonial origins for the English

⁷² Also from a search of Early English Books Online. Smith, News from Ireland (1682). Other titles proclaim news from France, the three kingdoms of England, and Bedlam, to cite just a few examples.

domestic novel, it is possible that the transatlantic context for the early English novel might not just be Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative, but instead the host of publications that came out of King Philip's War, many of them – like Mary Rowlandson's – evincing the rise of the author, a turn toward individualism, and the democratic tendencies implicit in the public address. Unique though Rowlandson's text was in New England, the London market's tepid response to its publication suggests that readers saw it not as exceptional and worthy of emulation, but rather as of a part with a host of other colonial texts brought into the metropole.

Rather than discard Armstrong and Tennenhouse's provocative and useful hypothesis as a result of this revised version of Rowlandson's popularity, we might instead see Rowlandson's work in tandem with other colonial productions. This new frame suggests that Rowlandson might have been received in London as part of the same genre as the newsbooks, or alongside Mather's equally popular Illustrious Providences, and that it is this larger archive that represents the precursor to Pamela. These newsbooks from the colonies, growing out of the earlier news letters, and directly addressing a London public, represent a larger colonial role in the form of the epistolary novel, especially when combined with the thematic concerns of Rowlandson's captivity narrative. By situating Rowlandson's use of the personal as one such example among a number of colonial innovations such as the personal newsletter from abroad, the Puritan autobiography, and Tompson's narrow view of the War, no longer is Rowlandson a lone voice crying from the wilderness of America but one of a number of such innovations in

authorship produced in New England. Removing the label of the captivity narrative from Rowlandson's London debut allows for a greater appreciation of the other texts alongside which she was consumed, and which lead later to the concerns of the English domestic novel.

The full range of colonial address to the London public following King Philip's War participated in the transition that Armstrong and Tennenhouse see realized in Richardson and symbolic of the shift to modernity. The texts were not read as captivity narrative, newbooks, and/or "illustrious providences," but instead a larger and more amorphous genre that led to the omnivorous novel. By expanding the origin of the novel to include the both Rowlandson's narrative and those other texts that it was read alongside better appreciates the role of reception in the creation of the novel as a genre. Stripping Rowlandson's work of the label of captivity narrative allows it to be considered alongside a larger number of publications that influenced both the form and the content of the seventeenth-century novel.

Into the New Century

These different reading contexts disappear with time, and after the seventeenth century Rowlandson's text is never able to escape the clear generic label of the "captivity narrative." After her initial publication in 1682, Rowlandson's text was not published again until 1720, almost forty years later. It was another fifty years until her story rediscovered the popularity it had enjoyed in the 1680s, this time under the title A

Narrative of the Captivity, Sufferings and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson in 1770.⁷³

Stripped of her husband's sermon and under a title stressing both the captivity and the prominence of the individual, Rowlandson's narrative was wildly popular in the late eighteenth century: it was published an amazing fourteen times between 1770 and 1811, three times in 1770 alone.

⁷³ Most useful in the study and research of the different eighteenth-century editions of Rowlandson's narrative is Readex's database "Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans, 1639-1800."



Figure 8: Frontispiece from Zacharias Fowle's 1770 edition of the Rowlandson's narrative. Notice here that Rowlandson is seen holding a rifle in defense of a small walled city with what appears to be a British flag flying over it, but that she is also wearing a hat appropriate to the American colonials of the period.

By this time readers knew the conventions of the captivity genre, and these expectations changed how the text was read. Stories recording the fate of English

colonists taken captive by the Indians did not burst into popularity following Rowlandson's initial publication and Stockwell's inclusion in Mather's larger project, but they began to show up with increasing regularity in the late seventeenth century and on into the eighteenth century. Often they were not published on their own, as Rowlandson's had been, but as part of larger compilations of stories, like Stockwell's inclusion in Illustrious Providences. Increase's son Cotton was responsible for the popularization of many such narratives in his numerous publications throughout the 1690s and into the first three decades of the eighteenth century. Two of the most famous captivity narratives published by Cotton Mather were the stories of Hannah Duston and Hannah Swarton, both of which initially appeared in his 1699 work Decennium Luctuosum. As the conflicts between the colonists and the Native Americans continued through the 1690s and into the new century, the practice of taking captives became more commonplace, and their narratives more widely published and read. Conventions varied, and in many ways none were as dynamic or as multi-faceted as their progenitor, Mary Rowlandson, but by the eighteenth century the English colonists in North America were used to consuming captivity narratives as part of a larger number of popular books that included the tales of criminals, as well as the still-popular sermons and religious tracts.



Figure 9: Detail from Coverly's 1771 edition of Rowlandson's work, which shows a woodcut that appears to show Rowlandson defending her home with a rifle (top center).

With the increasing popularity of the captivity narrative, the genre reached back to embrace the text that crystallized all that the later narratives would capitalize upon, including Rowlandson's tight focus on her personal experience, her relegation of historical context to the background, and her reading her own fate as analogous with that of the larger community. But with the establishment of the genre also came new twists

on its reading practices, and when Rowlandson exploded into popularity in the last third of the eighteenth century she was met with a changed audience with different expectations. These changes are reflected in the illustrations that accompanied her text, pictures that manifest the editor's understanding of the story and influence how it was read. In her story Rowlandson never lifts more than her hand toward her captors – knitting needles are a more effective weapon for her – and the violence of her capture comprises only the first few pages of the book. These scenes, however, are the obsession of the illustrations when her text is reprinted in the eighteenth century. The pictures emphasize the barbarity and inhumanity of the Indians, something that Rowlandson is famously ambivalent about in her narrative: for Rowlandson, the Praying Indians are loathsome, as is the gaudy wife of her Indian master, but many of the other Indians are portrayed positively. Significantly, her description of King Philip himself is comparatively neutral and almost complementary at points, and stands in sharp contrast to his villainous portrait in other contemporary texts.⁷⁴ [See Figures 8 and 9]

⁷⁴ Note that there were no illustrations included in the seventeenth-century editions of Rowlandson's narrative, but that this was not at all unusual, as printing in New England was only beginning to work with woodcuts around the time that her text was printed.



Figure 10: Woodcut from Coverly's 1770 edition of Rowlandson's text, depicting a naked, scarred, and generally horrific King Philip entirely out of keeping with the portrait of the benevolent leader offered by Rowlandson in her text. Underscoring the foreign nature of his portrait is the small black figure in the background, possibly alluding to his son that the Puritan clergy so feared and who they eventually had sold into slavery, but whom Rowlandson never mentions.

In 1770 Rowlandson's story is the exemplary captivity narrative caught in the reading practices of the genre that it helped to create. If a complex view of different Native American groups was available to the Puritans in 1682 – cognizant, as they were, of the importance of their Pequot allies and the mercurial nature of the Praying Indians – this is not a reading emphasized in the text's rebirth in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Moreover, if Rowlandson can dismiss rumors of her sexual violation in an aside in 1682, this question becomes a preoccupation when the text is "reborn." In the eighteenth century Rowlandson's narrative is not a tale of personal spiritual redemption, nor is it symbolic of New England's covenant with God. It is instead read through the lens of the American Revolution, and Rowlandson becomes the staunch defender of the American colonies against an invading horde violating her English/American right to property. Genre creates expectations, which change the text itself and what readers find in it. For instance, Rowlandson never holds a gun, but that does not keep the Revolutionary generation from picturing her defending the homefront, Columbia-like in her arms and iconography. [See Figure 11]



Figure 11: Detail from the title page of John Boyle's 1773 edition. Here Rowlandson gets to not just hold a rifle, as she was pictured on Fowle's frontispiece, but also uses it in her defense. Note also that her house has become much less identifiably British, as it was in Fowle's illustration or blockhouse-like, as in Coverly's battle scene.

Conclusion: Genre Captures Rowlandson

Following Rowlandson's narrative as it bounces back and forth across the Atlantic and examining what other (textual) passengers accompany it on its crossing imparts a better understanding not only of how the work was read in the 1680s, but of why that popularity translated into the runaway success of the captivity narrative. Tompson's failure as the poet of King Philip's War shows that it is not the account of an historic event that Rowlandson's audience craved, though he does offer a different genesis for her focus on individual history from that usually traced to the spiritual autobiography.

Mather's publication project was hugely influential on Rowlandson, but her escape from its clutches shows how her emphasis on the first person and her denial of history were unique, even as Mather provides a model for her move to the providential. When considering Rowlandson's influence in London without the label of the captivity narrative attached, her text becomes just one of many colonial publications that may have influenced the rise of the novel as much in their form as in their content. And when returning to Rowlandson's enshrinement as the preeminent Indian captivity narrative in the late eighteenth century, the illustrations that accompany her text show how genre can change the reading of text whose birth seemed almost outside of such categories.

This is more than a story of one text's change in meaning and an evolution in cultural significance, but rather a case study in how text and context interact to produce genre, and how that generic category is an ongoing conversation between not just author and text, or text and audience, but a variety of different players, each situated in time and flowing through it. It is also to show how generic labels fix meaning in ways that can do a disservice not only to a text's contemporary audience, but also to the text itself, by obscuring the complex negotiation that it undertakes to create meaning. The role of the critic is to treat these categories not as ossified "black boxes" or artistic emanations expressing preordained meaning, but as constantly shifting textual constructs. Finally, this study shows how genre creates knowledge, not by dictating meaning to an audience or an author, but by selecting the possible paths from a limited number of options: Rowlandson could not be a national hero in New England in 1682, but she could be in

1770; her focus on the personal as providential can have Puritan overtones when marshaled by Mather, but has decidedly secular and racial meaning a century later. In the end, Rowlandson's fame comes as much from the way that she is able to shape her audience's understanding of what her story is as it does from the tale she tells, and this ability is what allows her text to transcend its historical moment and live on as a captivity narrative whose meaning escapes King Philip's War to be resituated according to contemporary understandings of captivity, nation, and personhood.

Chapter Three

Born to Die: Writing King Philip's War into American History

The English disarmed my people. They tried them by their own laws, and assessed damages my people could not pay. Sometimes the cattle of the English would come into the cornfields of my people for they did not make fences like the English. I must then be seized and confined till I sold another tract of my country for damages and costs. Thus tract after tract is gone. But a small part of the dominion of my ancestors remains. I am determined not to live till I have no country.

King Philip to John Borden
Great Speeches by Native Americans (2000)¹

King Philip met his fate in August of 1676, not far from his home on the Mount Hope peninsula in southern New England. After a misfire by a colonial militiaman, Philip fell to the musket of a Native American soldier allied with the colonists. Philip died as he had predicted in his speech to John Borden (above): pushed back to an ever-decreasing slice of his own land and driven close to starvation. The death was as

¹ For the full speech see Blaisdel, Great Speeches by Native Americans (2000), 7.

symbolic as it was dramatic, and in spite of the low-level skirmishing that continued for several months, Philip's demise serves as the effective endpoint for his eponymous war.²

Even as he reached his corporeal end, Philip's life in narrative was just beginning. When the bullet tore through his breast, Philip's life leaked out of his body and onto the pages of colonial histories. Philip was already a recognizable figure in English texts, from colonial documents tracing the movements of a potential enemy, public and private letters, and eventually Mary Rowlandson's famous captivity narrative.³ Contemporary authors eventually dragged Philip's name into some nineteen different works published in Boston, Cambridge, and London, for a total of some fifteen hundred texts in print in the seven years after the War's close, not to mention the myriad jeremiads and memorials that referred to him obliquely as the embodiment evil and a foe of mythic proportions.⁴ Philip's life continued on in texts even as his quartered corpse was distributed around New England.

Philip's circulation in the texts following the War was intimately tied up with his place in the history of the region, in contrast to Mary Rowlandson's narrative, which downplayed the historical circumstances of the War to focus readers on the drama of the captivity narrative, leading to her text's transportability and resonance to different periods

² Some twentieth-century histories of the War point to low-intensity raiding that continued on the Maine frontier as evidence of the War's longer duration. Without going too deeply into the history of tribal affiliations in the region, it seems likely that these raids were more of a sympathetic outgrowth of Philip's attacks than any sort of formal continuation of hostilities by the Wampanoags and their allies. Moreover, as my focus here is on the narration of the War, and as the grave majority of texts point to Philip's death as the close of hostilities, I will focus my attentions on this symbolic end. See Schultz and Tougas, King Philip's War (2000), especially 70-78, for a description of the War post-1676.

³ See chapter one (above), for a discussion of many of the newsbooks in London; chapter two for a discussion of Mary Rowlandson's The Sovereignty and Goodness of God.

⁴ See Lepore, "Dead Men Tell No Tales" (1994), 481-482 for a summary of the number of texts referring to Philip.

in American history. The larger history of the War – and King Philip’s place in it – follows a complicated path, one strikingly different from how Rowlandson’s captivity narrative enters into the print market: while the drama of Rowlandson’s narrative makes an appeal beyond her historical context, the process of how the history of the War is recorded and enters into the larger story of American history calls attention to the interplay between text and context, as well as the drama of political resonance in establishing historical ‘fact.’ Rowlandson’s text becomes literature in part because of its denial of history, while the historical records of the War enter the colonial and later national history in part through their ability to appeal to compelling communal mythology.⁵ On one hand Rowlandson becomes a disembodied literary character all but cleansed of historical specificity; on the other hand the historical record of the War – Rowlandson’s larger historical context – enters into the national imaginary without Rowlandson attached. Still, this process is not one of ‘objective history’ on one hand and sentimental literature on the other, but rather Rowlandson’s narrative offers some clues as to how the related process of the history of the War is indebted to literary conventions.

The role that King Philip takes up within the historical record is suggested by the epigraph above: the tragic hero fighting in vain for his vanishing people. The picture is compelling, featuring the fearsome chief with the rationales of land, nation, and pride as justification for his doomed war, lamenting his role as ultimate underdog and tragic leader: “I am determined to fight until I have no country.” This quotation casts Philip in

⁵ My use of “mythology” here is indebted to Richard Slotkin’s definition in his book Regeneration through Violence (2000).

the role national martyr and a patriot, a leader whose selfless love of place and his people surpasses his own self-interest. As a record of Philip's speech and a clear articulation of his allegiance to the conventions of the tragic hero, the quotation suggests a life history ready-made for cooptation by historical romance and melodrama.

