Joseph English: Loyalty and Survival in the Life of a Colonial Native Scout

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Abstract

Joseph English was a man of Native American ancestry who served in New England's military in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Captured in action and taken prisoner to Canada, he escaped, returned to Massachusetts, and went on to achieve renown as a scout and pilot in the Merrimack Valley. As a descendant of sagamores on both sides of his family, he also participated in land transactions with English colonists. This thesis reviews primary evidence on Joseph from archival documents, deeds, and other sources to construct a rough narrative of his life. It also puts Joseph's life into context by exploring matters such as the intercolonial wars pitting New England against New France and its Native allies, the position of "friend Indians" within Massachusetts, and the nature of Anglo-Native land transactions.

Finally, the paper attempts to explain why Joseph, a Native person, chose to align himself so closely with the interests of the English colonists. It finds that in cooperating with the settlers, Joseph English was carrying on a family tradition already in its third generation. Through land transactions and military service, he demonstrated his loyalty and deflected the hostility of white settlers. At a time when Indians in New England faced numerous threats, Joseph chose allegiance to the English as the most promising strategy for survival.

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Table of Contents

Chapter I.

Family and Early Life

"Samuel English & Joseph English Indians together with their Sister ye wife of Jeremiah Wauches are ye True & Rightfull & Only Surviving heirs of John the Saggamore of Aggawom alias Massquanomenet."[1] This statement, made in Salem on October 12, 1700, by two Nashoba Indians, John Thomas and James Speen, is supported by evidence from several other documents produced around the same time.[2] In 1700 and 1701, Joseph English and his siblings signed a number of deeds relinquishing their claim to lands in Essex County that had been part of the traditional territory of their grandfather Masconomet, the sagamore or leader of Agawam (Ipswich, Massachusetts). The cultural and social significance of these deeds will be addressed fully in a later chapter; for the present what concerns us is that his status as grandson of Masconomet is one of the most well-attested pieces of information we have about Joseph English.

Agawam (not to be confused with the town of the same name in western Massachusetts) was the name of a Native American village on the Atlantic coast north of Cape Ann, at the present location of Ipswich. A place of indigenous activity from ancient times, Agawam/Ipswich contains the Bull Brook archaeological site, where Paleo-Indian

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[1] Sidney Perley, *The Indian Land Titles of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Salem: Essex Book and Print Club, 1912). Google Books.

[2] Perley, *Indian Land Titles*, 90, 112.

artifacts from approximately 10,000 years B.P. have been found.[3] When European explorers visited Agawam in the early seventeenth century, they found a substantial Native presence and extensive cultivation. In 1614 Captain John Smith noted its "many rising hilles and on their tops and descents many corne fields and delightfull groves."[4] Beside corn or maize the inhabitants raised beans, and also took advantage of the wide variety of game, sea fish, and shellfish the area afforded.[5] Their homes were wigwams made of bent poles covered with woven mats. While linguistic evidence is limited, we can say generally that they spoke a local form of the Eastern Algonquian language. It is likely that several hundred or even a thousand individuals lived in the vicinity of Agawam at this time.[6]

Between 1616 and 1618, a lethal epidemic swept through the Native population along the coast of southern New England. Possibly a strain of plague or hepatitis, the illness certainly originated with European traders, who frequented the region in increasing numbers. Some villages were completely annihilated; estimates for mortality in the area range as high as 90 percent. Indigenous society was left a shadow of its former

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[3] Brian S. Robinson et al., "Paleoindian Aggregation and Social Context at Bull Brook," *American Antiquity* 74, no. 3 (July 2009): 423–447. JSTOR.

[4] John Smith, *A Description of New England: Or, Observations and Discoveries in the North of America in the Year of Our Lord 1614, with the Success of Six Ships that went the Next Year, 1615* (Boston: 1865), 43. Google Books.

[5] William Wood, *New England's Prospect,* ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977), 86–88, Hathitrust.

[6] Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) 21, 27, 30–32. My rough population estimate is based on Champlain's figures for present-day Gloucester (Le Beauport).

self, with once-prosperous localities reduced to a few dozen survivors.[7] This biological disaster coincided with the arrival of the first permanent English settlers to the area. Plymouth was founded in 1620, and in 1630 a fleet carrying hundreds of Puritan emigrants led by John Winthrop arrived to lay the foundation of a larger colony. One of the first people Winthrop met in the territory that would comprise the new colony was Masconomet. "In the morning," he writes in a journal entry on June 13, 1630, "the sagamore of Agawam and one of his men came aboard our ship and stayed with us all day."[8]

From that first meeting with the Puritan leader, Masconomet's relations with the Massachusetts Bay Colony were characterized by cooperation with an undercurrent of tension. The sagamore and his people occupied a highly vulnerable position when the English arrived. First the 1617 epidemic had decimated their population; then war with Micmacs from the northeast became a recurrent threat. In August 1631, a large Micmac raiding party struck Agawam and attacked Masconomet's own wigwam, killing seven people and taking away provisions and fishing nets.[9] By this time Englishmen had begun to settle at Agawam, and Masconomet seems to have tolerated or even encouraged their presence in the hope of protection against Micmac aggression. John Endicott and other Puritan leaders sometimes provided armed assistance to the Agawams at Masconomet's

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[7] Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 101–5.

[8] John Winthrop, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, ed. James Savage (Boston: 1853), 1:31, Gale Primary Sources. Winthrop does not give the sagamore's name here, but William Wood, who lived in the area from about 1629 to 1633, wrote in 1634 that the sagamore of Agawam was "Masquonomend." Wood, *New England's Prospect*, 123.

[9] Winthrop, *History*, 1:71–72. Winthrop uses the English term "Tarentine" for Micmac.

request.[10] On the other hand, they sometimes felt the need to assert control over the sagamore, as when the Court of Assistants barred him from entering any English house for one year.[11]

In 1633, the Massachusetts government decided to settle Agawam in earnest, and John Winthrop, Jr., the governor's son, moved there with a dozen other colonists. That same year, Native communities throughout New England were ravaged by another epidemic—this time, smallpox. Once again the death toll was staggering. Of the nearby village of Winnisimet (Chelsea), Winthrop Sr. wrote that the "Sagamore died of the small pox, and almost all his people; (above thirty buried by Mr. Maverick of Winesemet in one day)."[12] While we lack direct evidence of the disease's impact on Agawam, there is no reason to think it was spared the devastation that befell neighboring communities. The surviving Natives were too few in numbers to resist English settlement. In 1634, a group of around one hundred colonists arrived; the Court of Assistants christened the new town Ipswich.[13] In 1638, Masconomet signed a deed relinquishing title to the territory of Agawam to John Winthrop Jr. for a consideration of twenty pounds.[14]

Masconomet continued to reside in Agawam/Ipswich. In exchange for his official cooperation with the English, he was afforded certain privileges, such as the right to hunt

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[10] Joseph B. Felt, *History of Ipswich, Essex, and Hamilton* (Cambridge: 1834), 3, Google Books.

[11] Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England*, vol. 1, *1628–1641* (Boston: 1853), 89, Hathitrust.

[12] Winthrop, *History of New England*, 142.

[13] Felt, *History of Ipswich*, 10.

[14] Perley, *Indian Land Titles*, 26–29.

with a gun, and granted a small parcel of his own former land to plant. In 1644, he was one of five local sagamores and sachems who signed a formal covenant placing themselves under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and agreeing to accept instruction in Christianity.[15] In 1658 Masconomet's death is noted in the Ipswich records, when the town bestowed his six-acre parcel of land on his widow.[16] The English authorities had generally treated him with decorum, although this was rooted in his usefulness in legitimizing their authority. But we also have evidence of an ugly animus towards the sagamore on the part of some settlers. In March of 1667, two Ipswich men were examined in court and found guilty of a "barbarous and inhuman act": they had dug up the grave of Masconomet in the night and paraded his skull around town on a pole.[17]

1675 brought the intense Anglo-Native military confrontation known as King Philip's War (after Metacom or Philip, a Wampanoag sachem prominent in the indigenous uprising). In November 1676, Daniel Gookin, the magistrate who had a special oversight role over Natives within Massachusetts, presented the Governor's Council with a list of all friendly Indians residing in the colony, including "about twenty five [who] live at or about Ipswich under the government of authority there"; he also notes that "some of [their] children were ordered to be put to service." Of these twenty-

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[15] Felt, *History of Ipswich*, 4–5.

[16] Ipswich, Massachusetts, Minutes of Town Meeting, 18 June 1658, p.234, "Town Records 1634–1857," https://ipswichma.gov/773/Town-Records-1600---1916.

[17] George Francis Dow, ed., *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, vol. 3, *1662–1667* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1913), 400. Hathitrust.

five, Gookin estimated eight adult males and seventeen women and children.[18] While the English were clearly anxious that the Indians at Ipswich be under watchful supervision, there is no record of their being harassed or attacked by fearful colonists as many "friend Indians" were during the war.

In 1683, the town of Ipswich granted "some small quantity of land for ned Indian and his family and the old sagamore's daughter and her children."[19] This may be the first written reference to Joseph English and his siblings. The "old sagamore" must be Masconomet, as the colonists never acknowledged anyone else as sagamore of Agawam. Who was his daughter? In a written deposition of January 1701—again, part of the legalities surrounding the deeds signed by the English siblings in those years—Joseph Foster, a white man, declared that "he did know Sarah ye Daughter of Maschanominet the Sagamore of Agawam & further that Samuel English was reputed to be her Eldest Sonne now Surviving."[20] A second white man, Moses Parker, made a deposition to the same effect. Foster and Parker were serving as Samuel English's attorneys at the time, and so had a vested interest in his claim to be the sagamore's heir. Still, since numerous deeds recognize Samuel and Joseph English as brothers, and since Sarah is the only

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[18] Daniel Gookin, "An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England, in the Years 1675, 1676, 1677" in *Archaeologica Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society,* vol. 2 (Cambridge: 1836), 533. Google Books.

[19] Ipswich, Massachusetts, Minutes of Town Meeting, 27 February 1682 (Old Style), p.92, "Town Records 1634–1857," https://ipswichma.gov/773/Town-Records-1600---1916.

[20] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 45.

daughter of Masconomet of whom we have knowledge, these statements suggest that Sarah was probably Joseph's mother as well.

Thus, it seems likely that Joseph English was a child or young man living with his mother in Ipswich in 1683. Glancing forward, we find a Joseph English signing a deed in Marblehead the following year.[21] He was young enough to be grouped with Sarah as one of her children in 1683, but old enough to sign a deed in 1684: so we might roughly place Joseph's birth between 1665 and 1670. A birth year of about 1667 aligns well with Joseph's military career and later family life.

His childhood likely combined elements of indigenous and European cultures. The lives of Agawam Natives, like those throughout southern New England, would traditionally have been structured by seasonal movements corresponding to different economic activities. For example, it was routine even for those who lived in relatively permanent village sites to change their residence during the fall and winter to places where deer and other large game were abundant.[22] By the 1670s, these patterns had been disrupted by white settlement: to travel from Ipswich to hunting grounds up the Merrimack, for example, it was now necessary to pass through English towns and fields. While we know that Native individuals did continue these traditional movements, they

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[21] Perley, *Indian Land Titles*, 54–60. My argument here depends on the signer of the Marblehead deed and the other four documents being the same man, which I address below.