Interestingly, this "historical record" of Philip's seventeenth-century quotation did not appear until the nineteenth century, at which time it quickly became incorporated into the early national interest in colonial history, and self-consciously literary portrayals of the colonial past. Moreover, the trajectory of the quotation itself might serve as a metaphor for the larger arc of King Philip's history: historian Jill Lepore tracks the history of King Philip's purported speech, searching for its source in documents contemporary to the War, only to find that the record of Philip's speech surfaces for the first time during the nineteenth century.⁶ The phrase, slightly modified into "until I have no country," is not difficult to find in texts about the War written over the past twenty years: it is the title to a chapter in Russell Bourne's 1990 history The Red King's Rebellion, the title of a 1996 historical novel of the War by historian and fiction writer Michael J. Tougias, and shows up in other histories and museum displays regarding the War.⁷ In each case the quotation appears with the unequivocal certainty that Philip cast his struggle in such terms, yoking his and his nation's identity to land in such an absolute way. This presumption endures despite a tribal history that had seen the Wampanoag's

⁶ See Lepore, "Wigwam Words," (2001).

⁷ See Bourne, The Red King's Rebellion (1990), and Tougias, Until I Have No Country (2001). Lepore herself finds the phrase in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard. She also finds the phrase in a popular children's history and a college history textbook, though she does not give their names. See Lepore, "Wigwam Words," (2001), 97.

territory wax and wane following early English incursions into the region in the 1610s, and kinship ties that linked the group to the much larger, ambiguously defined, and semi-nomadic Narragansett people, a context that casts some doubt on the likelihood of Philip's collapsing land, nation, and personal destiny into one such dramatic quotation.⁸ The biological Philip may have thought of his eponymous War in such terms, or he very well may not have; he may not even thought of it as "his" War: there is no record of him referencing the conflict in this way.⁹

Philip's speech circulated with increasing regularity in the nineteenth century despite reliable evidence contradicting its authenticity. While the quotation was the genesis for this portrayal, this construction of Philip-as-hero was many years in coming, and the portrait drew as much from the melodramatic tradition of nineteenth century literature as it did upon contemporaneous sketches of the sachem and warrior. This was not Philip's first textual incarnation: before he could be tragic, Philip first had to be the villain of the Puritans and demon of the English colonial project, a role into which he was immediately thrown by Increase Mather and William Hubbard. These two authors,

⁸ The Wampanoags can be tracked in English history back to their interactions with Captain Thomas Hunt in 1614 (the English ship captain and explorer who stole Tisquantum, also know as Squanto, and sold him into slavery in Europe), and in the journals of French explorer Samuel de Champlain to 1605. See Smith, A Description of New England (1902) for his description of the English expeditions in New England, as well as Squanto's story in Bradford's Of Plymouth Plantation (1981), 90-2; and Litalien and Vaugeois, Champlain: The Birth of French America (2004). See also Russell, Indian New England Before the Mayflower (1980), and Karr Indian New England 1524-1674 (1999) for more information on the distribution of the Wampanoags in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.

⁹ As Lepore points out, there are few words that can be reliably ascribed to King Philip. Philip's traces on contemporary documents are mostly second-hand and of questionable provenance: more so than his father, Philip seems to have kept his distance from the English and made little effort to engage them in terms that the literate society would record. One letter that Philip dictated to a scribe and sent to the English in 1671 seems to be the closest we can get to the voice of Philip, heavily mediated though that is. See Lepore, "Wigwam Words" (2001), especially 99-100.

whose writings served as the raw materials for the revitalization of interest in King Philip's War in the nineteenth century, were not interested in elevating Philip to the role of a hero, or even in promoting figures such as Benjamin Church – the irregular leader of the colonial militia who would later be credited with winning the War – to central places within the drama of military conflict.¹⁰ Instead, these two part-time historians, writers, and ministers had a much different project, one concerned with the recasting and assertion of the Puritan community's importance over and above their more secular counterparts on the western edge of the Atlantic. Mather and Hubbard, whose accounts form two of the greatest repositories of history on the War, wrote not for individual stories or personal drama, but instead toward larger, community-minded ends. Not only do these two writers not record Philip's speech, it is doubtful that they would have printed it had they heard such an oration, predisposed as they were to see Philip not as a hero but as a devilish enemy.

As Lepore points out, Philip's speech is but one in a long tradition of spurious Indian speeches that leaked into the historical record in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, speeches that have more in common with one another than with any specific cultural milieu in which they were supposedly produced. This leaves Lepore waiting for a new, authentic speech of Philip's to appear: "Until Philip can speak to us – until we find

¹⁰ Church is often credited by nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians as having been the motive force behind the colonists' eventual victory. While he certainly played an important role in the eventual capture of Philip and the end of hostilities, it is worth noting that much of the success credited to Church is based in part on Church's own account of his importance. This heroic narrative of one soldier's brilliant command was told to Church's son Thomas over thirty years after King Philip's War, and published as Entertaining Passages relating to Philip's War in 1716. See Church, The History of the Great Indian War of 1675 and 1676 (1852).

authentic documents or better ways of reading the ones we have – there is no more room in his mouth for wigwam words.”¹¹ But an investigation of Philip as a historical and literary character can teach us how he went from the Puritan’s demon to the melodramatic character of the nineteenth century. That is, while Philip himself might never bridge the gap from past to present and impart to us his thoughts on New England in the 1670s, his ghost does speak in the texts that tried to characterize him over the next two hundred years. This ghost, evoked and killed in the pages of texts from 1676 into the nineteenth century, cannot answer questions about the corporeal Philip’s life, but can answer questions about his ghost’s textual life. These answers speak to the rise of Puritan historiography and early national myth-making in the United States, and while they might not tell us any more about Philip the person, they do speak to Philip the figure.

In the last chapter I discussed how and why Mary Rowlandson’s text entered into the literary history of colonial America as a captivity narrative, a process that involved stripping her text of some of the historical specificity that gave rise to Rowlandson’s actual captivity. In this chapter I will track how King Philip’s War did enter into the historical record, as well as what transformations it underwent on its move from newsbook-worthy event to culturally significant past. This move began immediately after the close of the War, and involved two men who helped shepherd Rowlandson to safety:

¹¹ Lepore, “Wigwam Words” (2001), 108. Lepore echoes questions that critics have raised regarding the 1932 autobiography of the Oglala Sioux holy man Black Elk, specifically whether or not the ‘speaking’ that Black Elk does in Black Elk Speaks is authentic, or the ventriloquism of the white editor John Neihardt. While the argument need not be rehearsed here, the form of it is similar, with questions of authenticity plaguing contemporary historians’ search for an unmediated Native American voice. See Black Elk, Black Elk Speaks (1988); see also Holloway, Interpreting the Legacy (2003), for an overview of the controversy surrounding Neihardt’s editorial practices.

William Hubbard, the man who gave Rowlandson's family shelter in Boston after she returned from her captivity, and Increase Mather, who wrote the preface to Rowlandson's work and who was largely responsible for guiding her text to the press. For both of these men the War – like Rowlandson's captivity – was an example of divine intervention into the colonial world, but their interest in the history of the War had implications beyond the religious figuring of New England's crisis. In contrast to Rowlandson's dismissal of historical context, these two authors constructed a colonial historiography that began to set New England apart from England. Examining how and why these two men rushed 'histories' of the War to the press presents a more nuanced view of Puritan historiography than traditional typological readings.

When King Philip's War first becomes 'history' it does so in a larger project of Puritan communal self-definition, one inspired by and related to the renewed interest in English national history following the English Civil War. Whether they did so consciously or not, the two initial histories by William Hubbard and Cotton Mather made an implicit argument for New England as a cohesive political unit, one whose history was valuable and worthy of study. While certainly not an entirely secular project – no historical project was at this time – the advent of these two histories alongside other, lesser literary projects of the same period represents an increasingly important understanding of New England as a political and geographic unit above and more than simply a sanctuary from religious dissent. This pan-colonial mindset is reflected in the capstone of seventeenth-century Puritan historiography, Cotton Mather's Magnalia

Christi Americana (1702), in which the younger Mather chooses not his father's typological reading of King Philip's War to include in his compendium of New England's life, but instead Hubbard's more providential reading of the War. This is at odds with Cotton's larger typological project, demonstrated by Sacvan Bercovitch in his Puritan Origins of the American Self, but one that represents what might be called the 'secular typology' of the nation, a historiography in which the past wars haunt the national consciousness. While the history of King Philip's War is secondary to the larger project of Puritan typological history in Cotton's Magnalia Christi Americana, this text does contain in it the two strands of historiography that would mark much later interest in the War: on the one hand a more linear and secular approach to history (represented by Cotton's choice to emphasize Hubbard's account), and on the other a typological method that sought to turn historical figures into ahistorical communal heroes (represented by Cotton's larger interest in Puritan hagiography). While he is himself not an important chronicler of King Philip's War, his approaches to Puritan history offer examples of how later work in the young United States would approach its colonial past.

Whereas interest in Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative peaked again during the Revolutionary period, a studied investigation of the larger events of King Philip's War did not reappear until the renewed interest in colonial history during the nineteenth century. After Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana, the history of the War largely languished until the nineteenth century, when historians and antiquarians of the young United States looked back King Philip's War and found in it the raw materials for

the doctrine of manifest destiny.¹² As King Philip's War returned to haunt the present of the young United States, it entered the national consciousness not first as history, but as literature, primarily through the quasi-historical work of Washington Irving, and then through poems such as Yamoyden.¹³ In these retellings of the colonial war, the drama of Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative is ignored in favor of a tragic portrait of the dying chief. At this later point, the creation of Philip as tragic hero in history and literature leads to a re-envisioning of his War as precursor to the American nation. In doing so, the writers of the nineteenth century remove the characters from the details of the War, in a typological reading that dismisses the historical context and creates the tragic Philip, only to kill him off before his nascent patriotism can argue for Indian inclusion into the citizenry of the nation.

Critics such as Lucy Maddox and Philip Gould have discussed this renewed nineteenth-century interest in King Philip as responding in part to Indian Removal and a national desire to ignore living Native Americans in favor of those who were dead or mythical: a literature that killed the Indian in narrative so as to ignore his place in history.¹⁴ Popular literature killed the Native American in the past and lamented the imminent demise of the Indian race, which allowed white Americans to ignore their Native American neighbors and view Indian Removal as a pre-ordained fact: the Indian race was doomed, and it was simply a matter of time before the Indians themselves

¹² See Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana (volume one 1855, volume two 1820).

¹³ See Irving's A History of New-York (1977) for an example of his early work on the boundary between history and literature. See also Eastburn and Sands, Yamoyden (1820).

¹⁴ See Gould, "Remembering Metacom" (1999); and Maddox, Removals (1991).

realized this. The portrayal of King Philip's War in the literature and history of the nineteenth century played a central role in this ideology of erasure, building on the conflicts nascent in Cotton Mather's incorporation of the War into colonial history, and finding a literary past in which to memorialize and trap the tragic Indian chief. This was more than a process of replicating the governmental policies of Indian Removal in literature, however, as the writing about King Philip's War during the nineteenth century took a route that would have been surprising to any observer from the seventeenth or eighteenth century, and that even seems remarkable today. King Philip slipped ghostlike into the national imaginary through the work of writers seeking to 'correct' their Puritan ancestors, even as Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative floated through the national consciousness unmoored from the context of the War, while simultaneously reinforcing the necessary death of trans-historically savage Indians. Eventually the separation of the historical fate of these two central players in the memory of King Philip's War would inflect the most dominant vision of American community: that of the nation as defined by a frontier whose genesis might be traced to King Philip's War.

In the seventeenth century this move to understand the importance of King Philip's War to its survivors represented one of the first literary understandings of New England as a cohesive region with a distinctive character, and defined that character as at least partially secular. In the nineteenth century King Philip's War continued to contain elements of national typology, but was equally influenced by literary conceptions of the War as tragic, leading to a valorization of patriotic individuals whose characters spoke to

the present outside of their historical context. In both moments history and literature are intertwined in their dual but consonant desires to make the past meaningful in the present.

King Philip's War Enters Historical Narrative

When Captain Benjamin Church distributed Philip's quartered remains to the colonist's Indian allies, he did so not only to prove the great sachem's death to his enemies, but also to combine symbolically the tribes with the English (who took Philip's head) in their communal slaying of an enemy.¹⁵ For Church, the distribution of Philip's body solidified Indian-English alliances in ways that his War threatened to disrupt. Within the English community, however, Philip's legacy would not be so clear cut: while the English rejoiced at the end of the War, clergymen and writers such as Increase Mather and William Hubbard immediately began to debate the religious significance of the War. Philip's death and his War were in the past, but just how it would become history was as yet undetermined. In their attempt to answer who should record the history of the War, Hubbard and Mather represent two different historiographic methods that inflected the memory of the War for more than a generation.

The fight over Philip's textual body began almost immediately after his death: Increase Mather published the first history of the War in 1676, A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England. Hastily written and poorly edited, Mather's first pass at a history of the War was little more than a compilation of others' reports on events

¹⁵ For Church's account of this, see The History of the Great Indian War of 1675 and 1676 (1852), 125-126; and below. See also Lepore, The Name of War (1999), 173-5.

from around New England, roped together in Boston and supplied with a framing narrative by Mather. Printed in Boston, the history might be seen as little more than a unified newsbook report for a New England audience. With the majority of the hostilities completed, Mather's text provided an arc under which to organize the events of individual town and colonies, and brought them together into a single timeline of events, however disjointed and rough in its production. Mather acknowledges his indebtedness to the newsbook tradition and points to his loftier goals: "I read a *Narrative* of this *Warr*, said to be written by a Merchant in *Boston*, which it seems met with an *Imprimatur* at *London* in December last: the abounding mistakes therein caused me to think it necessary, that a true *History* of this affair should be published."¹⁶ Born out of a desire to correct one of the newsbook accounts of the War (whose, one must wonder), Mather offers a longer, comprehensive account for the New England audience, one purporting to be a "true history" that correlates multiple sources, if sometimes inaccurately and rather clumsily.¹⁷

The text might have remained a hastily dashed-off report on the recently ended conflict, despite Mather's corrective aspirations, had it not been answered in the next year

¹⁶ All references to Mather's text in this section will be to the electronic version edited by Paul Royster (2006). See page three for this quotation.