[22] Bert Salwen, "Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Early Period," in *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol.15, *Northeast,* ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 160, Hathitrust.

also found it necessary to adapt to the markedly different culture of the settlers, with its fixed property lines, large-scale agriculture, and money economy. Daniel Gookin's 1677 statement, quoted earlier, shows that some Ipswich Natives were employed as servants—in white homes, or to farmers or innkeepers. This arrangement was common for both adults and children, who might receive room, board, and instruction in Christian teachings in exchange for their labor. Other Indians (such as Ned, mentioned with Sarah in the town records in 1683) were forced by debt into indentured servitude. Yet others received charitable assistance from the town. If not employed by whites, Joseph might have helped his family by fishing or hunting small game and selling at a local market.[23]

While we can be fairly confident about the identity of Joseph's mother, identifying his father presents more of a problem. There is one document that connects Joseph English to another kinship group, but we have no proof that the man who signed it is the same Joseph English. In 1684 a number of Indians signed a deed in which they gave up any claim to the town of Marblehead.[24] The grantors were all relatives of sagamore George, alias Wenepawweekin, deceased. Although not mentioned in the main body of the deed, there is a short accompanying release on the back side of the document in which "Joseph Quanophkonatt als Joseph English" gives up any interest in the same land. This Joseph acknowledged the deed in Boston on July 18, 1684, along with the other signatories, before Governor Simon Bradstreet.

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[23] Daniel R. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 28, 36–37.

[24] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 51–63.

There are a few reasons we might doubt whether this Joseph English is the same as the subject of this thesis—the Joseph who was the grandson of Masconomet and a soldier and pilot in the intercolonial wars. First, no Indian named in the Marblehead deed appears in any of the other deeds in which Joseph English is named. Secondly, the mark with which this Joseph English signed the Marblehead deed is a circle—a mark not used on any of the other deeds he executed. Finally, between the date of execution, 1684, and the period of the other deeds (1700–1701), there is a gap of sixteen years.

Despite these reservations, the evidence suggests that the signer of the Marblehead deed was in fact the Joseph English of the later deeds and frontier exploits. First, although the three English siblings did not sign a deed together until the year 1700, the Beverly town records show that Samuel, Joseph, and Betty had made an *agreement* (perhaps verbal) with that town to release their claim to its land in 1686.[25] (For reasons probably relating to the colony's politics, the payment and execution of the deed were delayed by fourteen years.) So Joseph (Masconomet's grandson) was at an age of competence, and involved in land transactions, only two years after the Marblehead deed was signed. In 1676 Daniel Gookin had estimated the total Christian Indian population of Massachusetts at about 600 individuals, counting men, women and children.[26] Even if Gookin undercounted, or the population rebounded somewhat after King Philip's War, clearly it was a small community where most Natives knew each other. Two Indians calling themselves Joseph English, both with ancestral rights to land on the North Shore,

[25] Perley, *Indian Land Titles*, 88–89.

[26] Gookin, "Doings and Sufferings," 533.

involved in deeds at almost the same time, would be a strange coincidence. Finally, the circle mark on the Marblehead deed is not really problematic. We know that Joseph also used a capital "J" on one occasion (the Beverly deed) before settling on the bow and arrow mark he used for his three final signatures. He would have been quite young at the time of the Marblehead deed—perhaps seventeen or so—and may never have been required to sign a document before; a circle would be a simple and natural figure for someone unaccustomed to the use of a pen.

Positing that Joseph English is also the Joseph Quanophkonatt of the Marblehead deed connects him with another notable family of elite lineage. In his individual release, Joseph English is referred to as "Grandson of the within mentioned old John."[27] "Old John Quanapohkownat of Natick," as the main deed describes him, was the husband of Joane Quanapohkownat, who outlived her husband and also signed the Marblehead deed in 1684. Joane herself was described in the testimony of several Indians as a near kinsman of Sagamore George Wenepawweekin, also called George with No Nose—the acknowledged heir of the lands later occupied by Salem, Marblehead, Lynn, Saugus, and other towns.[28] And George Wenepawweekin was purportedly one of the sons of Nanepashemet, the eminent sagamore who died in 1619, just before the Pilgrims arrived.[29]

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[27] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 59–60.

[28] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 9–10.

[29] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 12; Henry Martyn Dexter, ed., *Mourt's Relation, or Journal of the Plantation at Plymouth* (Boston, 1865), 126–29, Gale Primary Sources.

But if this is indeed the same Joseph English on the Marblehead deed, why did his brother Samuel English and sister Betty not also participate? Though Anglo-Indian deeds in this period provide a wealth of genealogical data, the participants in any one quitclaim deed do not necessarily represent all individuals with a hereditary claim to the land in question. For example, James Rumney Marsh, a kinsman of George Wenepawweekin and relative of Joseph English, signed two deeds for the lands of Lynn in which Joseph English does not appear. Nor does James' son Israel appear in these deeds, although he was obviously James' heir. We can surmise that if those concerned—the Lynn selectmen, colonial officials and the Native grantors—did not think it necessary to have every single relative of the former sagamore present at the deed's execution, there was no need to find Joseph and compel him to make a journey. In short, the non-participation of Samuel and Betty in the Marblehead deed does not constitute proof that the Joseph English in question was not their brother. They might simply have been unavailable. But we should also allow the possibility that Samuel and Betty were not present because, unlike Joseph, they were not heirs of John Quanapohkownat, and thus sagamore George: i.e., they had a different father (or fathers).

So, again, who was Joseph English's father? James Rumney Marsh, also known as James Quannapohit, appears a possible candidate. James was a son of Joane Quanapohkownat, Joseph's grandmother: therefore, if he was not Joseph's father, he must have been his uncle. James' children Israel and Sarah are listed as such in the Marblehead deed, while Joseph is not referred to in this way. But his age—James would have been about thirty-one when Joseph was born—and their use of the same Native name, mean James cannot be ruled out as Joseph's father.

We know of James' brother, Thomas Rumney Marsh, mainly from Daniel Gookin's 1677 chronicle of the Christian Indians. The brothers served together as scouts in the colonial military during King Philip's War. Gookin speaks highly of both men; Thomas in particular he describes as "witty and courageous," narrating an incident in which the scout managed to put a larger group of enemy Indians to flight, despite having lost the use of one hand.[30] The only difficulty is that Gookin also described Thomas as a "stout Indian of 86." If accurate, this would make Thomas about seventy-seven years old in 1667, our estimated birth year for Joseph English. It also makes Thomas far older than his "brother" James, whom we know from deed evidence would have been about thirty-nine in 1675.[31] One possibility is that Gookin misstated Thomas' age. The author also claims in the same work to have met the sagamore Passaconaway when he was "about 120 years old," so might be fairly suspected of exaggerating the ages of Indians.[32] Much of Gookin's information—about Thomas being James' brother, about his accidentally losing a hand and then quickly recovering, about his leading patrols and killing enemy combatants—becomes more credible if Thomas were, say, in his sixties, considerably older than his brother but still vigorous. This would also make him a more plausible father for Joseph. Still, we cannot say for certain whether Thomas Rumney Marsh, James Rumney Marsh, or some unrecorded male relative was the father of Joseph English. We

[30] Gookin, "Doings and Sufferings," 478–79.

[31] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 8

[32] Gookin, "Doings and Sufferings," 463.

only know that James and Thomas were his close kin, who excelled at the same military skills that Joseph would eventually master.

His connection to the Rumney Marsh/Quanopohkownats helps us understand Joseph by looking at his relatives whose lives paralleled his own in important ways. For example, James Rumney Marsh stands out both for his service to the colonial military during King Philip's War and for his extensive involvement in land transactions. James Rumney Marsh may well have served as a mentor and role model for Joseph, adept as he was both at negotiating English society and at the skills of wilderness warfare. We know that James had military experience going back at least to the Mohawk conflict of the 1660s. During King Philip's War, James was a valuable asset for the colonists, and he appears frequently in Gookin's account of the war. Along with another Native scout, Job Kattenanit, he undertook a particularly dangerous mission in the winter of 1675–6, journeying to a camp of the insurgent Indians. James and Job pretended to be disaffected escapees, blending in while gathering as much information as possible about the enemy's situation and plans. After a month James returned to Massachusetts Bay with a trove of intelligence for the colonial authorities. On another occasion, James pursued a group of enemy warriors and managed to liberate an English youth they had captured.[33]

After the war, James Rumney Marsh lived in the vicinity of Natick. He is prominent in the archives, his name appearing on both land grants and petitions to the colonial government.[34] He could sign his name, uncommon among Indians at that time.

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[33] Gookin, "Doings and Sufferings," 477–78, 486–89.

[34] E.g., SC1/series 45X, Massachusetts Archives Collection, 30: 229, Massachusetts Archives, Boston, Massachusetts, familysearch.org (hereafter cited as Massachusetts Archives).

As already mentioned, James was a close friend and heir of Sagamore George Wenepawweekin; after the death of George, James held an interest in George's former lands, which included modern Salem, Marblehead, Lynn, and Saugus. He was present in Boston with Joseph English on July 18, 1684, to acknowledge the Marblehead deed in front of Governor Bradstreet. This older Native man, who was known and respected at the highest level of English society, must have exerted a strong influence on the youth from Ipswich.

In addition to this likely personal influence, Joseph English's family ties provide an example of the intermarriage among elite Native kin groups in this region that David Stewart-Smith notes in his work. As he writes, "the genealogical relationship among the Pennacook, Pawtucket, and Agawam is so intermingled as to be, effectively, one extended family."[35] Joseph was a grandson of Masconomet, sagamore of Agawam, via his mother, and probably a great-grandson of the sagamore Nanapashemet on his father's side (see kinship web in Appendix 2). The union of his father and mother created a new link between these elite families. Some further examples: George Wenepawweekin married Joane Ahawayetsquanie, a daughter of the sagamore of Nahant.[36] Another son of

[35] David Stewart-Smith, "Pennacook-Pawtucket Relations: The Cycles of Family Alliance on the Merrimack River in the 17th Century," *Papers of the Algonquian Conference* 25 (December 1994): 463, https://ojs.library.carleton.ca/index.php/ALGQP/article/view/634.

[36] Perley, "Indian Land Titles," 54–60.

Nanapashemet, the sagamore Montowampate or James, seems to have married a daughter of Passaconaway, the sagamore of Pennacook (Concord, New Hampshire).[37]

Stewart-Smith argues that this intermarriage was a strategic response to the devastation brought by disease and warfare. He writes that "the Merrimack River Indians consolidated their families and resources to survive." [38] While the pattern of alliances among elite families in the seventeenth century is clear, one wonders whether this simply reflected a continuation of traditional practices. The anthropologist Bert Salwen, surveying Native social structures throughout southern New England, notes that "marriages appear to have been arranged along class lines" and mentions the common desire of leaders to "cement relations with neighboring chiefly lineages through marriage."[39] Without a doubt, the forging of kinship relationships between groups was one of the most powerful tools Native people possessed to strengthen and renew their societies. However, the fact that so many children and grandchildren of sagamores chose to intermarry may have been less a specific strategy in the face of numerical decline than an age-old custom that functioned to build alliances.

The problem of names remains vexing. Joseph English was the name our subject used in his relations with English society. Whether this name was given by his parents (as is likely) or one he adopted himself, it is clearly meant to convey a strong identification

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[37] Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan, or New Canaan, Containing an Abstract of New England* (London, 1637), 38. https://search-proquest-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/eebo/docview/2240955070/Sec0001.

[38] Stewart-Smith, "Pennacook-Pawtucket Relations," 463.

[39] Salwen, "Indians of Southern New England," 167.

with Englishness, or even Englishness itself. As Jenny Hale Pulsipher shows in her essay "Playing John White," race in New England was not originally conceived in terms of skin color; rather, cultural characteristics defined a person as English or Indian.[40] This meant there was no reason an Indian might not effectively become English, as the Nipmuc John Wompas did with considerable success, owning a house in Boston and buying and selling land throughout the colony. Pulsipher convincingly argues that these fluid racial boundaries began to harden during King Philip's War, eventually giving way to the strictly defined, color-based model of race of later periods. This hardening, the change from a society where an Indian might become English to one where an Indian was an Indian for life, was well underway during Joseph's life. Whether or not he ever hoped to cross the divide and be accepted as an Englishman, the name he used reflects a need to clearly signal his allegiance in light of growing racial hostility.

Quanophkonatt, the surname he used on the Marblehead deed, is apparently an Algonquian name. It was also used as a surname by both James and Thomas Quannapohit, as well as by "Old John" Quanapohkownat and his wife Joane. During this period, Kathleen Bragdon writes, "the naming histories of Natick and Martha's Vineyard Indian families took several paths. The most common of these was the adoption of the

[40] Jenny Hale Pulsipher, "Playing John White: John Wompas and Racial Identity in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World," inn *Native Acts: Indian Performance, 1603–1832,* ed. Joshua David Bellin and Laura L. Mielke (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 195–220, Project MUSE.

single native name as the surname."[41] So perhaps Quanapohkownat was originally the single Native name of "old John of Natick," which was taken as a hereditary surname by his children and grandchildren.

Still, the only instance in which Joseph used this name is the Marblehead release, when he was probably in his teens, in a context where the sole reason for his presence was his relation to John and Joane Quanapohkownat. In every other primary source—deeds, government papers, John Pike's journal, a petition by his kinsman John Umpee—he is known only as Joseph English. For the purposes of this thesis I have chosen to use that name, which at least has the virtue of being one he certainly used throughout his life. One would not want to undervalue an indigenous name just because it is outnumbered in the sources by an English one, yet to call him Joseph Quanophkonatt on the basis of one occurrence in a deed would be too conjectural. We simply do not know how other Native people referred to Joseph.

As a final point, an address printed in the collections of the Manchester Historic Association in 1908, discussing a military expedition in which Joseph acted as scout, refers to "Joe English, the friendly Agawam, whose early name had been Merruwacomet, meaning the first to reach the meeting place."[42] The name Merruwacomet has been repeated in various media as the "real" name of Joseph English, but I cannot find any

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[41] Kathleen Joan Bragdon, "'Another Tongue Brought In:' An Ethnohistorical Study of Native Writings in Massachusett," PhD diss., Brown University, 1981, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing (8209031).

[42] George Waldo Browne, "The Snow-Shoe Scouts," in *Manchester Historic Association Collections*, vol. 4, part 1 (Manchester, NH: Manchester Historic Association, 1908), 16, Google Books.

primary evidence for its use; the address, by George Waldo Browne, contains no citations and mixes fact with a generous measure of historical fiction.[43]

[43] E.g., John Milne, “Lasting Legacies: Hill's Function Today Mirrors Yesterday,” *Boston Globe*, June 14, 1987, Proquest Historical Newspapers.

Chapter II.

King William's War, Captivity and Escape

The late 1680s and 1690s proved tumultuous years in New England. Charles II had long felt that his American colonies exercised too much independence, and in 1684 he revoked the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Royal administrators imposed a new structure consolidating all the colonies of the Northeast into one jurisdiction, the Dominion of New England, ruled by a crown-appointed governor with broad powers. From 1686 to 1689 this position was held by Sir Edmund Andros, a staunch royalist and ally of the Stuarts. One of the many reforms Andros tried to put into place during his time in office was the overturning of the colonies' system of land tenure. Holding that all lands in New England were the king's to dispose of, Andros rejected the right of towns to grant land to individuals. Since most land titles in Massachusetts had been created in this way, Andros' stance caused widespread anxiety. The town of Beverly, in seeking to secure a deed to its lands from Joseph, Samuel and Betty English, was probably motivated by fear of losing them under the coming royal governorship.[44]

In addition to a new regime, the late 1680s brought renewed hostilities with the Wabanaki. From 1675 to 1678, one theater of King Philip's War had unfolded in Maine

[44] John Frederick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 260–67. Project MUSE.

and New Hampshire, as Wabanaki war parties attacked settlers and burned villages and homesteads along the coast. English encroachment on lands they considered their own motivated them. Unlike the Wampanoags and Nipmucs to the south, the Wabanaki were largely successful in driving back the English at that time. Sustained Wabanaki pressure forced colonial officials to sign a treaty with the eastern sagamores in 1678. But the peace negotiated in the treaty never really took hold: many settlers ignored its provisions, returning to their old habit of treating nearby Natives with contempt. English settlements sprouted in border areas, while cattle ruined Wabanaki corn fields, and colonists took fish before they could reach Native fishing grounds. Jenny Hale Pulsipher astutely observes that "as it became increasingly clear that English settlers refused to abide by treaty promises, the Indians came to see war as a more promising approach than diplomacy."[45] By 1688, skirmishes were again flaring along the frontier.

In the spring of 1689, word arrived in New England that James II had been forced to flee England, and that the throne was now occupied by the Protestant William of Orange in tandem with his wife, Mary. The colonists rose swiftly to rid themselves of the hated Andros; in a bloodless revolt, they imprisoned the royal governor, and a committee of prominent citizens took control of the government. The new leaders recalled officers and soldiers seen as partisans of Andros from their posts, and in the confusion the

[45] Jenny Hale Pulsipher, "'Dark Cloud Rising from the East': Indian Sovereignty and the Coming of King William's War in New England," *New England Quarterly* 80, no.4 (December 2007): 597, http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/10.1162/tneq.2007.80.4.588.

Wabanaki saw an opportunity to strike.[46] On the night of June 27, 1689, a party of Wabanaki and Pennacook warriors assaulted the town of Dover, New Hampshire, killing twenty-three people, taking twenty-nine captives and setting fire to a number of buildings.[47] Massachusetts leaders, already inclined to view the Wabanaki with suspicion, strengthened fortifications, levied soldiers and prepared for a serious conflict.

King William's War, as the colonists called it, would drag on for almost ten years. To add fuel to the Anglo-Native struggle, the territorial ambitions of Louis XIV in Europe precipitated war between England and France. The French colonists in Canada and Acadia, while vastly outnumbered by the New Englanders, shrewdly courted the Wabanaki and encouraged their attacks. The success of Jesuit priests in spreading Catholicism among many Wabanakis gave the French an edge in their diplomacy with the Natives; more broadly, as Kenneth Morrison argues, the French generally treated the indigenous people with greater respect than the English.[48] In any case, English hostility gave the Wabanaki little choice but to accept assistance from the French. Arms and supplies flowed from Canada to Wabanaki villages, and parties of Natives led by French officers conducted attacks on New England frontier towns. The period was one of great suffering for both sides. Apart from the many hundreds killed or taken prisoner to

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[46] Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast: The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenaki-Euramerican Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 117, ACLS Humanities E-Book.

[47] Nathaniel Bouton, ed. *Provincial Papers: Documents and Records Relating to the Province of New-Hampshire, from the Earliest Period of its Settlement,* vol. 2 (Manchester, NH: 1868), 50, Gale Primary Sources.

[48] Morrison, *Embattled Northeast,* 118.

Canada, hunger and hardship prevailed throughout New England. The Wabanaki, despite French assistance, often lived on the verge of starvation.

Although the 1697 Peace of Ryswick ended hostilities between France and England, fighting between the New Englanders and Wabanaki lingered through 1698. On Sunday, June 12 of that year, probably after attending services at their local meetinghouse, members of the Massachusetts Governor's Council convened at the Boston home of Samuel Sewall to discuss some disturbing news. Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton was present, as well as such prominent magistrates as Wait Winthrop. The records of the meeting state:

> Intelligence [has been] received that an Indian called Jo English formerly employed in his Maj'tys service against the Indian Enemy and Rebels and wounded in the said service, and taken prisoner about twelve Months since, is lately come in to Deerfield who relates that he came from Canada about five weeks since in company of a party of Indians with some French joined, to the number of near seventy in the whole (from whom he made his escape) and that sixteen of them are designed for Deerfield, and the remainder to assault the frontiers lying upon Merrimack.[49]

This is the first direct reference to Joseph English since the 1684 Marblehead deed. We learn that he has been employed in the provincial military, that about one year prior he was wounded and taken prisoner to Canada, and that he finally escaped.

From the time of King Philip's War well into the eighteenth century, Native men played a crucial part in New England's military. Christian Indians like Joseph, as well as more independent groups such as the Mohegans of Connecticut, brought their indispensable skill in wilderness warfare to the colonies' defense. The English found that

[49] Council minutes, 12 June 1698, GC3/series 327, Executive Records of the Governor's Council, 2:538–39, Massachusetts Archives.

no troops could fight Indians as efficiently as other Indians. From the point of view of the Native men who enlisted, military service with the colonies offered a number of benefits. Soldiering was a dependable, if modest, source of income, and it provided the opportunity to play a role traditional for males in Algonquian culture.[50] It also functioned as proof of loyalty—a "demonstration of their fidelity," in a phrase Daniel Gookin often uses with regard to Praying Indian soldiers.[51] These visible proofs of allegiance were important because of the strong negative attitudes so many English settlers held towards all Indians.

In his information for the Council, Joseph claimed that a mixed French and Indian war party was threatening the colony with imminent attack. Parties such as these had wreaked havoc in frontier towns for a decade, often killing or carrying away dozens of residents. The records continue:

> Advised, that there forthwith be a Levy made of one hundred and thirty Souldiers in two Companys, one whereof to be posted on the frontiers around Chelmsford, Groton and Lancaster, and the other Company to be imployed on the Frontiers about Andover, Haverhill and Aimsbury.[52]

The recommendation for an immediate call-up of two companies shows that the Council took Joseph's news seriously. The Council also advised sending a letter to the Earl of Bellomont, who held the office of Governor although he was in New York at the time, informing him of these ominous developments.

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[50] Richard R. Johnson, "The Search for a Usable Indian: An Aspect of the Defense of Colonial New England," *The Journal of American History* 64, no. 3 (1977): 644–51, JSTOR.

[51] Gookin, *Doings and Sufferings*, 465, 486.

[52] Records of the Council, 2:538–39.