¹⁷ Mather's intent is certainly greater than that of the newsbooks, for he self-consciously takes up the role of the historian, aiming for accuracy, looking to Biblical precedents for his investigations, and to both scriptural and Greek discussions of the historian's work and worth (3-4). These invocations place Mather's goals in a different realm than those of the authors of the newsbooks, none of whom had such heady goals for their prose. Mather also mentions another report fraught with mistakes written by a "*Quaker* in *Road-Island*, who pretends to know the Truth of things; but that *Narrative* being fraught with worse things then *meer Mistakes*" he was encouraged to write his own account (3). This may have been any one of a number of letters, possibly the second letter by William Harris, (unpublished in his lifetime but edited and printed in 1963), or the manuscript by John Easton (not published until the nineteenth century).

by William Hubbard's A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England.¹⁸

Hubbard addressed both the tone and the substance of Mather's work, pointing out his inaccuracies and questioning the jeremiadic ring of Mather's words. With more time to collect reports and substantiate stories, and with the benefit of being further removed from the terror that swept New England during the War, Hubbard's text avoided the conflicting accounts, wildly inflated casualty reports, and narrative gaps that plagued Mather's text. Hubbard's publication also puts pressure on Mather's use of the word 'history' to describe his work, as this new publication put King Philip's War into the longer context of English-Indian conflict, including the Pequot War of 1636-7 and the many smaller disputes and disagreements occurring over roughly the intervening fifty years since Plymouth was founded. In contrast to Mather's account, Hubbard situated the War within a progression of events related through the players involved and the issues addressed, and understood the event for its consequences outside of the local circumstances of individual battles. Longer and more eloquent, it is hard not to see Hubbard's history as an attack on the credibility of Mather's publication.

Mather and Hubbard differed in both their understanding of the event's theological importance and the accuracy of their documentation: this was not simply a battle over relative accuracy and authorial voice – though those were certainly at issue – but a larger conflict over who got to define the direction of the New England experiment. Mather opened his History of the Warr by framing the fight as typologically significant:

¹⁸ Hubbard (edited by Drake) The History of the Indian Wars in New England (1971). Hubbard's text is also famous for having published the first map ever engraved in New England, a significant step forward for the printers of the day.

THAT the Heathen People amongst whom we live, and whose Land the Lord God of our Fathers hath given to us for a rightfull Possession, have at sundry times been plotting mischievous devices against that part of the English Israel which is seated in these goings down of the Sun, no man that is an Inhabitant of any considerable standing, can be ignorant. Especially that there have been (*nec injuriâ*) jealousies concerning the *Narragansets* and *Wompanoags*, is notoriously known to all men. And whereas they have been quiet untill the last year, that must be ascribed to the wonderfull Providence of God, who did (as with Jacob of old, and after that with the Children of Israel) lay the fear of the *English*, and the dread of them upon all the *Indians*. The terror of God was upon them round about. [...] Nor were our sins ripe for so dreadfull a judgment, until *the Body of the first Generation* was removed, and another Generation risen up which hath not so pursued, as ought to have been, the blessed design of their Fathers, in following the Lord into this Wilderness, whilst it was a land not sown.¹⁹

In this passage Mather sets out the basic guidelines for reading the War as typologically significant. He begins by stating the colonists' right to the land of New England, but does so not by referencing English law, or arguments about improvement, but by turning the colonists into the "English Israel" and arguing their right as flowing from "the Lord God of our Fathers." The Indians were previously restrained by their God-given fear of the English, but, were loosed upon the next generation of New England for the colonists' having forgotten the sacrifices of their fathers. As in the jeremiads of the period, the English are chastised by God for their backsliding, a chastisement that is at once evidence of the colonies' status as chosen and a warning of future punishment should they not mend their ways.²⁰ Mather extends this reading to his historical practice, emphasizing his cyclical understanding of time by linking the event to both Jacob and the Children of

¹⁹ Mather and Royster, 9-10.

²⁰ Bercovitch, The American Jeremiad (1978) is the foremost authority on the jeremiad.

Israel. Mather's history might be secular in its subject – the War of the unified colonies – but his understanding of that event was typological.²¹

Hubbard, on the other hand, was less certain about the typological significance of the War. His approach was not a harbinger of Enlightenment objectivity, though, for he did not doubt the hand of Providence in the works of man, but he did begin to question the cohesiveness of the Puritan project in New England, and with that fracturing shattered his ability to understand events typologically. Typology, after all, required that the community collectively receive the chastening hand of God as evidence that they were Israel in the wilderness. Hubbard, who straddled the first and second generations, seems to have felt the falling away of the Puritans more sharply than Mather, and no longer felt the sense of community and church cohesion that marked the pre-Halfway Covenant Church.

Hubbard opens his history with an affirmation of Calvinist predestination, that touchstone of typological reading: “Known unto God are all his Word from the Foundation of the World, though manifest to us only by the Events of Time, that fruitful Mother of all Things,” and begins with an introduction that outlines the settlement of New England from the earliest European expeditions in the region.²² The historical survey that follows is broad: Hubbard seems to have been aware of both William

²¹ Strident as Mather's jeremiadic tone is in his history of the War, this tone is much moderated in his preface to Rowlandson's narrative discussed in the previous chapter. That preface, while certain to figure the events of the War within a larger religious narrative, fails to make the parallels to the eternal nation of Israel that mark his history. While both his history and his preface concern themselves with the communal significance of the War, only in his history does he consider the event as operating within a fully developed typological framework.

²² Hubbard, The History of the Indian Wars in New England (1971), 27.

Bradford's manuscript of Of Plymouth Plantation and John Winthrop's journal, as well as many other documents offering insight on the complicated history of English-Indian interaction from 1620 to 1677.²³ Rather than relying on the intimate personal correspondence that marked Mather's history, or setting himself up to correct a previous newsbook account (as Mather also did), Hubbard takes in the whole sweep of New England history, and positions himself against Mather's account. He writes, "*The Matter of Fact therein related (being rather Massacres, barbarous inhumane Outrages, than Acts of Hostility, or valiant Achievements) no more deserve the Name of a War than the Report of them the Title of an History, therefore I contented myself with a Narrative.*"²⁴ In opening his text Hubbard denies the use of the label of "history" by Mather (his is the only history that had been published, leaving the reference unequivocal), specifically because of the sensational nature of his processor's account: Mather's focus on acts of Indian cruelty as opposed to the larger sweep of events causes Hubbard to rush his answer to the press. When his book was first published it was titled The Present State of New-England, Being a Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England. Unlike Mather's rather grandiose claims of the label of "history" for his text, Hubbard eschews such a title for fear the reputation of his peer's work will contaminate the public's reading of his text, choosing instead to term it a narrative, and emphasizing the longer story behind the barbarism of the moment.

²³ See Drake's "Life of the Author" in Hubbard, The History of the Indian Wars in New England (1971), xxvi.

²⁴ Hubbard, The History of the Indian Wars in New England (1971), 15-16.

The dispute between Mather and Hubbard had extra-textual dimensions that were partially personal and partially political: the two were among a handful of leading ministers in Boston during the 1670s who were bent on maintaining clerical control over the colony in the face of an expanding population and challenges to colonial sovereignty from the other side of the Atlantic. Mather and Hubbard had sparred over theological issues in the past, and while at this point Mather's political and ministerial career was on the ascendancy, Hubbard's text represented a clear challenge to Mather's greatest instrument of power: the press. While still active in the 1670s, Hubbard was closer to the ideas and age of the first generation. Born in England and graduated in Harvard's first class, Hubbard could claim to have witnessed many of the events that he records. Hubbard's authority as community elder, respected clergy member, and author of his compendious history made his threat to Mather's hopes of power real.²⁵ Yet more than a provincial power struggle, Hubbard and Mather represented two understandings of the colonies' place in history, and the place of history in the colonies. Their fight, pettily though it may have begun, influenced not only the way that the story of the War was told in the late 1670s, but how it was viewed for years to come.

Hubbard's sources (notably Bradford and Winthrop) hint at his conception of New England's history, and point toward the larger implications of this personal dispute.

Rather than the complicated typological readings developed by second and third

²⁵ See Nelsen, "King Philip's War and the Hubbard-Mather Rivalry" (1970), for the longest and most detailed look at these two men's relationship around the period of the War. Nelsen's account focuses primarily on the dispute that the men have regarding their various congregational affiliations. My analysis, which looks not at the causes of their differences but their legacy in narrative, is built upon her work, though our goals are different.

generation Puritans, Bradford's account of the Separatists in Plymouth and Winthrop's personal journal offer a less sophisticated providential history.²⁶ This providential view, which espouses the hand of God in the life of the colonies, and stops somewhat short of proposing a cyclical view of history pivoting on Israel/New England at its center, is marked by a tone of steady decline after long struggle. Rather than chastisement and renewal (the motive forces of the jeremiad), both Winthrop and Bradford muse on a slow decline from the heady days of colonial genesis, an arc that takes on an almost wistful air by the end of their respective accounts. Hubbard's tone matches this arc: King Philip's War results in a slow accretion of friction between the not-entirely-blameless Puritans and their Indian neighbors. Eschewing Mather's simplistic construction of the Indians as the chastising hand of the Lord, Hubbard recognizes individuals and tribes, and his War is the result of both Indian aggression and a willful ignorance on the part of the Puritans of the lessons taught by their first-generation elders. Freed from the implications of a jeremiadic worldview, Hubbard's history avoids the collapse of secular colonial history into Mather's polemical church history.

This is not to say that Hubbard forwards a positive or sympathetic view of the Puritan's enemies, or that he writes a history free from religious references, but that his

²⁶ It is worth pointing out that while Winthrop's sermon "A Model of Christian Charity" is often considered one of the central texts to the development of Puritan typology, and that the history of his life would later become that of the emblematic spiritual pilgrim (at the hands of Cotton Mather and detailed by Bercovitch in The Puritan Origins of the American Self), his journal itself take a different tone, one that chronicles the accretion of failures in the New World as Winthrop ages. While Winthrop's journal is a diverse document that is hard to characterize – unpublished until the nineteenth century, Winthrop wrote fitfully and with changing purpose throughout his text's composition – the overarching tone is one of communal lament and decline, one that is at odds with typological readings of history. See Winthrop, The Journal of John Winthrop (1996).

providential view does not require him to understand each colonial action as a part of the eternal struggle between the nation of Israel and her devilish enemies. In fact, it might be going too far to say that Hubbard espouses a different theory of history than that of Mather, for Hubbard's view seems born as much out of his age and positioning at the bridge between the first and second generations as it does from any particular theoretical position. Whatever the cause, though, Hubbard's practice of writing the history of the War is sharply at odds with the typological worldview espoused by the majority of the clerical hierarchy. Readers at the time were forced to choose between two narratives of King Philip's War that put the same facts (roughly speaking) within two very different frameworks. These two frameworks offered either a broader historical context and a linear understanding of time (Hubbard's providential history), or dramatic events stripped to their dramatic bones and figured as incidents resonating within a community chosen by God (Mather's typological history).

Following Bercovitch's magisterial 1975 study The Puritan Origins of the American Self, Puritan typology is most often associated with Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana, Increase's son's 1702 two-volume history of the Puritans in New England.²⁷ Bercovitch develops the most complex and convincing account of Puritan typology, reading Mather's biographies of important Puritan fathers as protestant

²⁷ This is not to say that there were not previous studies that looked at Magnalia Christi Americana in detail, or that went to great lengths to explain the typological worldview – the work of Perry Miller and Edmund Morgan (respectively) comes immediately to mind – but that Bercovitch's study represents the most detailed and compelling of such studies. Not simply a study of Mather's single history, but instead an extended meditation on one small part of that study – Mather's biography of John Winthrop – Bercovitch's study positions Magnalia Christi Americana as both the pinnacle of Puritan intellectual life and a turn to a New England as "American" as opposed to simply distantly English.

hagiographies with a typological bent. Both Mather and Bercovitch single out Winthrop for special notice: “[Mather’s] concept of Winthrop as individual and as *exemplum* follows from his belief that the discrete fact and the moral generality could complement one another.”²⁸ Winthrop’s life is thus meaningful not only as an example of first-generation Puritanism at its best, but as a trans-historical example of Christian behavior. Mather’s typology turns historical biography into *figura* whose meaning transcends historical particulars in the cyclical understanding of typological time.

Despite Bercovitch’s extended meditation on the biographies of leading Puritan elders, the entirety of Mather’s Magnalia Christi Americana is not taken up by these quasi-hagiographies, and it is when Mather turns to the history of King Philip’s War that Mather complicates his historical method and dramatizes the methodological choices seen in the rivalry between his father and William Hubbard. Cotton Mather, who had little trouble quoting extended passages from other authors, or simply inserting other’s work into his own, turns to the previous generation to supply an account of the events of 1675-6. He does not, however, turn to his father’s text when he looks for an authority on the War, but instead quotes extensively from Hubbard’s account, dropping in whole passages of Hubbard’s prose. While this was some twenty-five years after the quarrel that initiated the dispute between the two ministers, both were still alive: Increase an active sixty-three (he would live until 1723), and Hubbard just two years from his death at the age of eighty-three. Moreover, Increase Mather and his son were particularly close, making

²⁸ Bercovitch, The Puritan Origins of the American Self (1975), 4.

Cotton's choice all the more surprising: the Mather clan was noted for its loyalty, and Increase and Cotton were the gravitational center of this enduring and powerful family.

This may have been simply Cotton's desire for increased factual accuracy, as even a cursory reading of the two accounts offers a clear impression of the broader sweep and greater detail of Hubbard's history. Cotton, however, chose not simply to crib the supposedly more accurate of the two accounts, or to go against his familial allegiances, but also to include excerpts from the author whose historical method goes against his own: against the arch-typological backdrop of Cotton's *figural* biographies, he inserts an interlude of Hubbard's providential history. The effect is not to neutralize Cotton's elucidation of the principles and use of typology, but rather to complicate the historiographic method in that publication held up as the greatest single articulation of Puritan typology. Hubbard's providential history lies submerged within Cotton's larger typological scheme, no longer as an opposing force (as in Hubbard's dispute with Increase), but as an alternative historical method available for adoption when the situation so dictated. In the case of Magnalia Christi Americana, that situation was the history of King Philip's War, an event whose texture was best captured by Hubbard's work, while the emblematic lives of the Puritan leaders remain the province of typology. Cotton Mather, as the final Puritan to take up the historical problem posed by King Philip's War, situated it within a providential tradition, even as he articulated the clearest treatise on typology that the colonies would see. In his work he combined the conflicting historiographic approaches that would mark the rediscovery of King Philip's War in the

nineteenth century. Just after the close of the seventeenth century, Cotton Mather's text held in opposition two historiographic methods that would be modified and employed by nineteenth-century writers.