A letter sent the previous year by the Massachusetts Council to the Governor and Council of Connecticut appears to shed light on the circumstances of Joseph's capture. It is dated May 31, 1697, and in it the Massachusetts leaders urgently request reinforcements from their neighbor colony, stressing the dangerous situation on the frontier. In particular, they cite an encounter on the upper Merrimack:

> We had Intelligence last weeke that Capt John the Indian (lately escaped out of the hands of the French and Indians) with another briske Indian and an Englishman in Company being upon discovery up Merrimack River were surprized by the Enemy, Capt John killed upon the spot, the Englishman and the other Indian (who was sorely wounded) taken & carried to Winipesiockett, from whence the Englishman hath since made his Escape.[53]

When this information is compared with the Council records from the following year, it appears very likely that the "briske Indian" mentioned was Joseph English. The letter's date is just over a year prior to the Council meeting: the Council records state that Joseph had been taken prisoner "about twelve Months since." The detail of the Indian' being "sorely wounded" also agrees with what Joseph told the Council. Finally, the circumstances of the incident were a "discovery" on the Merrimack, exactly the territory that we know from later records Joseph frequented as a scout. Given all this, it is not surprising that the Council took Joseph at his word in 1698: they already knew him and had heard about his capture and wounding.

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[53] 2:252, Massachusetts Archives. Brian D. Carroll asserts in "From Warrior to Soldier" that the Captain John mentioned in this letter was John Umpee, Joseph's kinsman who participated in deeds with Joseph and Samuel English. But this is impossible, since in this 1697 letter Captain John is said to have been "killed upon the spot," while John Umpee's name and mark are on deeds from 1700 and 1701, in addition to his probably authoring a petition on behalf of Joseph's widow in 1706 (under the name John English).

On this occasion Joseph seems to have been part of a three-man scouting unit, along with Captain John and the unnamed Englishman. The location of their capture was "up Merrimack River": this meant the Merrimack above the village of Dunstable, the outermost English settlement at this time. It was the traditional territory of the Pennacook Indians (the junction of the Merrimack and Contoocook Rivers near present-day Concord, New Hampshire, is the site most strongly associated with that people). Unlike Joseph English and presumably Captain John, the Pennacooks were not what the settlers considered "friend Indians"—they lived beyond the frontier, generally did not profess Christian faith, and were not under the direct authority of the province, although they had signed documents pledging "submission" in the past. The Pennacooks played a complex role in King William's War, often professing friendship for the English, while sometimes participating in attacks such as the one on Dover in 1689.

The mission Joseph and his companions were engaged in was of the kind Steven C. Eames describes as an "intelligence-gathering probe," the goal of which would have been to look for "signs of large Indian parties on the move, evidence of planting activities, and the location of fishing and hunting areas."[54] Smoke from campfires, or bark removed from trees to construct wigwams, would have been among such signs. Since it was summer, they may either have been traveling in canoes or on foot. The presence of an Englishman with the two Native scouts may indicate a supervisory role, or an extra measure of caution on the part of military commanders: because of the suspect

[54] Steven C. Eames, *Rustic Warriors: Warfare and the Provincial Soldier on the New England Frontier, 1689–1748* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 73, Project MUSE.

allegiance of even "friend Indians" in New England, a white soldier's participation would make any reports more credible.

The upper Merrimack was a dangerous place for the English and their friends in 1697. Only two months prior, a large Wabanaki war party had attacked the town of Haverhill, killing twenty-seven residents and taking away thirteen as captives, and the group had camped at the Merrimack and Contoocook junction on their way towards Canada.[55] Somehow, Joseph and his companions fell into an ambush, in which Captain John was killed and Joseph seriously wounded. The two surviving scouts were taken prisoner and transported to "Winipesiockett," or Lake Winipesaukee, which was a frequent gathering point for French-allied Natives in their journeys to and from Canada. There the Englishman managed to escape and flee to safety, but Joseph in his disabled condition remained at the mercy of his captors.

We can only speculate about what happened during Joseph's time in captivity. The Native warriors who captured him may have been Wabanaki, Pennacooks, or perhaps Iroquois from the Canadian mission towns. They could have harbored bitterness towards Indians like Joseph who served with the English, viewing them as traitors. Whatever their feelings towards their prisoner, they would have known that he was valuable: throughout the French and Indian Wars an active market for captives existed. Once in Canada, they might be purchased by the French government, ransomed back to family members in New England, or granted to a French-allied Native community. The

[55] Ten of these warriors, however, were then slain by one of their prisoners, Hannah Duston. Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum: An History of Remarkable Occurrences, in the Long War, which New-England hath had with the Indian Salvages From the Year 1688, to the Year 1698* (Boston, 1699), 138–43, Proquest, Early English Books Online.

mission village of St. Francis (Odanak) near Three Rivers, founded by Wabanaki exiles, was a common destination for New England prisoners.

Brian D. Carroll, discussing Native prisoners taken to Canada, highlights the experiences of Peter Dogamus, a soldier from Yarmouth captured in Nova Scotia in 1745. Carroll writes that

> Dogamus and the other prisoners travelled with their captors more than five hundred miles on foot and by canoe . . . upon reaching Quebec the captured Native American soldiers were stripped and re-adorned in the clothing and hairstyles of their respective Abenaki and Huron captors and dispersed into different Indian communities around Montreal and Quebec. For the next five years Dogamus probably resided in a Huron village near Montreal.[56]

While Dogamus's captivity occurred almost fifty years after that of Joseph English, the practice of adopting prisoners into Native communities was common throughout the colonial period. Here, the identity of Joseph's captors would have made a difference. If they were Wabanaki, with a language and culture closely related to that of the area where Joseph grew up, probably his introduction into the community would have been relatively easy. But if they were Iroquois, for example, speaking an entirely different language and with distinct cultural ways, he may have been treated more harshly, perhaps being assigned a position not much different from slavery.

However Joseph spent that year of captivity, we know that in May of 1698 he was taken along with a war party bound for the New England frontier. Why bring along a captive Massachusetts Indian, whose loyalty would be suspect, on a raid directed at those parts? Joseph's captors likely saw the same value in him that New England's military did:

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[56] Brian D. Carroll, "From Warrior to Soldier: New England Indians in the Colonial Military, 1675–1763," PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 2009, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing (3393034), 391–92.

his thorough knowledge of the area. For raiders planning an attack on frontier towns, nothing could be more useful than an informant with intimate knowledge of the region's geography and defenses—assuming he could be trusted. Or perhaps carrying Joseph along on an offensive aimed at his native region was a way of testing his allegiance, of determining how far he had truly been assimilated into their culture. If that seems dangerous, we should consider that Joseph may have been able to skillfully conceal his intentions. Like his kinsman James Rumney Marsh during his 1675 spying mission, he might have told a convincing story about being forced into military service by the English, whom he really despised.

French-Native raiding parties bound for New England typically traveled down Lake Champlain before crossing the Green Mountains to the Connecticut River. Somewhere along the route, Joseph managed to evade his captors and make his way to Deerfield, the northernmost English settlement in the Connecticut Valley. According to the Council records, the war party from which Joseph escaped consisted of "Indians with some French joyned, to the number of near seventy in the whole."[57] The presence of Frenchmen in this group would have been particularly interesting to the Massachusetts leaders, because by June of 1698 England and France were officially at peace. In fact, two weeks before the Council received Joseph's information, an English delegation led by Johannes Schuyler of Albany had arrived in Canada to negotiate the exchange of prisoners with the French governor, the comte de Frontenac.[58]

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[57] Council Records, 2:538.

[58] E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* vol. 4 (Albany, 1854), 347–51. Hathitrust.

It is not clear from the records when Frontenac learned about the Peace of Ryswick. While in Montreal, Schuyler received information about a war party that had recently departed for New England, but this party had supposedly originated in Acadia, so probably was not the one that took Joseph English along. When Schuyler mentioned this to Frontenac, he "excused the matter saying, he had sent orders to the contrary to Acadia last winter, but that the messenger had perhaps failed."[59] A little confusion probably served the French Governor's interests, since the war parties he had sent out over the preceding decade had been quite successful in weakening the English colonies. Perhaps he approved the late expeditions in full knowledge of the European peace, calculating that one or two more sharp blows against the English would increase his leverage in the coming negotiations. Whether due to intentional deception or miscommunication on the part of the French, the key fact that the Massachusetts Council learned from Joseph—that mixed French/Native war parties were still active on the fringes of the Province—underlines how fragile the peace was at this moment.

The Council reacted by strengthening defenses. Two new companies of soldiers were levied and posted on the Merrimack frontier. Perhaps this strategy successfully deterred the raiders, because no significant attack arrived on the Merrimack after June 1698 (until the next war, that is). Maybe the party from which Joseph escaped received orders from Canada to hold back. As Eames rightly observes, "the difficulty in appraising defensive tactics involving guerrilla-style warfare is that when the tactics are successful,

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[59] O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 4:350.

nothing happens . . . we can never know how many lives were saved or how many towns escaped destruction by diligent patrols or alert garrisons that discouraged Indian war parties."[60] The fact that no assault came to the Merrimack towns practically makes the Council's tactic of reinforcement a success. There was, however, an attack in July outside the town of Hatfield, just south of Deerfield, which resulted in the killing of three colonists.[61] Only four Native warriors were observed, but it is possible they were from the division of the war party which Joseph had said intended to target Deerfield.

Two days after the meeting at which the Council discussed Joseph's information, the Massachusetts House of Representatives passed the following resolution:

> Resolved . . . that Joseph English an Indian escapeing from French Captivity makeing his way home Giveing intelligence of ye Motions of the Enemy with intent to doe Mischief upon ye Frontiers at this tyme that there be Six pounds drawn out of the Publique treasurie & put into ye hands of Majr James Converse & Capt Jerathmell Bowers to be by them improved for to Suply sd Indian & his wife & children with Cloathing as a Recompence for his good Service.[62]

The information in this document helps considerably to fill in our picture of Joseph's life.

The names of Joseph's wife and children, unfortunately, are not recorded in any source. Most likely his wife was also a Native person, since marriages between whites and Natives were almost unknown in Massachusetts at this time. Taking account of Joseph's elite genealogy and the tendency for Native leadership families to intermarry

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[60] Eames, *Rustic Warriors*, 13.

[61] Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, 150–53.

[62] 30:437a, Massachusetts Archives.

discussed in Chapter I, we can speculate that she may have had a similar notable background. A woman from the coastal area where Joseph grew up, or from the heterogeneous community of Natick, or from the "praying town" of Wamesit, with blood ties to a sachem or sagamore, would be a likely candidate. On the other hand, the dwindling Native population may have made it more difficult to find such a match.

In Northeastern Native societies, along with cooking, the production of clothing, and child-rearing, women traditionally took responsibility for planting and tending crops. By the 1680s, however, Natives in the Chelmsford area had lost their land base; women were encouraged by the English to pursue "Household business" such as spinning and weaving. Many adjusted to loss of their agricultural duties by taking up these activities, which, along with indigenous crafts like basket-making, could generate needed income.[63] Because the New England colonies were chronically at war during this period, it is likely that Joseph was frequently away from home for extended periods of scouting or fighting. His wife likely relied on relatives in her neighborhood and other women whose husbands were away for mutual support and community.

The resolution mentions two officers, Major James Converse and Captain Jerathmel Bowers, who were to "improve," or use, the six-pound allowance to procure clothing for Joseph and his family. Converse was one of the province's foremost military leaders during King William's War. Interestingly, he had a reputation for advocating on

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[63] Jean O'Brien, "'Divorced from the Land': Resistance and Survival of Indian Women in Eighteenth-Century New England," in *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England,* Colin Calloway, ed. (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997), Hathitrust.

behalf of soldiers whose sacrifices had left them in financial need.[64] Perhaps it was on his initiative that the House granted the reward to Joseph. The mention of Bowers is pertinent as well, because it hints at where Joseph and his family may have been living at the time. Bowers lived in Chelmsford, and in 1676 had been paid by the colonial government "for guarding the Wamesit Indians."[65] Wamesit, located on the Merrimack River close to Chelmsford, was one of the praying towns where Christian Indians lived and practiced their faith. During King Philip's War, the Wamesits had been threatened both by non-Christian Natives and by their English neighbors, which explains the need for them to be guarded.

Several other pieces of evidence strengthen the case for Joseph English living in the Chelmsford/Dunstable area. In 1686, a group of Native people, including two daughters and three grandsons of George Wenapaweekin, signed a quitclaim deed for the town of Salem. Their residence was listed as "Waymessick alias Chelmsford."[66] These were Joseph English's cousins. Moses Parker, one of the attorneys of Samuel English who in 1700 testified to his lineage, was a resident of Chelmsford, as was Samuel himself, according to a 1701 deed. [67] In the winter of 1704, Joseph English would serve as pilot for a raiding party made up of men from Chelmsford, Dunstable and Groton.[68]

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[64] Eames, *Rustic Warriors,* 163.

[65] 30:191, Massachusetts Archives.

[66] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 78.

[67] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 45, 127.

[68] 5:79–80, Massachusetts Archives.

And Joseph would finally be killed by enemy warriors "near Dunstable," in 1706.[69] In sum, available evidence strongly suggests that Joseph resided in Chelmsford, Dunstable, or very close by.

A long-standing Native association existed with the area around Chelmsford. Pawtucket Falls, on the Merrimack at the site of present-day Lowell, had been an important fishing grounds and meeting place for Native people from throughout the region: Gookin describes it as an "ancient and capital seat of Indians."[70] By 1647 the missionary John Eliot had begun traveling there to spread the gospel, and in 1653, as white settlers were arriving to establish Chelmsford, Eliot arranged for a tract of land on the neck between the Merrimack and Concord Rivers to be set aside for the use of the resident Indians. This reservation became the praying town of Wamesit.[71] The praying towns, as conceived by the colonial government, existed both to encourage Natives to live more like the English, and to help keep them under control and observation.

The experience of the Wamesits during King Philip's War is critical to an understanding of relations between white settlers and "friend Indians" in Massachusetts in the late seventeenth century. When fighting erupted in 1675, the Christian Natives at Wamesit became the target of intense suspicion from the settlers at Chelmsford. On two separate occasions that fall, fires were set on the property of James Richardson of

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[69] *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, vol. 3 (Concord: 1832), 57, Gale Primary Sources.

[70] Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England. . . Before the English Planted There* (Boston, 1792), 76, Proquest: Alexander Street.

[71] Wilson Waters, *History of Chelmsford, Massachusetts* (Lowell: Chelmsford, 1917), 78, Google Books.

Chelmsford. According to Gookin, the blazes were later learned to have been started by enemy Natives, yet both were immediately laid at the door of the Wamesits. After the first fire, the adult men of Wamesit were taken to Boston for questioning. As a result, three Indians considered especially suspect were sentenced to be sold out of the colony as slaves. As the men were marched back to Wamesit, another was shot dead by a Woburn militiaman, in direct contravention of orders to let them pass in safety. After the second incident of arson, a group of armed men from Chelmsford went to the wigwams of the Wamesits and opened fire, wounding five and slaying a boy of twelve. Most of the Wamesit Natives fled into the woods after this attack, yet hunger and cold forced them to return to their homes later that winter. In a culminating atrocity in February, 1676, unknown colonists set fire to a wigwam containing "six or seven aged persons, blind and lame," killing them all. No English person was convicted in any of these deaths.[72]

Despite the hostility of local settlers, the colonial authorities viewed the praying towns as an effective means of supervision, and after King Philip's War they continued to encourage Natives to reside at Wamesit. The Massachusetts legislature passed orders in 1677 and again in 1681 requiring all Indians within the jurisdiction to live either with an English household as servants, or in one of the praying towns, where they would be "under government."[73] We know, as discussed earlier, that Masconomet's daughter, her children, and other Natives were still living in Ipswich in 1683, which was not a praying town. Perhaps they were working as servants for the English, and therefore covered under

[72] Gookin, *Doings and Sufferings*, 471–75, 482–85, 491–92.

[73] Shurtleff, *Records of the Governor and Company*, 5:136, 327–28.

the law, or perhaps the orders were not thoroughly enforced. Still, when considering why Joseph English and his relatives from the North Shore relocated to the Chelmsford area, we need to take into account that "friend Indians" were not free to come and go as they pleased. Wamesit, until its dissolution in 1686, was one of the few locations in Massachusetts where Native people could live with official approval.

As noted, at least five of Joseph's relatives lived in Wamesit in 1686, and perhaps continued to live there after the land passed out of Native hands. They may have stayed on at the neck of land between the Merrimack and Concord rivers, where the praying town had been located. During King William's War from 1689 to 1698, Chelmsford was continually under threat from French and Native forces, the citizens largely confined to garrison houses. Records show that in July 1689, "the Wamesit Indians" were relocated from their homes to the property of Captain Noah Wiswall, possibly in present-day Newton, for supervision. The records do not state how long they were kept there, but Captain Wiswall died the following year.[74] If these Indians were permitted to return to Chelmsford, they would still have been restricted to specific locations. Apart from Concord Neck, an island in the Merrimack close to Chelmsford village, called Wicosucke, also had a history as a Native residence.[75] Whenever Joseph English was not out on a scouting mission or a hunting trip, he probably joined his family and other

[74] 30:322, 322a, 322b, Massachusetts Archives. Carroll (*From Warrior to Soldier*, 137) says that Wiswall's property, where the Wamesit Indians were taken, was in Groton; but the relevant records do not show this. We do know that in 1678 Wiswall lived in "Cambridge village," now Newton. See 112:249, Massachusetts Archives.

[75] Waters, *History of Chelmsford*, 83.

Native people at one of these locations, under the close watch of colonial military officers.

Overall, colonial pressure played a larger role in the inland movement of North Shore Natives like Joseph English than their own preferences. While the laws dictating that Natives within the colony live in specified locations may not have been strictly enforced, both high officials and common settlers shared a strong desire for "friend Indians" to be closely supervised. Certainly Joseph would have been influenced by the fact that many of his kin lived in the Chelmsford area, but that situation was itself the result of their dispossession of their hereditary coastal lands. The frontier around Dunstable/Chelmsford was a convenient place for a skilled pilot and soldier to earn a living, but mainly because the English were at war with the French and Wabanaki. Joseph did not lack agency—he had alternative options, such as to work as a servant or laborer in an English town, or move to Natick, which remained a Native Christian community for decades after. But his range of choices was tightly limited by colonial power.

Chapter III.

The Deeds of 1700–1701

Between October 1700 and October 1701, members of the English family executed eleven deeds releasing their hereditary rights in lands then occupied by certain towns of Essex County. Samuel English, Joseph's older brother, played the leading role in these transactions. During the fall and winter of 1700–1701, Samuel visited Beverly, Manchester, Wenham, Newbury, Gloucester, Boxford, Rowley, Bradford, and Topsfield, declaring himself to be an heir of Masconomet and demanding payment for the land on which the towns stood. Sometimes he went with his relatives, while at other times he acted alone. Usually, though not always, he was accompanied by two white men from the Chelmsford area who acted as his attorneys. Because these deeds were signed within a compact window of time, shared a similar process, and involved mostly the same participants, it makes sense to examine them as a group.[76]

Of the eleven deeds signed by Samuel and his kin in 1700–1701, none of the original instruments is known to survive today. (This contrasts with other Essex County deeds, such the Marblehead deed signed by Joseph English in 1684, of which the original has been preserved.) Our knowledge of their contents comes from transcripts made at county courthouses or inscribed in town record books. These copies, when read together with related material in the town records, make up a body of evidence that provides

[76] Perley, *Indian Land Titles*, especially 88–134.

insight into Joseph English and his family and illustrates the process of land transfer from Natives to colonists. It also delineates an unusual case of Massachusetts Indians employing the English legal system for their own advantage.

Several members of this extended family had previous experience with land transactions. Masconomet himself executed two deeds in the 1630s relinquishing his claim to the lands that became Ipswich. In 1673, Thomas Tyler, whom witnesses attested to be a son of Masconomet, sold Misery Island, off Beverly, to an English buyer.[77] (Tyler lived in Martha's Vineyard at the time, so he may have removed from the mainland before his nephews Samuel and Joseph were born.) We saw in an earlier chapter how anxiety over land titles caused by the threat to the colony's charter in the 1680s spurred towns like Marblehead, Salem and Lynn to seek deeds of quitclaim from heirs of Sagamore George Wenapaweekin, of whom Joseph English was one.

The town of Beverly also attempted to secure an Indian deed during the 1680s, but for reasons not clear, there was a delay of fourteen years between the original agreement and the date the transaction was actually concluded. The town records detail the matter:

> At a meeting of ye Selectmen on ye 11th day of . . . October, 1700, Cornet Joseph Herrick Town Treasurer did then deliver unto Samuel English Indian. . . the sum of six pounds six shillings & eight pence due to the sd Samll Indian and his Brother Joseph and their sister as Heirs to their Grandfather John Alias massquanomenett sagamore of Aggawom which . . . is full satisfaction for the Indian title, of all the lands within said Township, the which sum was paid by order of the Selectmen, according to agreement made with said Indians on the 13th day of October, 1686.[78]

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[77] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 25–30, 85–87.

[78] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 88–89.

The date given for the original agreement—October 13th, 1686—is only two days after the neighboring town of Salem signed a deed with ten heirs of George Wenepaweekin. No doubt the Beverly townspeople were motivated by the same concerns that caused other towns to seek Indian quitclaims for their land, primarily the loss of the charter and imminent arrival of the Royalist governor Andros. Beverly fell within the former territory of Masconomet, not that of George Wenepaweekin, and so the selectmen made their agreement with Samuel, Joseph, and their sister Betty.

Thus the Beverly deed, the first of the 1700–1701 group involving the English family, constituted the fulfillment of an agreement made fourteen years prior. Why was payment not made, and the deed not signed, in 1686? Perhaps the townspeople balked at paying the fee their representatives had agreed to, or perhaps they calculated that Native signatures would not have much value in the eyes of the Andros regime (a supposition that would have been correct). By 1689 King William's War had broken out, and for the next decade worries over land titles were overshadowed by more urgent matters of violence and economic hardship. The records do not make clear whether the eventual signing of the deed in 1700 was due to renewed interest on the part of Beverly, or to the prompting of Samuel English and his siblings. However, the fact that the Natives brought two white attorneys with them to the deed's execution, as well as the energy and persistence with which Samuel pursued these land transactions in the subsequent year, indicates that the initiative to finalize the fourteen-year-old agreement may well have been his.