Born to Die

Interest in comprehensive histories of King Philip's War languished during the eighteenth century, and most authors during this period simply repeated the Hubbard/Cotton Mather story with few revisions. With the birth of the United States, though, the citizens of the young republic turned a reappraising eye on their colonial past, and the ghost of King Philip entered the nineteenth century through the work of writers focused on defining America and Americans for the new century. These writers – be they novelists or trained historians – had similar aims: mining America's colonial past for information about the early-national present in hopes of pointing to the longer and more glorious life of the young country. The authors' approaches differed in their intended products – Eastburn and Sands' Yamoyden strove for glory in verse, while writers like Francis Parkman tried to strip the past of "romantic influences" in the name of historical accuracy – but were similar in their mining of the past for meaning in the present. Such a tack is not unusual, of course, but in the first half of the nineteenth century the scramble of writers to memorialize a glorious past in an attempt shore up United States' culture against charges (implicit or explicit) of cultural bankruptcy and historical poverty was

unprecedented.²⁹ Born out of Revolutionary-era conversations over republican virtue and late-eighteenth century discussions of national art and public character, when the Revolutionary generation began to die, a new generation of writers turned back to Puritan New England for clues to the United States' national character and destiny.³⁰ As they did so, writers 'rediscovered' King Philip's War in the colonial archive, and turned to its martial drama as the colonial crucible of American character.

In this section I discuss how literature returns to the past to 'correct' the excesses of the Puritan historians. These nineteenth-century authors supplant the Puritan histories of the War with a portrait of King Philip that has more in common with Cotton Mather's illustrative lives, as catalogued in his Magnalia Christi America, than it does with the providential histories of Hubbard. Choosing the more "accurate" of the two contemporary histories – preferring Hubbard's providential readings of the event over

²⁹ Sydney Smith's (in)famous quotation from 1820 is useful to remember here, for it neatly summarizes the sentiment against which American intellectuals were hard at work during the nineteenth century:

In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? Or goes to an American play? Or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians or surgeons? What new substances have their chemists discovered? Or what old ones have they analyzed? What new constellations have been discovered by the telescopes of Americans? — What have they done in the mathematics? Who drinks out of American glasses? Or eats from American plates? Or wears American coats or gowns? Or sleeps in American blankets? (Hart, American History Told by Contemporaries (1901), 513)

Smith's oft-quoted lines skewer all aspects of American culture, but were particularly biting toward the young nation's writers, especially given the quotation's prominence in the influential Edinburgh Review. It is hard to believe that the American pottery industry, for instance, felt the biting sting of Smith's dismissal, but American writers who looked to Britain for inspiration and approval were stung. Irving is himself a particularly good example of an American writer desiring English and European accolades, as evidenced by his long sojourn on the eastern side of the Atlantic.

³⁰ The most symbolic deaths were those of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, who both died on the fourth of July 1826, fifty years after the signing of the declaration of independence. Adams' famous dying words were, "Thomas Jefferson survives," referencing both their famously tempestuous relationship, and the stewardship that the 'Founding Fathers' felt for the nation that they had ushered into existence. Those that they left behind – politicians and writers alike – felt the loss of leadership keenly. For a discussion of the Adams-Jefferson relationship and their understanding of their symbolic place in the nation's pantheon of leaders, see Ellis, Founding Brothers (2000), especially 206-248.

Increase Mather's jeremiad-like typological reading – the writers of the nineteenth century eventually settle on character-based biographical accounts of the War that return to the “emblematic figure” mode favored by typological history. When these authors use Hubbard's popular providential history of King Philip's War, they refigure it around a secular typology of the young nation, mining the history for emblematic characters to serve as their fictional raw material. The character that they find and who they celebrate with almost uniform regularity – King Philip – is inserted in a narrative of American history regardless of how he might have been figured by the Puritan sources that they use.

When authors of the young republic return to King Philip, they discover a model American along the lines of Mather's portrait of Winthrop as the American Nehemiah. Rather than fitting such portraits into a Puritan typology, though, these authors instead substituted a secular national typology. Whereas Winthrop is Cotton Mather's American Nehemiah, for the majority of the literature of the nineteenth century based on King Philip's War, it is Philip himself who stands in as the symbolic patriarch of the new nation. There is one key difference in this secular national typology: the subject's death is not evidence of a move toward the desired end of a reunion with Christ, but instead these archetypal forefathers return to haunt a national consciousness that required their death for their entry into the national pantheon. In short, for Cotton Mather, Winthrop's death was a fulfillment of God's plan on earth, while Philip's nineteenth-century death was a prerequisite for his status as Nehemiah: death was not his end, but his beginning. Thus, the focus of the paeans to Philip was on his tragic demise, that moment which both

symbolized his worthiness for inclusion within the national citizenry, and the impossibility of his ever having done so as a living person.

Washington Irving was first to scour the records of New England and emerge holding a sheaf of King Philip's War documents up to his readers' gaze. He memorialized King Philip in his "Philip of Pokanoket," and used the War as central to his "Traits of Indian Character," both of which were collected in The Sketchbook of Geoffrey Crayon in 1819-1820, in which he summarizes his project as one of correction of his inherited histories:³¹

It has been the lot of the unfortunate aborigines of America in the early periods of colonization to be doubly wronged by the white men. They have been dispossessed of their hereditary possessions by mercenary and frequently wanton warfare, and their characters have been traduced by bigoted and interested writers.³²

While never doubting the value of finding the root of the United States in the colonies of New England, Irving lines out a project whereby the literary workers of his day will correct the shortcomings of the Puritan source material, cleansing their accounts of the unwholesome taint of Puritanism in search of a new view of the "unfortunate aborigines." Specifically, it was not the events that the Puritan forefathers failed to capture accurately, but it is the trait and character of their Indian neighbors:

It is to be regretted that those early writers who treated of the discovery and settlement of America have not given us more particular and candid accounts of the remarkable characters that flourished in savage life. [...] There is something of the charm of discovery in lighting upon these wild and unexplored tracts of human nature – in witnessing, as it were, the native growth of moral sentiment, and perceiving those generous and romantic qualities which have been artificially

³¹ Irving, The Sketch-book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent. (1996).

³² Irving, "Traits of Indian Character" in The Sketch-book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent. (1996).

cultivated by society vegetating in spontaneous hardihood and rude magnificence.³³

Like settlers of New England centuries before, Irving embarks on a project of discovery among the “wild and unexplored tracts,” but his tracts are textual, not geographic, and his quarry is neither beaver nor gold, but the “remarkable characters” that he finds in the pages of Puritan history. When he stumbles upon Philip or Canonchet, they are not people to be described, but literary characters to be patiently extracted – like so many precious jewels – and reset in his own prose.³⁴

Thanks to Irving’s careful historical extraction, Philip is transferred from the seventeenth-century history to the nineteenth-century sketchbook, and converted into:

a patriot attached to his native soil – a prince true to his subjects and indignant of their wrongs – a soldier daring in battle, firm in adversity, patient of fatigue, of hunger, of every variety of bodily suffering, and ready to perish in the cause he had espoused. Proud of heart and with an untamable love of natural liberty [...]. With heroic qualities and bold achievements that would have graced a civilized warrior, and have rendered him the theme of the poet and the historian, he lived a wanderer and a fugitive in his native land, and went down, like a lonely bark foundering amid darkness and tempest, without a pitying eye to weep his fall or a friendly hand to record his struggle.³⁵

Irving’s portrait of Philip celebrates him in language that is more reminiscent of Parson Weems famously exaggerated biography of George Washington than of Hubbard or Mather’s description of the sachem, and recalls Patrick Henry’s famous line “Give me

³³ Irving, “Philip of Pokanoket” in *The Sketch-book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (1996).

³⁴ See also Gould, “Remembering Metacom” (1999), whose interest in Irving’s portrait of Philip is very similar to my own, though his essay looks more closely at the construction of masculinity during this period, and less at the theory of history being enacted by the act of remembering.

³⁵ Irving, “Philip of Pokanoket” in *The Sketch-book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (1996).

liberty or give me death.”³⁶ In the typological mode, Philip’s love of his land prefigures the selflessness of the American revolutionary heroes and their love of country. Irving’s evocation of the language of the Revolution – “a patriot attached to his native soil [...] with an untamable love of natural liberty” – inserts Philip the character into the imaginary of the young nation, suggesting him as the natural ancestor of the Revolutionary generation. Philip’s heroism and achievements “would have graced a civilized warrior”: Irving’s use of the past conditional at once praises Philip and offers layers of grammar to emphasize his distance from the present – the traits are laudable only “if” – almost as if the characteristics that Philip portrays float over the ground of New England, waiting passively for a body to inhabit.

When Philip enters, he does so as a character: Irving is clear that it is only in his textual life that Philip is subject to the nation. Because Irving’s work self-consciously corrects that of his Puritan antecedents, it is only through his direction that Philip is offered up to Irving’s American readers. Irving gives birth to Philip, not some long-forgotten biological mother, for it only by understanding Philip’s lineage in the longer, cyclical history of American patriots that Philip becomes important. Moreover, this life in Irving’s text – and indeed Philip’s life in the American consciousness – is predicated upon the chief’s death. Not only does Irving choose an Indian leader from the distant, almost mythical, past, but only after Philip’s death in the text can Irving laud Philip with

³⁶ See Weems, *The Life of Washington* (1996). Weems first published his biography of Washington in 1799, and continued to expand it over the next decade, during which Washington grew from the mourned leader, to national hero, to near-mythical national patriarch. Like the transformation that Winthrop’s life made from his death, through multiple public eulogies and public addresses, until his enshrinement in Cotton Mather’s biography, Washington’s life becomes symbolic of the community as a whole.

the national praises that he does in this, his final paragraph. Philip is recalled from history, drawn into the role of tragic hero, martyred for his people, and only then, in the closing lines of Irving's history, is his relationship to an imagined national citizenry made clear. Safely dead in life and text, Philip's ghost is welcomed into the nation.³⁷

Irving's valorization of a past hero is similar to Cotton Mather's typological reading of John Winthrop as the American Nehemiah, but whereas Mather's project took the standard practice of Christian typological reading and used it to interpret the events of New England and reinforce the idea of the community's "chosen" nature, Irving removes the direct Biblical references while maintaining the rhetoric of election and national community. Mather's New England is a rhetorical and an *actual* extension of the nation of Israel, and Irving's story adopts the pose of such a reading: the chosen nation, the heroic leader, the warning of history, but in this case Philip becomes the type to the antitype of the Revolutionary War heroes. Moreover, Irving strips the religious rhetoric from his history, as Israel is not the prefiguration of the United States, but in this moment the land and geography of America is native soil that is the foundation for the nation: the land incubates the national traits that invigorate Indian sachems, a colonial past, and the national present. Narration is equally important to both of these models as for Cotton Mather it is not just Winthrop's life that is important, or the fact that he *can be seen* as a martyr, but that Mather *writes it as such*: typological reading demanded typological

³⁷ I am indebted here to Castronovo's *Necro Citizenship* (2001), which "historicizes and theorizes the contradictions by which death comes to structure the lives of citizens in hopes of opening up identities to radical democratic contestation" (12). While our subjects are somewhat different – he focuses on the problem of slavery and the coming Civil War – I agree with his argument regarding the paralyzing effects of the necro-citizen upon the contested and rhetorically open but actually limited public sphere.

writing, for only when the type is linked to the larger story cycle – when narrative replicates cosmology – is the typological reading complete. Similarly, for Irving it is not the biological Philip who holds the key to understanding the underpinnings of the Revolution, but it is the narrative Philip that Irving introduces that makes these relationships clear. In this construction typological *writing* becomes as important to typological *reading*. In short, because Philip, therefore Washington (or Henry), with one exception: Irving includes as a part of his reading a focus on the death of Philip in a way that Mather would have found surprising. For Irving, it is only because of his death that Philip becomes a type; only by expiring can he inspire. Philip can be a type, but his type is ghostly in its necessary identification with martyrdom.

Numerous writers followed Irving's lead in prose, verse, and drama. Eastburn and Sand's epic poem Yamoyden (1820) tells the story of King Philip's War in six cantos and over two hundred and fifty pages, plus another eighty pages of explanatory notes. Composed as a collaboration between the two teenage versifiers and published after Eastburn's death in his early twenties, the poem itself is as melodramatic as the story of its composition. The popular poem followed in the tradition started by Irving of casting Philip's death as symbolic of the entire Native American race:

'Tis the death wail of a departed race, --
Long vanished hence, unhonoured in their grave;
Their story lost to memory, like the trace
That to the greensward erst their sandals gave;
-- Wail for the feather-cintured warriors brave,
Who, battling for their fathers' empire well,
Perished, when valour could no longer save
From soulless bigotry, and avarice fell,

That tracked them to death, with mad, infuriate yell.³⁸

Almost one-hundred and fifty years after Benjamin Tompson's call for the pens of Harvard to take up the event of King Philip's War as the source of epic myth, Eastburn and Sands heard his call, if one refracted through the prose of Hubbard, whom they cite regularly.³⁹ The poets scan through the histories of the War, especially those of Hubbard and Benjamin Church's personal narrative, and pick from this material the thread of the dying hero. The histories are the source of "soulless bigotry" – as they were in Irving's hands – but the poets rescue Philip's story from the bigotry of their historical sources, and the melodrama condenses out of the fog of history into the shape of a few tragic Indian figures.

Such became the standard practice of Eastburn and Sands' peers in the rehabilitation of Philip for the nineteenth-century stage (both literal and metaphoric). These writers, like Irving, invariably figured their work as a correction to the Puritan historical record, as if their attention to the tragedy of Philip's life would act as reparative for the bloodshed of the English militia. Historical investigation and revision of Puritanism's excesses is settled upon in hope of retrieving the poetic truth of the nation's birth. In one of the more obscure novels dedicated to Philip at the end of the literary interest in his life, G. H. Holister opens his Mount Hope; or, Philip, King of the Wampanoags (1851):

³⁸ Eastburn and Sands, Yamoyden (1820), 4.

³⁹ For instance, "We had then read nothing on the subject [of the War]; and our plot was formed from a hasty glance into a few pages of Hubbard's Narrative" (1). For more on Tompson's call to poetic arms, see chapter two.