The day after the Beverly town treasurer made the payment, two Nashoba Indians, John Thomas and James Speen, appeared in Salem before justices of the peace and

testified that Samuel, Joseph, and Betty were "True & Rightfull & Only surviving heirs" of Masconomet. The deed was drawn up and executed the same day. In it, the sagamore's heirs "give grant bargain sell alien assign Set over & Confirme" all their interest in the town's land to "ye Select men of Beverly . . . in behalf of ye Inhabitants of sd Town their heirs & assignes For Ever." Samuel, Joseph, Betty, Betty's husband Jeremiah Wauches, and Samuel's wife Susannah each signed the document with a distinctive mark—Samuel a snake, Joseph a capital J. Although his mark indicates that Joseph was present, his name does not appear with the others as having acknowledged the deed before Judge Hathorne. In addition, although Joseph was married at this time, he is the only one of the heirs whose spouse did not sign the deed. This is one of several cases in the 1700–1701 proceedings in which Joseph appears to be somewhat marginalized.[79]

After Beverly, the next two deeds were signed on December 19 with the towns of Manchester and Wenham. These deeds name Samuel, Joseph, and John Umpee as grantors; that is, Betty has been replaced by John Umpee as one of the "Grand Children" of Masconomet. Betty never again appears in the sources, which seems to imply that she had died since October, and John Umpee inherited her claim. But whether he was another brother, a husband, or something else, the evidence does not make clear. Also, Joseph English, though named in the text, did not appear in person or sign either of these deeds. As Sidney Perley observes, "In this and several other recorded instances it seems difficult

[79] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 89–91.

to find Samuel and Joseph English together." In fact, after the Beverly deed, Samuel and Joseph never again appear at the same time and location.[80]

In January, Samuel English signed deeds with four towns—Newbury, Gloucester, Boxford, and Rowley—in which he is the sole grantor named. Neither Joseph nor John Umpee is mentioned, and Samuel is described simply as Masconomet's rightful heir and grandson. Foster and Parker, however, attended these transactions and acted as witnesses. Then, in March, Samuel executed a deed with the town of Bradford that named Joseph English and John Umpee as co-grantors, but excluded a three-hundred acre parcel known as the Phillips Farm. A few days later, Samuel signed a second deed, alone, conveying the Phillips Farm to two private individuals from Rowley for eighteen pounds, the highest amount paid for any of these deeds. He did so without the knowledge of Foster, who later made a deposition stating that Samuel had no right to convey land separately, since he had committed power of attorney in the matter to Foster and Moses Parker.[81]

After the matter of the two Bradford deeds, Samuel went on to sign one more deed by himself, in Topsfield. With that, all the towns in Masconomet's former territory had acquired a deed. In July, Joseph English signed the main Bradford deed in Haverhill. This time, he made the mark of a drawn bow and arrow. At the same time, Joseph signed a receipt for payment of the amount named in the deed—six pounds and ten shillings—again using the bow and arrow mark. John Umpee also came individually to sign the Bradford deed, and in October John and Joseph appeared in Boxford together to sign a

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[80] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 93–100.

[81] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 130.

separate deed for the town's land, though the townspeople had already acquired one from Samuel. Although the amount named as a consideration in the deed was the same specified in the first deed, nine pounds, the town records indicate that payment that day consisted only of "two Shillings and sixpence and Rum and vittels Enough."[82]

A distinct trend appears in these transactions of Samuel English selling land more and more on his own. Was he excluding his kinsmen and co-heirs from proceeds that should have been shared equally? The answer to this question partly depends on the more general one: must every heir to a tract of land execute a quitclaim in order to transfer the Native title, or may one execute it on behalf of all? The 1700–1701 deeds treat this matter unevenly. Foster and Parker, as attorneys for the Indians, presumably bore responsibility for ensuring that the transactions were carried out according to proper legal procedures, but the two men witnessed deeds in which Samuel was the only grantor named, as well as those which named all three heirs. In addition, the language of some of the former deeds suggests that Samuel was acting on behalf of all the heirs rather than just himself: for example, the initial Boxford deed states that Samuel accepts payment "in full of all Rights of Indian Claimes & Titles whatsoever." Someone must have objected to this, however, because Foster later appeared with Joseph English and John Umpee to sign a second deed.

A logical inconsistency exists between Samuel, Joseph and John Umpee all being "true and rightful heirs" of Masconomet, as some of the deeds state, and Samuel alone having authority to release "all . . . Indian Claimes & Titles whatsoever." We have no

[82] Perley, *Indian Land Titles,* 117.

evidence that Joseph or John ever agreed to delegate their claims to Samuel. Stuart Banner, who has studied Native land transfer throughout the North American colonies, writes that "from the purchaser's perspective, negotiating with every Indian with use rights in a particular parcel was time-consuming and expensive. Without an intimate knowledge of the local residents and their culture, a purchaser could never be sure if he had obtained the consent of everyone with standing to object, or whether other tribe members with rights in the parcel might surface later to demand compensation. English purchasers tended to adopt shortcuts."[83] What was true of white purchasers probably was also true of white attorneys. Foster and Parker, either from carelessness or pecuniary motives, did not apply a consistent standard in the deeds they negotiated for the English family. We do not know how they were compensated, but it seems possible that dealing with Samuel alone might have resulted in higher earnings for the two white men than representing all the heirs.

Whatever the reason, Samuel English alone appears to have collected most of the payments for the 1700–1701 deeds, which add up to about seventy-five pounds in total. Given that a (white) private in the provincial military at that time earned six shillings a week, seventy-five pounds equals roughly five times the amount a soldier might make in a year of active service.[84] Unfortunately, since we have no more data on Samuel English beyond these deeds, we have no evidence of how he used this money, or whether he

[83] Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), Hathitrust.

[84] 70:652, Massachusetts Archives.

shared it with his kin, or the other Native people around Chelmsford. Some of them, too, must have been descendants of the indigenous people of Agawam and its environs.

The need for money no doubt constituted an important motive for Samuel and his relatives in executing these deeds. Although some sustenance may still have been available through traditional activities such as hunting and fishing, by and large Massachusetts Natives in 1700 were enmeshed in the colonial economy. Like Indians throughout the province, they relied on English merchants for a range of necessary goods they could not produce themselves. Lacking land of their own, their main sources of support were military service or laboring for English farmers. Of those who, like Joseph English, fought for the province in King William's War, some undoubtedly did not return, reducing the pool of able-bodied workers and adding to the community's economic woes. In a 1699 letter to the Governor and Council, a group of leading Natick Indians described their town as "greatly diminished & impoverished" because of "the death of many and removal of others who during the time of the late wars have been sojourning among the English for their support, and are not yet returned to their plantations."[85] The situation of the Chelmsford Natives, who unlike those in Natick had no land of their own, was probably similar or worse. The cash acquired through land sales could have helped Joseph and his family stave off want during a time when the province was at peace and military employment unavailable.

In addition to money, the Indians received generous quantities of food and drink at many of the towns they visited—another significant incentive for the sellers. For

[85] 30:503, Massachusetts Archives.

example, at the time the Beverly deed was signed, the town records note a payment of nineteen shillings and fivepence "to Mr. Robert Briscoe for expenses on ye Indians."[86] Briscoe owned a local tavern. Even with Samuel, Joseph, Betty, Samuel and Betty's spouses, and perhaps the witnesses John Thomas and James Speen all partaking, this sum suggests extensive consumption. We do not know how many companions Samuel had with him he visited Boxford, but there they ran up an even higher charge of "one pound in vittels and drink."[87] In general, alcohol played a destructive role in Native society at this time, often exacerbating the struggles of cultural loss and poverty.[88] Still, one can imagine Samuel and his friends' feasting in one public house after another across Essex County as, in part, an exuberant holiday from ordinary life.

Beyond financial need and the promise of food and drink, other reasons may have influenced Samuel, Joseph and their kin to sign the deeds. Executing these documents, which involved meeting with prominent men from various English towns, could have been a way to publicize their status as "friend Indians," to help ensure they would be recognized as allies during times of war. The deeds take care to state that Masconomet had always approved of English settlement on his lands; likely his grandchildren wished to present themselves as continuing a mutually beneficial relationship. For Samuel, the deeds might have been a way to put himself forward as Masconomet's eldest and chief heir, possibly increasing his prestige in the Native community. Lastly, the English

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[86] Perley, *Indian Land Titles*, 92.

[87] Perley, *Indian Land Titles*, 116.

[88] Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*, 29–30.

siblings may possibly have hoped the written records of these transactions would do something to preserve the memory of Agawam's people, their lands and kin relations for future generations.

The motivations of white residents in these dealings are well summed up in the Boxford town records, where this passage appears:

> Samuell English . . . Chalenged the Town of Boxford to bee part of his grandfathers Land and proved it so to bee by several Indians' testimony upon oath and so to prevent further trouble and to Satisfy the Indian native heir the Town of boxford have given him the full sum of nine pound in money."[89]

In purchasing the land, the town leaders aimed to prevent further trouble and satisfy the native heir(s). Samuel commanded no armed force, but the Boxford men could not afford to simply ignore him. They remembered how Governor Andros, only a decade before, had questioned the validity of land titles throughout New England, even going so far as to redistribute tracts already in use to his political allies. Danger to land titles had also come from another direction in the 1680s, as members of the Mason family, heirs to a grant in New Hampshire dating to the time of James I, had claimed parts of the North Shore to be included in their domain. Since that time Massachusetts had received a new charter that confirmed all previous titles granted to towns and individuals.[90] Nevertheless, the idea that their claims to land could be challenged or overturned still loomed as a real possibility for Essex County colonists. Many towns in Massachusetts possessed Indian deeds by this time, and none would have wanted their claim to appear less solid than their neighbors'.

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[89] Perley, *Indian Land Titles*, 108.

[90] Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness*, 267.

When Boxford residents spoke of preventing further trouble, they may have been thinking of more than legal difficulties. In 1700, New England had just come to the end of a harrowing ten-year war in which military assaults on frontier towns were commonplace. Many of the communities involved in these deeds were located within reach of Indian raiding parties. In October 1695 one such party had struck Newbury, carrying away nine women and children.[91] Haverhill and Amesbury, just across the Merrimack River, were each attacked repeatedly. Peter S. Leavenworth affirms that "fear of violent retaliation" made up one important reason for whites to seek Native consent for their settlement in the region: "Ignoring Indian consent could have serious repercussions. During King Philip's War and King William's War, Indians often had territorial associations with the settlements they attacked."[92] Samuel, Joseph and their kin took pains to present themselves as "friend Indians," as allies; yet friend Indians sometimes became enemies in these conflicts, and the townspeople could not know what relatives these local Natives might have among hostile Pennacook or Wabanaki. It is notable that not a single one of the towns that Samuel approached during his year of signing deeds appears to have sent him away empty-handed.

Despite questions we might ask about Samuel's tendency to monopolize proceedings, the 1700–1701 transactions mostly unfolded smoothly and without complaints on the part of either the Natives or the towns. One reason for this is that all

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[91] John J. Currier, *History of Newbury, Massachusetts, 1635–1902* (Portsmouth, NH: P.E. Randall, 1984), 519, Hathitrust.