It is the object of this work to r tr ce some of the faded and now scarcely-visible features of those exterminating wars that marked the early settlement of the English among the aborigines of what is now called New England; placing in the fore-ground of the picture a few of those prominent and leading characters who appear, when seen though the distant medium of history, almost as fabulous as the fictions of poets of the creations of an early mythology.⁴⁰

Holister fights through the obscuring mists of time and history to discover those “prominent and leading character[s]” upon which he founds his national mythology. Like his peers, he sees the ghostly traces of these characters on the features of New England, traces that his prose will identify and follow. His reach back into the colonial past may not be as shocking or as mythological as the “creations of early mythology,” but the desire to explain origins is similarly shrouded by the distant medium of history.⁴¹ What

⁴⁰ From Hollister’s short introduction to the work, dated “Litchfield, Conn., January, 1851.”

⁴¹ This is not to say that every piece of writing during this period took a heroic view of Philip: James Fenimore Cooper’s 1829 novel The Wept of Wish-Ton-Wish is less romantic in its portrait. This sachem is not the focus of the novel, however, as the plot progresses through a sort of double-captivity narrative, whereby first Canonchet is held as a child by a Puritan family on the edge of English civilization, and later that family’s daughter is captured by the Narragansetts and marries Canonchet. Canonchet and his English bride are symbolically sacrificed in the name of racial purity, with their child conveniently – if surprisingly – disappearing from the text, and Philip content to flit through the shadows like a barely imagined specter. Cooper’s novel is unusual in that it lies outside of his Leatherstocking series and yet is still set at the edge of English civilization. Purportedly a response to frontier novels by Lydia Maria Child and Catherine Maria Sedgwick, Cooper’s novel seems most intent on proving the inviolability of racially mixed couples, no matter the nobility of the ‘savage’ involved. Moreover, Robert Bird’s 1837 frontier novel Nick of the Woods, in which he attempts to correct the “poetical illusion” of authors like Cooper, are a backlash against the prominence of Philip’s romantic portrayal. Bird is direct in his project of redress:

The purposes of the author, in his book, confined him to real Indians. He drew them as, in his judgment, they existed--and as, according to all observation, they still exist wherever not softened by cultivation,--ignorant, violent, debased, brutal; he drew them, too, as they appeared, and still appear, in war--or the scalp-hunt--when all the worst deformities of the savage temperament receive their strongest and fiercest development. (Preface)

Only in reading works like Bird can the modern reader understand Cooper’s portrait as more sympathetic to Native Americans. Bird’s novel, in which the hero is a lapsed Quaker who has fled to the frontier of Kentucky to kill Indians indiscriminately, if somewhat guiltily, represents the much more sinister view of Native Americans during the nineteenth century. Whatever the damage done by romantic portraits of Indians by Cooper and others – and this is certainly real and extensive – the work of Bird and others like him is shocking in their active advocacy for cultural genocide.

Holister finds are not just the “exterminating wars,” but a character to first vindicate, then exterminate.

It can be said without too much fear of exaggeration that in the nineteenth century King Philip was most famous for dying. Night after night the actor Edwin Forrest valiantly expired on the stage while playing the title role in John Augustus Stone’s 1829 play Metamora; or, Last of the Wampanoags, and his was only the most obvious of Philip’s very public nineteenth-century deaths.⁴² Stone’s play launched the career of Forrest, one of the most prominent stage actors of the nineteenth century, and put the name “Metamora” – seemingly a nineteenth-century corruption of “Metacom” – into the common vernacular of the nation. The red-faced Forrest made the role famous primarily on the strength of Metamora’s final speech and death scene, a moment that was immortalized in a series of Currier & Ives engravings and later a lithographic print meant to replicate the pose of the original engraving. [See Figure 12.] Indeed, the scene of Philip’s death so saturated the culture of the period that the Pequot Indian William Apess went so far as to preach a eulogy for Philip in 1836, one hundred and sixty years after he died. Philip appeared regularly in the literature of the first half of the nineteenth century, and died consistently and often spectacularly.⁴³ His was a character that was recalled

⁴² See Page’s collection Metamora and Other Plays (1941). While all but eclipsed in the second half of the nineteenth century by stage adaptations of Stowe’s 1852 novel Uncle Tom’s Cabin, Metamora was revived during the 2004 season of the Metropolitan Playhouse of New York City, where it was directed by Alex Rowe. See < <http://www.metropolitanplayhouse.org/history-season13.htm>>, last accessed October 8, 2009. Stone’s play was also burlesqued by John Brougham in 1859 in Metamora; or, The Last of the Pollywogs, A Burlesque in Two Acts.

⁴³ Apess, “Eulogy on King Philip” in On Our Own Ground (1992).

from the past to correct the wrongs of history, only to be banished to a perpetual series of deaths in text and on the stage.⁴⁴



Figure 12: Edwin Forrest as Metamora. This lithograph is from late in Forrest's life (1892), after he had long moved on from playing Metamora, but recalls the pose that he was drawn in for an earlier series of engravings. While Forrest's costuming seems to have changed over time, this dramatic frontal shot, with Forrest staring and gesturing out of the frame – sometimes he is holding an object (as above), sometimes not – is the most common pose in which he is pictured.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ For a more detailed look at *Metamora*'s enactment of the Indian tragic hero, see Sayre, "Melodramas of Rebellion: (2004), and his longer *The Indian Chief as Tragic Figure* (2005). For a slightly more polemical take, and one with a longer historical trajectory, see Deloria, *Playing Indian* (1999).

⁴⁵ From Cobham, *Character Sketches of Romance, Literature, and the Drama* (1892).

This insertion of Philip into the role of tragic hero did not strip him of the historical context of the War, as had happened to the popularity of Rowlandson and her captivity narrative. Philip's drama lay in his relationship with his people, and without them there was no tragedy: to be received by the nineteenth-century audience, he had to fight selflessly and hopelessly against a tide of overzealous Puritans. While Rowlandson's transportation out of the seventeenth century was a result of her plot being made comprehensible outside of the intricacies of the War's history and even demanded of the reader that he or she ignore such specifics, the drama of the dying chief lamenting his and his people's loss of land and freedom required instead a broader, historical view of the War. Thus Yamoyden's eighty pages of footnotes; the ten-page historical proem to Richmond's fifty-page 1851 poem Metacomet; and Irving's references to "the early chronicles of these dark and melancholy times."⁴⁶

Despite this interest in the character of Philip and the need for authors to explain the history of his war to their readers, this was not an opportunity to redress the shortcomings of Puritan ancestors in the actions of the present, or reevaluate the Indian Removal policies of the 1820s and 30s, for just as the figure of Philip as noble savage was predicated upon his death – the proof of his nobility, without which he was inadmissible into the Union – so too was the entry of history ghostlike, approaching but never touching the present. Nowhere were the post-King Philip's War practices of enslaving and deporting Indian prisoners of war compared to the contemporary

⁴⁶ Irving, "Philip of Pokanoket" in The Sketch-book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent. (1996).

nineteenth-century Indian displacement and genocide happening in Georgia, in and around East Florida, or in the Ohio Valley. Irving might lament that “[i]t is painful to perceive, even from these partial narratives, how the footsteps of civilization may be traced in the blood of the aborigines; how easily the colonists were moved to hostility by the lust of conquest; how merciless and exterminating was their warfare,” but never once does he – or any other author – turn to the present and pass judgment on the policies then being enacted, nor do they compare the character of Philip to the Native Americans alive and well in the young nation.⁴⁷ Like Philip’s ghostly admission into the young nation, so too could the history brush up against the present, but never contact it with any motive force.⁴⁸

As a part of the larger turn to colonial history by writers in the young United States during the first half of the nineteenth century, King Philip’s War reappeared in the national consciousness as a meaningful event for the constitution of a coherent national community. But as these writers brushed off the obscuring sands of time from this

⁴⁷ Irving, “Philip of Pokanoket” in The Sketch-book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent. (1996). This was at least one of the motivations for Apess’ political work, both his “Eulogy on King Philip” and his work with the Mashpee tribe. In the former he asks the audience to not only see the history of King Philip’s War, but points to the Indians among his listeners, while also claiming for himself a direct descent from King Philip. With this representation, Apess offers his body as a direct and convincing correction to the romantic portraits of his ancestor in which the past is ghostly, and intangible. See his collected work in On Our Own Ground (1992), which not only shows his publications, but also catalogues his political work on the part of Native American tribes throughout the northeast. His is a story that recognizes both the power of metaphor and the dangers of historical erasure.

⁴⁸ Later in his career Irving returns from Europe after a long absence and embarks on a journey into the interior of the nation meant to reacquaint him with his native land. This trip, which gave rise to his 1835 travelogue A Tour on the Prairies, was Irving’s search for the new frontier of America in the wild lands beyond the Mississippi river. Perhaps unsurprisingly, he goes out in search of the “wild” Indian that his prose has erased from the east coast some fifteen years before: unable to see the Native Americans in the streets of New York, he goes west in search of an “authentic” Indian, an image of which exists only in his own prose. Throughout the course of the text buffalo – the American bison – begin to stand in for the Indian; he finds suitable examples of neither.

“forgotten war” – a phrase that itself evokes an almost Freudian search for meaning in the national unconscious – they found not a complex narrative of communities in conflict, but the tragic story of one man dying in the name of his land and people. The drama of King Philip’s War did follow the character of Philip into these tales, but only inasmuch as it served to center the tale on the type of the national martyr. Philip’s life was entirely given over to his death in literature at this time: during a period that saw the birth of American historiography, no formal histories of the War appeared during this period. Literary remembrances had cleared the field and erected an image of Forrest-as-Metamora as the symbol for the entirety of the event.

Philip, Mary, and Their Nineteenth-Century Scribe

Forrest-as-Metamora dominated the American consciousness of King Philip’s War in the first half of the nineteenth century, whether in Stone’s play, or in the related portraits sketched by Eastburn and Sands, Irving, and others. So dominant was this image that it alone seemed to encompass all that America knew or wanted to know about the War. There was, however, one particularly notable and telling exception: Mary Rowlandson. Rowlandson’s captivity narrative remained popular throughout the nineteenth century, though its popularity seems only indirectly related to that of Metamora and his romanticized peers: Rowlandson was not mentioned in any of these romanticized portraits of King Philip, and while her narrative remained popular, its publication was largely unmoored from the subset of the literary world devoted to

memorializing the tragic sachem. Despite the groundswell of interest in King Philip during the 1820s and 1830s, and the simultaneous popular interest in both the captivity narrative generally and in Mary Rowlandson's work specifically, almost nowhere are the two discussed together. Bizarre though it may seem to the present, these two figures – one the tragic Indian and the other the white captive – seem almost unaware of one another, despite the fact that they occupy such prominent positions in nineteenth-century conceptions of colonial New England.

The romanticized version of a spectral King Philip and the ahistorical captive Mary Rowlandson overlap in the life and work of one nineteenth-century historian and publisher, the Bostonite Samuel Gardner Drake, and do so in such a way that offers some insight into just how mutually exclusive the story of these two historical personages were. King Philip does appear briefly in Rowlandson's narrative, of course, but her portrayal of him is neither that of the scourge of Puritan civilization, nor of the great American patriot fighting in defense of his nation. Rowlandson's portrait is much more matter-of-fact, and while a few publishers in the late eighteenth century did illustrate her work with supposed portraits of Philip, by the nineteenth century this clear historical marker was swept away in the larger project of the work's historical non-specificity. Even when historians like Drake picked up these two characters, they did not connect the two: Philip remains the tragic hero and Rowlandson is helpless white captive, and never the twain shall meet.

The Boston bookseller Samuel Gardner Drake was instrumental in both popularizing Rowlandson's narrative in the nineteenth century and situating it at the head

of the captivity genre. He published her text in two collections of captivity narratives: Indian Captivities, Or Life in the Wigwam was published at least five times, starting in 1839; and Tragedies of the Wilderness was published at least twice, the first time in 1841.⁴⁹ These were essentially two versions of the same work with a different titles, both with slight variations on the subtitle: Illustrating the Manners and Customs, Barbarous Rites and Ceremonies, of the North American Indians, and Their Various Methods of Torture Practised upon Such as Have, From Time to Time, Fallen into Their Hands. As both editor and publisher, Drake chose this sensational title, and it followed the text with each subsequent edition. Drake brought the first collections to market and sold them in his Boston bookshop, but later press runs were published by larger houses in New York, moving the books from the sometimes-provincial Boston market to the national circle reached by New York publishing houses. Framed by Drake's dramatic title and in the context of other thrilling stories of captivity – the texts read like greatest hits of dramatic captivity, complete with illustrations – Rowlandson's narrative is less history and more entertainment. Each narrative butts up against the next without so much as a page break and with only a sentence or two addressing the edition from which he has drawn the work. Even when transitioning from the captivity of the Spaniard John Ortiz in Florida in the 1520s and 30s to Rowlandson's tale – a move of hundreds of miles and one hundred and fifty years, not to mention shifts in religious persuasion and nationality for both the captors and the captives – there is no mention of such a contextual slide, or any

⁴⁹ See Sabin A Dictionary of Books Relating to America (1873) for a list of Drake's publications. I will refer primarily to Drake, Tragedies of the Wilderness (1841). See also Drake, Indian Captivities (1853).

explanation for why two such seemingly disparate narratives would follow one another. What serves as the implicit link is the frame of racial captivity – Europeans or European-Americans at the hand of Native Americans – and the drama that such bondage holds for the white American of the nineteenth century, a reader removed from the possibility of such captivity. Rowlandson’s story is shorn of any historical, geographic, religious, or national specificity, and presented in a collection for which entertainment, and not information, is the primary concern. It was through anthologies such as this popular creation that Rowlandson found her nineteenth-century reading public.

The collections’ popular, even sensational, appeal contrasts with Drake’s primary work as one of the first movers in the antiquarian movement in New England during the early- to mid-nineteenth century, where he is best remembered as a founding member of the New England Historic-Genealogic Society in Boston in 1845.⁵⁰ In this capacity he edited and substantially annotated many out-of-print texts from New England’s seventeenth century and wrote a number of historical works himself, as well as being responsible for an early journal of the society, The New England Historical and Genealogical Record.⁵¹ The majority of his work focused on the history of King Philip’s

⁵⁰ Sheppard, A Memoir of Samuel G. Drake (1863), 21. Ironically, information about the man who devoted his life to rare and obscure tracts is now itself rather hard to come by. The best source of information is a short biography of Drake written by his peer, John Sheppard. While information about Drake’s publishing history can be pieced together through a number of different sources, this is the best and most complete account that I can find of his life, and it has been long since out of print. In terms of interesting biographical trivia, it is worth noting that Drake came from old New England stock on both sides, his family having settled in New Hampshire from the mid-1600s. It also seems that at least one of his ancestors fought in King Philip’s War (9-12).

⁵¹ Sheppard, A Memoir of Samuel G. Drake (1863), 22. One obituary calls him the “real founder” – singular – though he was not the first president. See Anonymous, “Obituary of Samuel G. Drake” (1875), 182-3.

War, the first of which was his 1825 edition of Benjamin and Thomas Church's Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War.⁵²

The publication is representative of both the subject and the method to which he devoted his life. Drake's edition of Church's narrative was only the third printed since the account first appeared in 1716, and with it the previously rare publication was made widely available. His version was more than a simple reprinting, as it contained extensive historical notes referencing a wealth of colonial sources, so many that the notes often overwhelm the text itself, crowding the page with Drake's reading of Church's narrative. Drake continued to expand his version of Church's work and published at least five editions before 1859. Just as importantly, after the first edition – and with the majority of his future work – Drake employed a printer who made stereotypes of the works, lowering the cost for a new edition, and allowing his work to stay in print cheaply and easily.⁵³

Drake's description of Philip's death in his edition of Church's narrative reflects this relationship between the tragic construction of Philip-as-hero and the more self-consciously historical interest in the War that would follow. While Drake never wrote his own history of the War, nor in fact published any historical work entirely of his own

⁵² This was Drake's first title for Church's narrative, though it was not the one that Church had published his narrative under. Drake used that title – The History of the Great Indian War of 1675 and 1676 – for his later version's of Church's text. It is also the title for the 1854 edition that I will reference below. Drake's most famous work was his The Book of the Indians of North America (1833), originally published under the title Indian Biography (1832). This book collected the biographies of some five hundred principal Native American figures from the history of the northeast and presented them together for the first time. It is the close that Drake got to an entirely original publication and represents rather extraordinary powers of research and compilation.

⁵³ Sheppard, A Memoir of Samuel G. Drake (1863), 17-18.

creation, his extensive introduction to the historical documents that he published and the almost overbearing footnotes that he supplies give a clear idea as to how he thinks the past should be read.⁵⁴ Church, writing in the third person, describes Philip's death as such:

Captain Church ordered his [Philip's] body to be pulled out of the mire to the upland. [...] Captain Church then said, that forasmuch as he had caused many an Englishman's body to be unburied, and to rot above ground, that not one of his bones should be buried. And calling his old Indian executioner, bid him behead and quarter him. Accordingly he came with his hatchet and stood over him, but before he struck he made a small speech directing it to Philip, and said "he had been a very great man, and had made many a man afraid of him, but so bid as he was, he would now chop him in pieces." And so he went to work and did as he was ordered.⁵⁵

Church's artistry is clearly evident: in his story he himself saves the body of the great warrior from the swamp, but he does so as punishment for Philip's treatment of the English, as well as a symbolic portioning of the corpse in the hands of an Indian warrior. The butcher narrates the symbolic quartering, and Philip's corpse disappears from the pages of the book, as Church moves quickly on to his next exploit as captain in the militia.

Remarkable though Church's description is, Drake's commentary on the scene further highlights the drama of the incident and casts the death in the language of Irving, Stone, and Eastburn and Sands. His footnoted commentary on the death overburdens the original account on the page, both in its language and in the space on the page that it

⁵⁴ This was his practice in his historical work, but it should be noted that it did not carry over into his publication of the captivity narratives: while these do include a short introduction (less than four pages), and footnotes, the footnotes are almost entirely brief and factual, and offer little in the way of framing narrative. They are strikingly different from the example in Church's narrative.

⁵⁵ Church, *The History of the Great Indian War of 1675 and 1676* (1854), 125-6.

occupies. Drake did not hesitate to insert his voice into the middle of another's narrative, even as he insisted that spellings and grammar remain unchanged from the seventeenth century.⁵⁶ He footnotes the death as such:

Thus fell the celebrated King Philip, the implacable enemy of civilization. Never, perhaps, did the fall of any prince or warrior afford so much space for solid reflection. Had the resources of this hero been equal to those of his enemies, what would have been their fate? This exterminating war had not been known to millions! How vast the contrast! When this country is viewed in its present populous and flourishing state, extending over thousands of miles, and the sound of civilization emanating from every part; and when presented to the imagination in the days of Philip; with only here and there a solitary dwelling, surrounded with an endless wilderness.

Before the fall of Philip, the Indians for some time had been losing ground, and were considered as nearly subdued, but this event clearly decided their fate; doubts were no longer entertained of their appearing formidable.⁵⁷

For Drake, Philip's death does not symbolize the end of King Philip's War, as it did for Church, or the subduing of the Wampanoags, again clearly identified by Church, but instead the passing of an entire race. The excitement and drama in the passage are readily apparent, and Drake's syntax seems to unfurl at the end of the first paragraph into a series of exclamation points and semicolons that are unable to contain his enthusiasm for the comparison of Church's past with the present of the United States. His prose is forced to make a turn, after all, from Church's idea of Philip as the "implacable foe of civilization" to the nineteenth-century view of Philip as the hero of a vanishing people. Drake's

⁵⁶ Drake holds to this editorial practice in all of his work, even his popular captivity narratives, in which he states: "I have given the originals without the slightest abridgement; nor have I taken any liberties with the language of any of them, which would in the remotest degree change the sense of a single passage" (iii). I do not mean to criticize such an approach here, but it does seem odd for him to be so explicit about an accurate presentation of original documents on one hand, and then so interruptive and prescriptive in his footnoting practice.

⁵⁷ Church, The History of the Great Indian War of 1675 and 1676 (1854), 123-4.

footnote offers a parallel text to that of Church, one that rehabilitates Philip for the nineteenth-century stage and page.

The money that Drake made from this first publication went to finance his “Antiquarian Bookstore,” which he opened in Boston in 1830.⁵⁸ This bookstore was the first of its kind in the United States, and served as a repository of rare books, a general storehouse of historical knowledge, and a meeting place for like-minded historians until Drake’s death in 1875. Drake was not a trained historian – he received only a few years of formal schooling before serving as a schoolmaster himself in a series of positions throughout his late teens and early twenties, and had no college degree – but his work as an antiquarian and his shop’s role in the history of history in the United States is significant.⁵⁹ On one hand Drake was responsible for publishing a veritable treasure-trove of documents regarding King Philip’s War, and his editions have remained an important source for scholars down to the present. On the other hand, the physical space of Drake’s shop was itself central to developing the practice of American history during the middle part of the nineteenth century, both as a result of the vast array of books that he brought together in one spot – at his death he owned some fifteen thousand separate

⁵⁸ Cornhill Road, to be exact. It seems clear that the cheap rents were important to the shop’s survival early on. See Sheppard, *A Memoir of Samuel G. Drake* (1863), 18.

⁵⁹ Drake did receive an honorary degree from Union College in 1843, an award of which he seems to have been quite proud. See Sheppard, *A Memoir of Samuel G. Drake* (1863), 21-2.

books and over thirty thousand pamphlets – and for the people that he brought together in one place.⁶⁰ His son later said that:

The "Antiquarian Book-store" became the resort of men who made the literature of that day, and in not a few instances for all time. Of this company, Bancroft, Prescott, Hildreth, Sparks, and Hillard. Revs. Wm. Jenks, Thad. M. Harris, Starr King, and E. II. Chapin, Edward Everett, O. A. Brownson, J. T. Buckingham, V. J. Snelling, Geo. Lunt, and Nathan Hale, are best remembered. Macdonald Clarke and Peter Force were always to be found there when in Boston. Brownson occupied himself in ferreting among theological tomes; and O. W. Holmes, then a student of medicine, in searching for books on the healing art.⁶¹

This list includes not only some of the preeminent professional historians of the day (George Bancroft and William H. Prescott), along with many important public figures from the period (ministers Edward Everett and Orestes Brownson), but also formed the core of the New England Historical-Genealogical Society, an organization that influenced the founding of similar organizations around New England and eventually the nation. Drake and his bookshop brought together the raw materials and the material movers of American history during the nineteenth century. The bookshop is often overlooked in celebrations of Harvard-educated academics and organized research libraries, but had a direct impact on the growth of professional history in the young nation, as Drake drew together the materials and the people who went on to write the history of the nation.

The timing of Drake's work on King Philip's War and colonial history more broadly is important: beginning with his publication of Church's account of the War in

⁶⁰ See Samuel A. Drake's preface to A Catalogue of the Private Library of Samuel Gardner Drake (1875), vii. Samuel Adams Drake was Gardner's son, and later became a prolific publisher of historical tracts himself, though his taste ran more toward popular histories, such as guides to Boston and compendiums of New England Legends. One of the latter is his most famous, see A Book of New England Legends and Folk Lore, in Prose and Poetry (1993).

⁶¹ Samuel A. Drake, A Catalogue of the Private Library of Samuel Gardner Drake (1875), iii.

1825 and growing considerably after he founded his bookstore in 1830, the bulk of Drake's career and indeed the majority of the texts about the War that he printed came during the 1850s and 1860s, well after the peak in literary interest in the War during the 20s and 30s.⁶² Moreover, Drake's most popular publication – indeed the one that seems to have been at least partially responsible for his bookshop's survival through its early years – was not one of formal history or a discovery of rare tracts, but his churning out of various pulp editions of ahistorically arranged captivity narratives, of which Mary Rowlandson's formed the most significant part.⁶³ It is tempting here to speculate that Drake's historical work was begun at least in part because of his interest in the sensationalism of the popular captivity narratives of early nineteenth century, and that this was his route into historical study and, by extension, it was through the door of his captivity-narrative-financed shop that American history during mid-century was introduced to the broader public. This would place the birth of professional American history not in the hallowed halls of Harvard, but in the lurid pages of the captivity narrative.

Such a thesis must remain speculative, though it does offer a more organic and democratic genesis for a discipline purportedly housed in the ivory tower of higher

⁶² Holister's novel Mount Hope and Richmond's poem Metacomet were both published in 1851, but they really represent the very tail end of popular literary interest in King Philip, which might be partially responsible for their obscurity. As the nation entered the 1850s and the thunderclouds of the Civil War loomed overhead, the majority of the reading public turned its attention to issues of slavery, increasingly so after the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin in 1852.

⁶³ Interestingly, while the narratives seemed not to have been rare at the time, Drake's publication was so popular and so widely read that by the twentieth century a reviewer of no less stature than James Axtell called for its republication as a result of the rare texts that it brought together. Axtell, "Review of Held Captive by Indians: Selected Narratives, 1642-1836 by Richard Vanderbeets" (1974).

learning. What can be said is that the antiquarian movement of the nineteenth century was more democratic than might be assumed, and that the growth of professional history in the young nation is indebted to the decidedly extra-academic work of Drake. Moreover, the bulk of the historical work on King Philip's War that came decades after the peak of literary interest in the War made historical documents available to a wider public and outside the narrow confines of New England archives. Readers of these historical documents – be they Drake the antiquarian, the trained historian, or the general public – were certainly aware of the tragic hero of Stone's play and steeped in a culture that made King Philip's death central to understanding the colonial past. As literary portrayals offered up their version of Philip as a corrective to Puritan histories, the historical movement of the mid-nineteenth century accepted the tragic portraits of Philip in a manner that reinforced the secular typology of Irving and his literary peers. Drake's important additions to the historical record make clear his ideological indebtedness to the literature of the 1820s and 30s through an aggressive reading practice that parallels the framing offered by his authors. This practice allows a similar response to King Philip by giving a parallel narrative in the footnotes that celebrates his exploits even as it reprints the Puritan documents that demonize him. Philip is offered a restorative reading by Drake, even as he is damned by Church (or Mather, or whatever text Drake is commenting upon), and the tension between these two impulses keeps Philip always at the threshold of entry into the national imaginary, but never fully a part thereof.

Simultaneously, these historical researches and publications were partially inspired and financed by a decidedly anti-historical approach to Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative. Her text remains inspirational in its themes, but ahistorically so as it is never printed alongside writings about King Philip's War, but instead always appears in collections of Indian captivity narratives that stress the barbarity of Native Americans and the helplessness of the European-American captives. These two approaches – one historical, though inspired by literary versions of the past, and the other sensational and decidedly ahistorical – overlap in the work of Drake and the space of his Antiquarian Bookshop, pointing to the contradictory impulses of nineteenth century history that enshrine the tragic chief on one hand, and celebrate Indian brutality on the other, but never offer the Native American entry into the young nation without an accompanying avowal of any sensibilities that might be seen as those of the Indian.⁶⁴ The pull of the tragic hero is met by the push of the captivity narrative, clearly balanced in the work of Drake and his peers.

⁶⁴ These competing views of Native Americans are importantly linked in the work of the Harvard historian Francis Parkman, a man who based all of his later histories of colonial America on his research trip to the Great Plains in search of the Indian "in their primitive state" (33). He later published an account of his trip in his 1847 book The Oregon Trail, in which he records his adventures during time spent wandering through the wilderness. His aim is to recuperate the Indian from the romanticization of the novelist and the poet: "In justifying his claim to accuracy on this point, it is hardly necessary to advert to the representations given by poets and novelists, which, for the most part, are mere creations of fancy. The Indian is certainly entitled to a high rank among savages, but his good qualities are not those of an Uncas or an Outalissi" (33). He finds the plains Indians detestable – perhaps unsurprisingly – and longs for their extinction. He balances these portraits with the heroic Indian that he draws in many of his later works, such as his 1851 The History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, a work that balances the degraded nature of the living Indian with the heroic qualities of the dead chief. See Parkman, The Oregon Trail (1982), and The History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac (1929). While Parkman was not mentioned in the coterie surrounding Drake's shop, he certainly was in the area, as a Boston native and Harvard graduate who was deeply interested in the past, though his ailments and all-consuming misanthropy kept him confined to his house for much of his later life. Nevertheless, Parkman was a member of the New England Historical-Genealogical Society, so he had some contact with the people and ideas of the organization.

Seduced by Metaphor

Drake's work made a rich archive available for researchers, but did so in a way that blurred the lines between literature and history. By reading the history of King Philip's War through the lens of Irving and Sands, Drake forced Philip into the role of tragic hero even as the primary material told a much different story. For Drake, working under the influence of the fiction of his youth, Philip was as much literary character as historical figure, and his work on the War reflected as much. Rowlandson, on the other hand, was primarily entertainment, if of a type related to the past: no historical narrative was needed to emphasize the drama of the captivity narrative, and the influence of the genre on Drake's work was implicit and unstated.