[92] Peter S. Leavenworth, "'The Best Title that Indians Can Claime': Native Agency and Consent in the Transfer of Penacook-Pawtucket Land in the Seventeenth Century," *New England Quarterly* 72:2 (June 1999): 278. JSTOR.

parties accepted the claim of Samuel, Joseph, and Betty to be Masconomet's grandchildren and heirs. John Thomas and James Speen, the Nashoba Indians, made a sworn deposition to this effect during the Beverly transaction, as did "several Indians" at Boxford. Foster and Parker, the attorneys, also attested to Samuel's descent from the sagamore. The English siblings and their lawyers submitted their claims to nine towns in Masconomet's former territory, allowing plenty of opportunity for others to challenge their standing as heirs, but no one did. Massachusetts Natives did not hesitate to object if an individual selling land lacked the authority to do so: for example, in the 1670s John Wampus, a Nipmuc Indian, had made extensive land sales to English purchasers in the Nipmuc country without the knowledge or approval of the community. Wampus was later reprimanded at a quarterly court meeting by a group of older Natives who denied he had "any Right . . . in lands there, more than other common indians had," and forbidden from engaging in any further transactions.[93] A few years later, another group of elders averred before Daniel Gookin that "they well knew John Woampas from a child," and that "Woampas was no Sachem."[94]

No one disputed that Samuel, Joseph and Betty were descendants of a sagamore. In whose name, however, were they selling the lands between the Merrimack and the sea—in their own name, as private landowners, or on behalf of the indigenous people of Agawam? This question highlights how the English legal system came to supersede Native forms of land use. The second Boxford deed describes Masconomet as "Indian

[93] 30:259a, Massachusetts Archives.

[94] 30:260a, Massachusetts Archives.

Chief Sagamore & native Proprietor of that whole tract of Land Extending from the Southerly Side of the River Merrimack unto naumkeeg otherwise Called Bass river."[95] The word "proprietor" here implies an exclusive ownership that was foreign to traditional Native society. Kathleen Bragdon explains the rights of sachems and sagamores with respect to land in this way: "Although the sachem was entitled to distribute land . . . the counselors or "chief men" and the "common people" participated in decisions regarding the allotment of land . . . the rights of the sachem to land were thus limited by his ability to command the loyalty of his followers."[96] Sagamores had the right to alienate land, but only with the agreement of their community. Masconomet was not a feudal lord who owned the countryside, but a political leader who exercised limited authority over land with group consent. In the language of these deeds, he retroactively becomes a "proprietor," with full power to sell any and all lands in his people's territory.

Considering the matter of individual versus collective land rights also indicates two ways in which the 1700–1701 deeds differed from typical Anglo-Native land transactions. First, the lands in question were already thoroughly settled and populated by the grantees, who comprised a population overwhelmingly larger than that of the grantors. As a practical matter the Indians had already lost the land, and thus any communal debate over whether or not it should be sold was largely moot. Moreover, by this time the Agawam people no longer constituted a distinct social and political grouping. Their hereditary lands were occupied, and their population scattered among

[95] Perley, *Indian Land Titles*, 112.

[96] Bragdon, "Another Tongue," 107–8.

enclaves like Chelmsford and Natick as well as a dozen other English towns. No concentrated body of former community members existed to object to Samuel's release of the Native title.

One tradition among scholars emphasizes the role of fraud and coercion in Anglo-Native land transactions. Discussing quitclaim deeds between Native grantors and Massachusetts towns, Jean O'Brien writes that "towns rushed to form committees or designate individuals to extract Indian deeds for substantial tracts encompassed by the towns' bounds to gain protection for English land titles."[97] "Extracting" implies the use of threats or other underhanded means. Fraud unquestionably took place in some Anglo-Native land dealings: O'Brien details cases from the 1680s and 1690s in which the Indians of Natick were cheated of lands by English purchasers who obtained signatures while grantors were drunk, or who agreed to purchase a relatively small parcel of land and then engrossed a much larger area.[98]

But the 1700–1701 deeds involving the English siblings do not fit this description. First, all the evidence indicates that the initiative for the transactions came from the Natives, not the townspeople. The Boxford town records say that Samuel "Chalenged the Town" to be part of his hereditary lands. In each town, the interaction between the Natives and the residents began with Samuel appearing in person (or in some cases, the locals getting wind that he would soon be arriving). In most cases, there was no possible misunderstanding concerning the amount of land to be conveyed: it was simply

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[97] Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650–1790* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1997), 74.

[98] O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees,* 78–87.

the entire acreage that made up the town. Some might point to the whites' providing rum to Samuel and his kin as evidence of intent to deceive. If the townspeople harbored any such intent, it was ineffective, since in all cases the Native heirs got what they came for. More likely the furnishing of drink was part of a general effort to satisfy the Indians and ensure they would not cause trouble in the future.

Commentators sometimes question the legitimacy of Anglo-Native deeds on the basis that the Indians did not understand what they were agreeing to. Again, this criticism does not seem to apply in the case of the 1700–1701 deeds. True, Samuel, Joseph and the other grantors were almost certainly illiterate. In accordance with custom, a verbal agreement was made first between the heirs, their attorneys, and the town representatives, then a formal instrument was written up and signed. While it is possible that the deed text varied from the verbal agreement in some cases, it is hard to see how substantial deception could have entered in, since the Natives parted with exactly the same rights (that is, *all* rights), using the same attorneys, repeatedly over a period of months. If there had been any question of a more complex arrangement—e.g., if the heirs had wanted to retain usage rights—it would probably have been mentioned somewhere in town records. Instead, all sources agree on the essence of the transactions: all Native claims to the town's soil would be relinquished in exchange for a sum of money. Bradford was the one exception, where, as mentioned earlier, Samuel English exempted a valuable parcel of land from the overall town deed and sold it separately to private owners; but the disagreement was between the seller and his attorneys, not between buyer and seller.

Were the Natives fairly compensated for their title? There are many difficulties in trying to evaluate land prices from the colonial period. Still, by comparing the amount

paid in these deeds with the going price of land in the area at that time, we can draw some conclusions about the compensation the heirs received. In general, Samuel English and his kin received about one pound per thousand acres for their claim, or somewhat less. A brief look at Essex County deed books for the years in question shows that this rate bears virtually no relation to the market price of land among English buyers and sellers in Massachusetts at the time, which stood closer to one pound for *one* acre in well-populated areas. Numerous factors worked together to drive down prices of land purchased from Indians by the colonists. The Natives, being poor and with no other assets, had an urgent incentive to sell their land. Title to occupied lands held no value for them, nor would colonial courts ever consider evicting the settlers from their towns. But perhaps the most significant factor in this case is the complete absence of competition in most of the transactions. The heirs were offering the Native title to the total land of already settled towns—allowing only one possible purchaser in each case. With no other prospective buyers, the prices the Indians received represented merely what the towns were willing to part with for a slight strengthening of their collective title, a bit of insurance against future legal or military trouble. The sums paid were "fair" in the minimal sense that they were agreed to by all parties, but their meagerness reflected the power disparity between Natives and settlers.[99]

Notably, in the one case where Samuel English did business with private individuals rather than a town, he realized a much better price. Without consulting his attorney Joseph Foster (or, apparently, his co-heirs), Samuel sold the 300-acre parcel

[99] For a discussion of factors affecting prices in Anglo-Native land sales, see Banner, *How the Indians Lost their Land*, 74–84.

known as the Phillips farm in Bradford for eighteen pounds—a return of one pound per sixteen acres. It is unclear just what value the Indian title to a particular tract of farmland would hold for its possessor, or why the town's representatives consented to have it left out of the main deed. Clearly, though, the introduction of competition into these land sales—pitting potential buyers against one another—worked to the Natives' advantage, allowing Samuel to receive a price far closer to the going rate among Englishmen.

Anglo-Native deeds can provide ethnographic information difficult to obtain elsewhere. In this respect, the 1700–1701 deeds present consistent evidence of the territorial boundaries of the Agawam people. The second Boxford deed describes Masconomet as owner of "that whole tract of Land Extending from the Southerly Side of the River Merrimack unto naumkeeg otherwise Called Bass river." The main Bradford deed contains almost identical language. "Naumkeag River" and "Bass River" are historic names for the modern Danvers River that separates Beverly and Salem: thus, the territory of the Agawam people extended from the Merrimack in the north to the Danvers River in the south and the ocean to the east. In addition to these statements in the deeds themselves, we have the testimony of Nashoba Indians James Speen and John Thomas, who traveled to Beverly to swear to the English siblings' claims to that town's territory, and the "several Indians" who did the same at Boxford. Emerson W. Baker argues that "culturally and politically, all Native peoples from south of the Kennebec River all the way to the north shore of Massachusetts constituted a closely related group. They had

distinct territories but intermarried and moved throughout the region."[100] Baker advocates calling the members of this group "Almouchiquois," the name applied to them by Samuel de Champlain. While these eleven deeds do not provide a great deal of ethnographic data, they do support the existence of well-defined geographic territories for local Natives.

Surveying these transactions as a whole, we see fascinating glimpses of Native agency at work. Samuel, Joseph and Betty English were approached in 1684 by the town of Beverly about providing a quitclaim for the town's land. Beverly eventually lost interest; but sixteen years later, during a period of peace when Anglo-Native tensions had relaxed somewhat, the siblings returned to the town to reassert their claim. Once they had secured acknowledgement of their title and compensation for it, the heirs took the next logical step and carried their claims to the other towns then occupying their grandfather's former territory. One might suspect Foster and Parker, the white attorneys, of orchestrating the whole business; but Samuel English on several occasions acted without the presence of these men, and in the case of the Bradford deed, he may have cooperated with Parker to cut out Foster—thus manipulating the English legal system for his own ends. This shrewd dealing on the part of Samuel brings to mind the snake mark with which he signed his deeds, and which had also been the mark used by his grandfather, Masconomet.

[100] Emerson W. Baker, "Finding the Almouchiquois: Native American Families, Territories, and Land Sales in Southern Maine," *Ethnohistory* 51:1 (January, 2004): 74. Project MUSE.

Joseph English, after a few experiments, settled on a bow and arrow as his mark. The symbol befits a soldier and pilot in the provincial military, while also being unmistakably Indian. The fact that the brothers hardly ever appeared together at the same time and place, and the tendency of Samuel to arrogate hereditary claims to himself, suggests tension between the two. While the exact nature of succession among sachems and sagamores in the pre-contact period is not clear, there does not appear to have been any strict rule of primogeniture that would have made Samuel, as the eldest son, automatic heir to Masconomet's position. Thus, within Native society it may have been natural for rivalry to exist between two descendants of a sagamore for influence among the people. At the least, we can say that Samuel and Joseph English made their names in different arenas—one as a warrior, the other as a negotiator.

Peter S. Leavenworth remarks that our knowledge of the eventual result of Anglo-Native land dealings—the near-total loss of Native lands—tends to make particular transactions appear as mere steps towards the inevitable: "Indian land conveyances, which at the time Indians considered self-interested attempts at stabilization and survival, in later years appeared to be signposts of eventual dispossession."[101] Leavenworth further points out that "Most Indians well comprehended the implications of their land sales, but they saw their transactions as beneficial for their future as well as compellingly expedient." In the 1700–1701 deeds, the English siblings took active steps to provide for themselves by selling what was of little value to them, and to strengthen their cooperative relationship with the white colonists of Massachusetts. They demanded and received

[101] Leavenworth, "Best Title," 298–99.

acknowledgement of their historic occupation of the land between the Merrimack and Naumkeag Rivers—an occupation now amply recorded in courthouses and town record books. In a sense, they staked a claim to the former lands of Agawam even in the process of relinquishing them.

Chapter IV.