This is more than a simple lesson on the importance of genre and the pitfalls of presentism in historiography, though, for the lessons taught by the study of the history of King Philip's War in the nineteenth century pay particular dividends when turning to one of the giants of American history from the 1890s on into the early decades of the twentieth century, Frederick Jackson Turner. Turner vaulted to prominence with his essay in honor of the quadracentennial Columbian celebration in Chicago in 1893, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in which he argued for the idea of the frontier as the organizing principle of American life, even as he lamented its loss.⁶⁵ Turner proposes the "frontier experience" as defining the American condition: "the

⁶⁵ Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" in The Frontier in American History (1921).

existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward explain American development.”⁶⁶ Turner’s frontier is both a metaphor and a space, binding together action and ideology into a cohesive community. Turner’s essay was widely read, and its popularity was based at least in part on its turn away from New England as the geographical birthplace of the nation, substituting instead a moving experience as the crucible of Americanness. This move was against the colonial history of Drake and others, and King Philip’s War faded in its importance alongside the grand sweep of demographics, asserting a new location for the ideological heart of the United States. On its face the idea is attractive in its democratic impulse: no longer the purview of eastern elites, under Turner the American experience stretches from coast to coast and embraces the religious pilgrims of New England alongside the riverboat men of the Mississippi and his own backwoodsmen of the upper Midwest.

Turner’s theory depended upon a line pitting the implicitly white American against the Indian on “the meeting point between savagery and civilization,” in a battle for the rightful ownership of the continent.⁶⁷ His prose alternately refers to the land beyond the frontier line as “free” (as above), or as “Indian country”: a primitive land upon which the waves of successive generations of Americans will break and forge a national identity during their tide-like flow into the interior. The racism inherent in such a view is worth underscoring, and represents the most prominent critique of Turner’s ideas: for his theory, Native Americans are only useful in their ability to resist white incursions before

⁶⁶ Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” (1921), 1.

⁶⁷ Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” in The Frontier in American History (1921).

expiring, Metamora-like, in the face of continuing settlement. It is also worth emphasizing the coincidence of Turner expounding his theories on the four hundred year anniversary (plus one) of Columbus's "discovery" of North America, and the subsequent destruction of native peoples that followed. While it would be hard to single out Turner as exceptionally insensible to the plight of native people, it is easy to imagine how the nationalistic fervor in preparation for the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago might have helped him to overlook that aspect of his theories: the "Wrong side of the Hedge," as he puts it at the end of "The First Official Frontier of the Massachusetts Bay."⁶⁸ This American celebration of Columbus as adopted national hero, which came at the end of a century of expanding American nationalism, was also heir to the kind of erasure of Native Americans that the historians who came before Turner had effected. While Turner's break with prior historians need not be overlooked, this break did not lead to a dismissal of their racial preconceptions, or an embrace of a more diverse idea of what constituted the American citizen.⁶⁹

Critics before have shown the limits of Turner's theory and exposed its underlying racism, but they have often failed to find a reason for such shortcomings, the cause of Turner's representation of the frontier line as such a stark meeting point between dark and

⁶⁸ Turner, "The First Official Frontier of the Massachusetts Bay" (1914), 270.

⁶⁹ For a brief history of the Columbian Exhibition in Chicago, see Bolotin and Laing, The World's Columbian Exhibition (1993); for an overview of some of the art of the Exhibition, see Carr and Gurney, Revisiting the White City (1993); for a roughly contemporary catalogue of the fair see Truman, History of the World's Fair (1976).

light.⁷⁰ Revisiting Turner's thesis within the longer trajectory of nineteenth-century American historical work, however, and accounting for his indebtedness to the models proposed by the literature of the late seventeenth century, his dependency on the metaphors of literary texts to interpret historical events highlights his theory's shortcomings. Turner's theory fails when applied to the site that should give him insight into the complicated nature of that theory's genesis: King Philip's War and Puritan New England in the late seventeenth century.

Turner's work is prefaced on an understanding of King Philip's War as instrumental in creating the frontier line, as he describes in his often-overlooked essay, "The First Official Frontier of the Massachusetts Bay." This essay begins:

This paper is an enquiry into the first officially designated frontier in Massachusetts from the point of view of a student of Western history, interested in the advance of the frontier of settlement during the whole period of American history, and from the Atlantic coast across the continent. It is an attempt at correlation and interpretation of more or less familiar data, rather than an attempt to fix the date of the frontier line by the discovery of hitherto unknown material.⁷¹

The "more or less familiar" events that Turner turns to are those in the Massachusetts Bay Colony during the last thirty years of the seventeenth century, years during which the most prominent event was – of course – King Philip's War. Turner's "correlation and interpretation" seizes upon this period as the genesis for his clearly demarcated frontier

⁷⁰ See especially the work of Annette Kolodny. Also relevant to this discussion are: Starr, "A Response" (1991); and Huber, "The Literacy Frontier" (1999). With regard to my current argument, Perry Miller addresses his revision of Turner's theory in the first chapter of his Errand into the Wilderness (1984), 1-2.

⁷¹ Turner, "The First Official Frontier of the Massachusetts Bay" (1914), 250. Interestingly, this paragraph is not printed at the beginning of every publication of the essay, such as in Turner's larger collection The Frontier in American History. Just as interestingly, "The First Official Frontier..." is not included in the most recent publication of Turner's essays, Faragher's Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner (1999), further obscuring this important precursor to his larger theory.

line, that wave which will begin the process of Americanization as it sweeps through the wilderness. He is forthright about the goal of such an investigation: he will look at the settlement in Massachusetts as one interested in the sweep of English and American settlement from the Atlantic steadily westward. He thus locates the genesis for the frontier line in New England in the events of the waning years of the seventeenth century following King Philip's War.

Turner does not mention Mary Rowlandson or her captivity narrative in his discussion of New England, and this oversight is telling, as Turner's definition of the frontier as a line of settlement fails to consider Rowlandson's ideological refiguring of the idea of the wilderness. Beyond representing the most popular text of the seventeenth century and one important report on the War, Mary Rowlandson's narrative also resituates the New England colonies not on the far western edge of England, but on the eastern edge of "the devil's territories."⁷² Unlike the Mosaic sense of wilderness held by first-generation Puritanism, Rowlandson defines Puritan geography by reconceptualizing the Puritan idea of wilderness, casting it not spiritual terms, but instead as written on the land and people of New England. Rowlandson's inscription of "wilderness" into the physical landscape, and her separation of that geography from the English villages, provides the intellectual framework upon which Turner unknowingly builds his theory of the frontier. Rowlandson's narrative, in which her physical movement away from English settlement parallels her spiritual journey into a wilderness that is both religious

⁷² Cotton Mather, The Wonders of the Invisible World (1862), 13.

and geographic, structures the West as a site of conflict, and also provides insight into the production of history and the creative power of genre.

At the beginning of her *Second Remove*, Mary Rowlandson laments: “*But now, the next morning, I must turn my back upon the Town, and travel with them [the Indians] into the vast and desolate Wilderness, I knew not whither.*”⁷³ The image is striking: poised on a hill over her burning home in Lancaster, injured babe perched on her hip, and leaking blood from a wound in her side, Mary Rowlandson turns her back on town and is driven forward into the unknown forests of western Massachusetts. The wilderness was an important religious symbol for Puritans, evoking Moses’ forty-year sojourn in the desert and their own wanderings on either side of the Atlantic, but in this moment the wilderness becomes theologically and practically important as the line that separates Rowlandson from the English: she opposes the “*Town*” to “*the vast and desolate Wilderness*” as concrete and mutually exclusive poles; locating the comfort of English settlement at her back, and “Indians [...] as thick as the trees” in the unseen lands before her.⁷⁴

This passage combines a Biblical understanding of Wilderness with the emergent conceptualization of the “frontier line” that will delimit the boundary of North American settlement by the English, and later the Americans. In this example, and in her work as a whole, one that tracks a journey outside of the influence of English colonists and then a return to the bosom of Puritanism in Boston, Rowlandson inscribes New England

⁷³ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1997), 71.

⁷⁴ Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1997), 80.

geography with her “wilderness condition,” an idea that combined theological understanding of spiritual struggle with the physical landscape sharply divided into dark and light. Prior to King Philip’s War in 1675 and the publication of Rowlandson’s narrative in 1682, the Puritan community understood their “wilderness” as spiritual, not geographic: a metaphor for the religious isolation that afflicted equally the Puritan church in England and those in Boston. The church’s wilderness was a spiritual state describing the religious community’s solitary struggle to found a new kingdom of God, and not a physical space of land and people: it was the wilderness of Moses and John the Baptist, not Daniel Boone; one in which landscape was defined not by its physical attributes, but by how it symbolized the elect’s lonely place among their sinful peers.

These conceptions were based on a typological reading that figured the English settlements in New England as the new nation of Israel, such as John Winthrop’s “city on a hill.” For Winthrop the hill does not rise from any specific landscape, but instead from the rubble (and rabble) of the unchosen. The assembled witnesses at the base of the metaphoric hill of Jerusalem are English papists and Native American heathens, Anabaptists and Algonquins. Similarly, William Bradford leaves Leyden for “those vast and unpeopled countries of America” and founds the colony of Plymouth as a bulwark against King James and the Church of England, and amidst Narragansetts and Wampanoags. Later English colonists in New England founded towns that looked not outward toward any perceived line of frontier, but inward, most conscious of their

physical distance to the nearest gathered church.⁷⁵ This model of settlement located religious communities around a series Congregational Churches which settlers were coerced to attend by both grace and law. Settlement growth was haphazard and diffuse, as distance to the town church and serial congregational settlement were the organizing principles, not relation to a single colonial center (as in Turner's diffusion model of settlement along the frontier line), or in opposition to a monolithic and dehumanized exterior enemy (the role played by Native Americans in Turner's frontier thesis). Puritans were spread across a settlement area, butting up against Native Americans with whom they lived, traded, missionized, quarreled, and generally got about the business of living.

The Puritans' "city on a hill" was ideological, not geographic, and when they trod down the mountain to work among the heathen Indians, their movement was conceptual, not spatial. Missionaries were dispatched not to distant parts of the colony, but to "Praying Indian" towns such as Nashaway that abutted Puritan settlements (in this case Rowlandson's home of Lancaster, Massachusetts). Moreover, when in the 1650s the New England Company founded the Indian College for the "furtherance of learning [...] respecting the Indian design," they did so not in the forests at the headwaters of the Charles River, but instead at the center of Harvard's campus in Cambridge at the river's mouth.⁷⁶ At mid-century the New England project was indeed an errand into the wilderness, but that wilderness was a spiritual and not a physical landscape; the colonies

⁷⁵ For a discussion on serial town settlement in New England from a slightly later period, see Gross, The Minutemen and Their World (2001). See also Jaffee, People of the Wachusett (1999).

⁷⁶ The New England Company Commissioners to Edward Winslow, qtd. in Cogley, John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War, 220. See chapter one for a longer discussion of the Indian College.

were not huddled together against a hostile continent stretching away to the west, but gathered on a typological hilltop above a mass of undifferentiated unbelievers.⁷⁷

Just as New England's understanding of its relationship to the metropole changed after the Restoration in 1660 and King Philip's War in 1675, its relationship to the Native Americans with whom its people lived similarly evolved: no longer were the Indians seen as objects of potential conversion, but instead became symbols of Puritan oppression and castigation in America. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Indian College stood – or crumbled, as the case may have been – as a symbol of the colonies' changed relationship to their Native American neighbors. Puritan interest in Indian conversion fell, and when missionaries like John Eliot and Daniel Gookin died, they were replaced by men of less resolve, or not replaced at all. No longer did ministers profess as Roger Williams did in his 1643 A Key into the Language of America, that “one candle will light ten thousand,” extending Winthrop's “light unto the world” metaphor to the conversion of Indians.⁷⁸ By 1693 Cotton Mather summarized English settlement thusly, “The New

⁷⁷ See Miller, “Errand into the Wilderness” in his book by the same name (1984). My critique of Turner runs parallel to Miller's, though I look not to the jeremiads of Danforth and others, but instead to Rowlandson in her fusing of the secular and the religious in her text for the basis of my critique. Still, I would agree with Miller that,

He [Turner] worked on the premise – which any Puritan logician (being in this regard a scholastic) could have corrected – that the subject matter of a liberal art determines the form, that the content of a discipline automatically supplies the angle of vision. [...] From Turner's conception of the ruling and compulsive power of the frontier no further avenue could be projected to any cultural synthesis. (1-2).

Where my analysis differs from Miller's is in my look at how Turner lies at the end of a long tradition of nineteenth-century historians who get trapped in the idea of history “correcting” literature, whereas Miller seems more interested in a salutary dismissal of the historian as both a “great name,” but also a failure as a historian (2).

⁷⁸ Williams (1643), A3.

Englanders are a people of God settled in those, which were once the devil's territories," and expected little argument from his peers.⁷⁹

This transition was not a slow evolution, but was heavily influenced by the historical events of King Philip's War and the publication of Rowlandson's captivity narrative, whose wide circulation guaranteed dispersal of her fusion of a secular and religious wilderness. Together, these two events recast the wilderness for the rising third generation of Puritans, eventually leading to the ideological shift that left the Indian College empty and led to the reconception of New England geography in ways recognizable as Turner's frontier line. Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative helps to construct the west as a cardinal direction and an ideological space, overlaying landscape with spiritual metaphor and turning the religious wilderness into a physical geography. Rowlandson's conception of physical space creates the captivity genre and inflects history, giving rise to a new understanding of "the west" that is not simply the direction of the setting sun, but a space imbued with symbolic and religious meaning. Creating a narrative space in which good does battle with evil and locating that space on the physical geography of New England, Rowlandson lays the ground for not only the captivity narrative, but also subsequent locations of the wilderness in the West. Her text and the captivity narrative as a genre are integral to organizing American's understanding of what

⁷⁹ Mather, The Wonders of the Invisible World (1862),13.

Rowlandson calls “the wilderness condition,” into a space that is both physical and metaphoric.⁸⁰

Turner’s theory shows the traces of the ideological work of Rowlandson’s narrative. While Turner never mentions Rowlandson, he does gesture toward King Philip’s War the genesis of his “frontier line.” Turner’s essay “The First Official Frontier of the Massachusetts Bay” locates the founding of the frontier in the social and military policies of the latter half of the seventeenth century. While certainly not as eloquent as some of his more famous works, Turner stumbles through the late seventeenth century before settling on the late 1690s or early 1700s as the genesis for an official frontier: “Thus about the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century there was an official designated frontier line for New England.”⁸¹ Turner points to acts by Massachusetts and Connecticut governments that label certain settlements “frontier towns” as his evidence, and then draws a line of demarcation on the western edge of English settlement.

By establishing this line, Turner establishes the historical precedent for his frontier theory, allowing him to argue in “The Significance of the Frontier” that:

In American thought and speech the term “frontier” has come to mean the edge of settlement, rather than, as in Europe, the military boundary. [...] As population advanced into the wilderness and thus successively brought new exposed areas between the settlements on the one side and the Indians with their European

⁸⁰ Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness of God (1997), 75: “There I left that child in the wilderness, and must commit it, and myself also in this wilderness condition, to Him who is above all.” In this line Rowlandson move from a physical conception of the wilderness (the ground in which she buries her child), to a religiously inflected idea of her “wilderness condition.” As her narrative continues and she becomes more attuned to life in the forests beyond Lancaster, her focus these two conceptions become closer and closer, until they are almost indistinguishable.

⁸¹ Turner, “The First Official Frontier of the Massachusetts Bay” (1914), 253.

backers on the other, the military frontier ceased to be thought of as the Atlantic coast, but rather as a moving line bounding the un-won wilderness.⁸²

Turner's grammar is telling, as his passive constructions "has come to mean" and "ceased to be thought of" allude to the absence of actors in his theory. Moreover, his use of "the wilderness" betrays his indebtedness to Rowlandson and the concretization of the wilderness metaphor that her text enacts: for Turner the wilderness is certainly not the biblical understanding proposed by first-generation Puritanism, but he fails to account for how that definition changed, for how the metaphorical wilderness became written onto the land. In short, he ignores how his ideas contain traces of Rowlandson's construction. Spiritual wilderness, after all, cannot be "won" – it is endured, struggled with, and eventually lived through, but never vanquished – and Turner's idea would be unintelligible were it not for its refraction through Rowlandson's combination of material and symbolic landscape.

While Turner reads the metaphor of the frontier into the events of American history, Rowlandson creates the metaphor of the wilderness out of the events of her captivity and the ideological underpinnings of Puritanism. Rowlandson's metaphor is religious and secular, annealing the two in the phrase "wilderness condition," an idea that combines ideas of physical and spiritual distance, cultural isolation and typological significance. When she turns her back on her home and enters the "vast and desolate wilderness" she creates an idea of the frontier that will seduce Turner. Turner, though, argued that the events of King Philip's War created this idea, that "[t]he thing to be

⁸² Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (1921), 251.

defended was the outer edge of this expanding society, a changing frontier, one that needed designation and re-statement with the changing location of the ‘West’.”⁸³ The settlement line of New England, however, was no more cohesive after King Philip’s War than it was before, and the addition of New York to the English colonial project further complicated the map of the northeast of North America. Turner erases Rowlandson’s influence by ignoring her narrative in favor of concrete events.

Yet, his historical thesis was created not by the cold calculation of historical events, but by the shifting metaphor of the wilderness found in the literature of the period. By ignoring Rowlandson’s literary text in favor of the historical documents of King Philip’s War and New England during the charter crisis, Turner overlooks the creation of the metaphor upon which his frontier thesis turns. In overlooking literature, he becomes trapped in the language of metaphor, and ends up arguing that a metaphor (the frontier) explains a metaphor (the wilderness), while claiming that his narrative gives meaning to historical events.

Rowlandson creates the idea of the wilderness as a physical space with religious overtones by mapping her spiritual journey onto her narrative of captivity. Her metaphor creates a spatial understanding that implies the wilderness – and the West – as a location outside of the body and not within the mind. Rowlandson’s narrative creates a wilderness condition into which Turner steps, and outside of which he cannot see. In his omission of the literary texts of the seventeenth century, the historian overlooks metaphor’s ability to shape his ideas and control both events and their narration in the historiographic process,

⁸³ Turner “The First Official Frontier of the Massachusetts Bay” (1914), 251-2.

and Turner is left stranded in Rowlandson's wilderness. In attempting to correct the romantic view of the past that he has inherited from a previous generation of national historians, writers indebted to tragic constructions of Philip and his War, Turner unwittingly bases his frontier thesis on a metaphor that finds its genesis not in the historical events that he hopes to explain, but in a literary text that he overlooks. Ignoring literary history and the sway of the captivity narrative on the popular conceptions of the wilderness, Turner fails to recognize the power of metaphor in popular ideology, even as he tries to read his own theories out of events. Turner's correction of romantic history is lost without an awareness of the power of literature to inform the popular consciousness.

Conclusion: What Philip Teaches the Historians

King Philip's War's entry into the national imaginary during the nineteenth century happens not once, but twice. First, after Irving's publication of The Sketchbook of Geoffrey Crayon in 1819-20, Philip was resurrected as an American patriot, precursor to the Revolutionary generation whose loss the period felt so acutely. Philip's rebirth into the nineteenth century found him clad in the trappings of a tragic hero as he was put into a role that was more literary than historical, and that demanded death as a prerequisite of his rebirth. In this construction, the historical context of King Philip's War was important less for any clues that it gave about the specific of Native American life in the seventeenth century, or lessons on Indian-English interaction, than for its ability to furnish Philip with a plot befitting a tragic hero. The historical facts of Philip's life and

the struggles of his people were secondary to the malleability of this context into a recognizable plot of heroic self-sacrifice. In order to make Philip palatable for nineteenth-century audiences in search of a national past, the impulse of the historical romance during the period fashioned King Philip's War into an elaborate stage on which *Metamora* could strut.

Following Philip's birth into literature, he was launched again into the growing historical record of the young nation. Drawn by the drama of *Metamora* and *Yamoyden*, Samuel Drake ushered King Philip's War into the national record with little mention of how his work was begun at the behest not of a drive for historical truth, but as a result of the seduction of a decidedly historically rendering of Philip in literature, and the actively ahistorical use of Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative during this time. Following the literature of the 1820s and 30s which tried to "correct" the historians of the Puritans, the historical work of Drake set about to cull the historical record for a drama beyond that of tragic Indian death. His work, more antiquarian in nature than purely historical, formed not only the basis for all future historical work on King Philip's War – his production is indeed voluminous – but also enacts the larger problem of a historian in the sway of compelling narrative: metaphor is an interpretive tool and a literary device, not the spontaneous construction of the historical record. Ignorant of this (implicit) advice, Frederick Jackson Turner fails to recognize the construction of the wilderness as a metaphor as demonstrated in Rowlandson's captivity narrative, and unknowingly bases

his transformative frontier thesis on an understanding of the wilderness which is textual, not geographic.

These tensions between literature and history echo the very first lengthy documents published on the War by Increase Mather and Hubbard, histories that fought over the meaning of the word history and the community's place in the sweep of time. While they do not produce Philip as tragic hero or offer a simple drama of captivity, Hubbard and Mather model the relationship between narrative and community that prepares the way for a secular typology that inherits the figural reading of character in Puritan history even as it recognizes a United States that is chosen politically, not spiritually. Philip, the demon of the Puritans, is available for citizenship in a republic that sees political form, not religion, as its founding principle. This entry closes with its opening, for any political opening that Philip might slide through is closed by a plot that sees his birth into political relevance in his physical death. Only Philip's ghost can haunt the nineteenth century, deforming ideas of history and luring Turner to a trap in metaphor.

Epilogue

Not Fade Away: King Philip's War and the Persistence of History

We called the enemy ghosts. “Bad night,” we’d say, “the ghosts are out.” To get spooked, in the lingo, meant not only to get scared but to get killed. “Don’t get spooked,” we’d say. “Stay cool, stay alive.” Or we’d say: “Careful, man, don’t give up the ghost.” The countryside itself seemed spooky – shadows and tunnels and incense burning in the dark. The land was haunted. We were fighting forces that did not obey the laws of twentieth-century science.

Tim O’Brien
“The Ghost Soldiers” in The Things They Carried (1990)

It is tempting to end this project with a trite aphorism about how old soldiers do not die, they just fade away. Such a closing has a romantic allure, as if Philip’s harried spirit has finally been spared the poking of historians and the prodding of novelists, and allowed to lie down for his much-deserved eternal rest. A quick reference to General MacArthur’s summary of his military career – that he would not die, but simply fade away – and an application of this phrase to Philip’s afterlives would offer a poetic end to the Indian soldier’s textual life, complete with a ballad to serenade his exit: “Old soldiers never die,/ Never die, never die,/ Old soldiers never die/ They just fade away.”¹ All that would remain would be for me to offer a brave salute to the fallen hero. and make some

¹ Taken from the traditional ballad “Old Soldiers Never Die,” that MacArthur cited the speech he gave at the close of his military career. For more on MacArthur, this phrase, and the general’s role in American life see Perret, Old Soldiers Never Die (1996).

wry comment about lessons learned from the past, or respect for our founding fathers, or some other such possibly fulfilling but intellectually disingenuous summary.

This ending might be tempting, but its problems are as myriad as they are obvious. Such a move would participate in the same acts of metaphoric Indian Removal critiqued in chapter three, once again overlook Mary Rowlandson's role in the drama of historical and literary memory, and ignore the persistence of importance of King Philip's War throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century, as well as signaling an artificial close to the cultural and scholarly problems that the event poses. It would, in short, forget the power and relevance of my opening metaphor: the ship the King Philip never completely disappears under the cold salty waters off the California coast, it is only more or less obscured by sand and sea around it; the ship is compelling not because of its tragic demise, but because of its steadfast persistence.

The truth is more interesting, if hardly surprising. King Philip did not slide from the national consciousness with the close of the nineteenth century. His most visible advocates disappeared: after moving toward Shakespearean tragedies later in his career, Edwin Forrest died in 1872, and Samuel Drake died a few years later in 1876, having seen one of his sons follow in his footsteps as an historian. King Philip remained popular despite the deaths of these two men, lending his name to towns in the Midwest, high schools in New England, and eventually seeing his likeness on a series of Native American trading cards. He also began his slow progress through the hallways of academia: after Drake's antiquarian research, a number of formally trained historians

began to produce histories of the War, beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing at a steady – if slow rate – until exploding in the 1990s and 2000s. Never one to shy away from popular culture, Philip even made a brief cameo in the 1996 film version of The Scarlet Letter, stepping in at the end of the movie to save Hester Prynne from the repressive Puritans.²

In short, Philip continues to haunt the national consciousness, though his nature is more instructive than frightening. His most recent popularity came in the 1990s, during a period in which historical scholars produced a seemingly endless series of biographies of the Founding Fathers, and Jill Lepore slipped in her pivotal biography of the idea of King Philip. Suddenly Philip stood beside Thomas, George, and Ben as one of the nation's hallowed progenitors.³ On one hand, Lepore's project is similar to that of Irving and those nineteenth-century writers who preceded it, in its 'discovery' of the unconscious of the nation in the colonial past, but to reduce the entirety of her work to a misguided 'search for origins' is to overlook some of the larger implications of her book: set alongside the authoritative biographies of the founding fathers, Lepore's history of one man's war becomes a disruptive force, unsettling both the idea of a national origin and the premise of autobiographical work that attempts to discover that same origin in the singular lives of famous men. Stirred from his slumbers, the ghost of King Philip arose

² See The Scarlet Letter, Dir. Roland Joffé, 1996.

³ That is, Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and Ben Franklin. Or James Madison, John Adams, and James Monroe. Or whoever David McCullough and Joseph Ellis happen to be writing about at the moment. See Lepore, The Name of War (1998).

to deform the proud faces on the biographies of the Founding Fathers, a change that pulses through their covers and alters the way the texts themselves are read.

King Philip, then, is not dead, nor need he ever be: like a spirit doomed to walk the earth until his work here is complete, Philip cannot be put quietly to rest until we are done with him. As such, his ghost continues to flit through the pages of American history and popular literature, sliding in and out of narrative as easily as his eponymous ship sheds the waters of the Pacific. Philip's spirit is no simple apparition, though, and his haunting brings knowledge, not terror: he more specter than haint, one whose power lies in his being seen, and in the knowledge that such seeing brings. Stalking through texts, dragging behind him a chain of tragic associations, as well as the captive Mary Rowlandson (save, of course, when she drags him), Philip's specter lives in the words that describe the event of his reappearance, narration that shifts unsteadily, threatening always to collapse under the weight of representation, but never doing so; narratives that reach instead to embrace and create themselves as they take the measure of their subject. To paraphrase Conrad, King Philip, he not dead; he's not even sleeping.

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Biography

John David Miles was born in Columbus, Ohio on March 24th, 1976, during his parents' brief sojourn outside of the borders of the Bluegrass State. He grew up outside the small town of Danville, Kentucky and graduated from Boyle County High School in 1994. Four pleasurable years at Trinity University in San Antonio, TX followed, where he majored in English and Biology, and graduated in 1998. While at Trinity John had the pleasure of working with such scholars as Caroline Levander, Judith Fisher, David Ribble, and Arturo Madrid, each of whom shaped his education in innumerable ways.

After spending a fretful year outside of the academy, John matriculated to the Department of English at the University of Arizona in Tucson. While specializing in twentieth-century American literature, his MA committee of Daniel Cooper-Alarcón, Greg Jackson, and Charlie Bertsch slowly steered him toward earlier topics, and suggested he look beyond the sunny southwest to continue his education. After graduating from the University of Arizona in 2002, John moved east to Durham, North Carolina and Duke University, where the vibrant intellectual culture and collegial atmosphere reinvigorated his scholarship and reinforced his faith in the continued relevance of vigorous intellectual work. Supervised with grace and kindness during this time by Priscilla Wald, John will graduate in December of 2009.

During his time at Duke, John published two book reviews, the first of which he co-wrote with Matt Cohen. He published one article while at Duke, a group venture with Lauren Coats, Matt Cohen, Kinohi Nishikawa, and Rebecca Walsh entitled, "Those We

Don't Speak Of: Indians in *The Village*." John also worked with Lauren Coats on the Americanist Speaker Series, a community endeavor hosted by first Houston Baker, Jr., and later Priscilla Wald.

After six years at Duke, John left for the north, spending one year as a visiting instructor at the College of St. Rose in Albany, NY. This experience gave him opportunity to teach a different cohort of undergraduates, hone his skills at teaching early American literature, and appreciate what winter really is. John is now an assistant professor and the University of Memphis, where he specializes in colonial American literature in a transatlantic context, literature of the early United States, and textual representations of communal identity.