Queen Anne's War and Death of Joseph English

Despite the official peace, fear and distrust continued to mark the relationship between New England and its indigenous neighbors in the first years of the eighteenth century. Ten years of war characterized by surprise attacks, the killing of entire families, and the seizing of captives had instilled a deep antipathy for nearby Natives in English settlers. Provincial authorities, convinced that the Wabanaki were under the sway of the French Jesuit priests who lived among them, believed a new uprising could come at any time. Rumors circulated of imminent assault, while Governor Bellomont tried alternately to intimidate the Indians with shows of force or to buy their friendship with trade goods. The Wabanaki, meanwhile, attempted to steer a course that would keep them out of further destructive conflicts between the European powers; but their reliance on cheap English goods, as well as their religious bond with the Catholic French, made this far from easy.[102]

These tensions existed, as elsewhere, in the region of the frontier where Joseph English lived. The town of Dunstable, the northernmost English settlement on the Merrimack River, bordered directly on the lands of the Pennacook Indians, and so acquired an increasing military importance during these years. An atypical township within Massachusetts, Dunstable's original borders took in roughly two hundred square

[102] Morrison, *Embattled Northeast*, 143–64.

miles, including both banks of the Merrimack from Chelmsford to the Souheagan River, in addition to large tracts of virtual wilderness to the west. The only section with any density of English residents at this time, however, was along the Merrimack from its confluence with Salmon Brook—a location often called by the Native name Wataanuck—south to the Chelmsford line. This corresponds approximately to modern Nashua, New Hampshire, and Tyngsboro, Massachusetts. While encompassing a large area of land, Dunstable was quite small in population, and during the two previous Indian wars the town had been largely abandoned by its residents.[103]

As both the largest landowner in Dunstable and its ranking military officer, Major Jonathan Tyng occupied a leading position in town. Tyng, one of the original grantees of the township, had stayed to defend the area from the French and Indians when most other settlers had fled; his house at Wicosucke served as the local garrison during King Philip's War, and Tyng again commanded the local militia in King William's War.[104] Tyng's landholding was not confined within the limits of Dunstable. During the 1680s he and a group of wealthy investors had arranged to purchase vast tracts along the Merrimack from local Indians.[105] Although successive wars had made the settlement of

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[103] Charles J. Fox, *History of the Old Township of Dunstable: Including Nashua, Nashville, Hollis, Hudson, Litchfield and Merrimac, N.H.; Dunstable and Tyngsborough, Mass.* (Nashua, N.H.: 1846), 16, 25, 64, Google Books.

[104] Fox, *History of Dunstable*, 31, 32, 64.

[105] Theodore B. Lewis, "Land Speculation and the Dudley Council of 1686," *William and Mary Quarterly* 31:2 (1974): 261–62, JSTOR.

this territory impractical, Tyng stood well-positioned to benefit from further expansion of the English into Pennacook lands.

Early in 1700, rumors reached Governor Bellomont that the Pennacooks were planning to rise up against the English. Jonathan Tyng informed Bellomont in February that the sachem Wattanummon had recently visited him at his house: although Tyng had detected no hostile intentions, the Governor, still nervous, ordered Tyng and other military commanders to review their preparedness for war. In July, he wrote a letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations expressing his concern that Natives from other parts of the province were leaving their homes and going to live in the Pennacook country. "That the Jesuits have seduced these Indians is plain," Bellomont wrote. "All the thinking people here believe the Indians will break out against the English in a little time."[106]

Pennacook had, in fact, become a destination for Native refugees from throughout the region, but Jesuit missionaries were not the primary reason. Wars among the English, French and Iroquois in the preceding decades had produced a network of displaced Native people in the interior Northeast that Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney call "the Algonquian Diaspora." During the 1660s and 1670s, refugees fleeing Mohawk and English violence had migrated to the Pennacook lands. There they mixed with indigenous Pennacooks to form new communities, whose ethnicity was varied and whose members frequently traveled to and from other diaspora villages, such as Pigwacket on the Saco

[106] W. Noel Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, 41 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1860–1969), 18:78–82 (Feb. 23, 1700), 115–30 (March 12), 424–30 (July 22), British History Online.

River and Cowass on the upper Connecticut.[107] In 1700, Wabaquasits from the former Nipmuc territory made a similar exodus to Pennacook, and it was this movement that had alarmed the New England leaders. The possibility that land and resource loss to English settlers, rather than Jesuit indoctrination, impelled these Indians beyond the frontier rarely occurred to officials like Bellomont.

The life of Wattanummon, one of the most prominent sagamores connected with Pennacook in these years, provides an interesting contrast to that of Joseph English. He seems to have had roots in the vicinity of Newbury, near the mouth of the Merrimack, and close to Ipswich, where Joseph grew up. Like Joseph, he began life near the coast and moved inland under the pressure of English settlement. But Wattanummon was not a "friend Indian" in the colonists' sense, and he spent the majority of his life among the various communities of the Algonquian diaspora. "At different points in his life Wattanummon was known either as a Pennacook or a Pigwacket, while at other times he might have been called a Pawtucket, a Cowassuck, or a Schagticoke," as Haefeli and Sweeney write, pointing out the fluid nature of these tribal identities.[108] About 1700 we find Wattanummon emerging as a principal leader of the Natives around Pennacook. Together with Cadnanokas, Wattanummon wrote to the Massachusetts governor to deny charges that the Pennacooks were planning to join in a "Combination" against the English, and declaring their "amity and Friendship" for the same. In return, the two

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[107] Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, "Wattanumon's World: Personal and Tribal Identity in the Algonquian Diaspora c. 1660-1712," *Papers of the Algonquian Conference* (National Museums of Canada: Ottawa, 1994), 25:212–16, https://ojs.library.carleton.ca/index.php/ALGQP/article/view/617

[108] Haefeli and Sweeney, "Wattanummon's World," 212.

sagamores asked for the right of entertainment at public houses and liberty to trade in any part of the province.[109] The desire for peace combined with the urgent interest in securing trade mirrored the concerns of many Native groups.

Unfortunately for those with such hopes, imperial conflict again broke out in Europe. In May 1702 England declared war on France over the issue of the Spanish succession, as well as France's refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the newly-crowned Queen Anne. Apart from dynastic matters, the French claimed lands extending to the Kennebec River as part of the colony of Acadia. At this moment a new governor, Joseph Dudley, took office in Boston, replacing the deceased Earl of Bellomont. Dudley at first attempted to preserve the fragile peace in the Northeast, traveling to Casco to meet with leaders of the Wabanaki and promising to build new trading houses for their use.[110] He took a similar approach towards the Pennacooks, sending goods to Dunstable for their supply. In November the House of Representatives passed a resolve to fortify a house at Wataanuck to act as a combination military post and trading house.[111] This move at once facilitated trade and strengthened the province's military presence on the upper Merrimack.

Ominous signs continued to appear through the spring and early summer of 1703. News of French and Indian collusion trickled into the fort at Wataanuck, where Jonathan Tyng—now promoted to Lieutenant Colonel—oversaw a garrison of ten soldiers. In

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[109] 30:459, Massachusetts Archives.

[110] Morrison, *Embattled Northeast,* 156.

[111] *The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* (Boston), 7:355, https://archive.org/details/actsresolvespass9202mass/page/n5/mode/2up.

April Tyng's scouts discovered that Wattanummon and his men appeared to have abandoned Pennacook; one Native man at the trading post defiantly told the English that they were stationed near Quebec with a full supply of ammunition. Then in July, Tyng received word of war parties massing at Chambly, information he passed on to Governor Dudley.[112] Dudley increased scouting patrols, but the province was still taken by surprise when the blow finally arrived: on August 10, a force of about five hundred Native warriors under French command launched a coordinated attack on the villages of coastal Maine. After six days of havoc most English settlements east of Wells had been destroyed, and approximately one hundred and thirty New Englanders had been killed or captured.[113]

Immediately following these attacks, Dudley issued a declaration of war against the Wabanaki and Pennacooks, declaring them to be "rebels and enemys against [Her Majesty]."[114] As Indian raids continued in Maine and New Hampshire, the province looked for ways to strike back. In September a large force lead by Lieutenant Colonel John March attempted to reach Pigwacket on the upper Saco River, a well-known Native dwelling place and military redoubt. The expedition lost it way in overgrown forest, ran short of provisions and had to return to the coast.[115] The following month March tried again, this time succeeding in killing six Natives. Dudley hoped to continue these

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[112] Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers*, 21:26–30 (April 27, 1703), 574–93 (July 29).

[113] Samuel Adams Drake, *The Border Wars of New England, Commonly called King William's and Queen Anne's Wars* (New York, 1897), 153–61. Google Books.

[114] Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers*, 21:11–20 (Aug. 18, 1703).

[115] *Acts and Resolves*, 8:311.

aggressive tactics during the colder months to come: "I shall now draw the forces into quarters to recruit . . . till the snow be well settled for a winters march."[116]

For the "encouragement" of volunteers for these winter raids, the House of Representatives passed a series of resolves providing cash rewards for scalps of enemy Natives. The rewards would be paid for "each scalp of an enemy Indian above ten years of age"; the amount of money varied, as soldiers already under pay received less than those who provided for themselves.[117] Scalping was a traditional practice among indigenous North Americans long before the arrival of Europeans; the English and French learned it through a process of acculturation, and it was employed by all sides during the intercolonial wars. Within indigenous culture, the taking of scalps functioned as evidence of courage in battle. Via the introduction of scalp bounties, Europeans gave it an economic value.[118] The bounties offered in Massachusetts at this time appear to have been both an attempt on the part of the province to inspire valor in its soldiers, and an effort to save money by outsourcing some of its Indian-fighting to unenlisted bounty hunters.

Several raiding parties set out from New England that winter to attempt to find and kill enemy Natives in their home territory. The first to depart was a company of sixty men under the command of Captain William Tyng, the twenty-four-year-old son of

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[116] 108:11, Massachusetts Archives.

[117] *Acts and Resolves,* 8:31–32, 38–39.

[118] James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 16–35 for origin and traditional meaning of scalping, 224 for its use in the intercolonial wars.

Jonathan Tyng. Because the soldiers of this company later received grants of land from the province in recognition of their service, we know most of their names. They ranged in age from twenty to fifty. The large majority of them came from Chelmsford, Groton and Dunstable. Several families were represented by more than one soldier—the Spaldings of Chelmsford contributed four men to the ranks, the Butterfields three. Many participants had lost relatives in Native attacks, and a few had themselves endured captivity. Of these, John Longley had the most tragic story: in a 1694 raid on Groton his mother and father had been killed along with five of his siblings, while John and two other children were taken captive. In all, Tyng's men composed a tight-knit unit with deep and highly personal grievances against Indians.[119]

Joseph English acted as pilot for this expedition. We learn this from the proceedings of a Royal Commission that in 1737 attempted to resolve a long-standing dispute between Massachusetts and New Hampshire over their mutual border. Massachusetts called a number of men from the Chelmsford area to provide depositions on the extent of the Merrimack River—specifically, whether or not it was called by that name as far north as the confluence of the Winnipesaukee and Pemigewasset Rivers. Of these deponents, three—John Longley, John Cummings and Joseph Butterfield—had participated in the Tyng expedition of 1703–4. Longley states that he "Went up sd river [the Merrimack] in 1703 with Capt Tyng, with Jo. English, the noted Indian Pilot as far as the . . . river Winnipisiokee." Cummings confirms Joseph's presence on the Tyng raid.

[119] Most of the information in this paragraph comes from Ezra S. Stearns, "The Snow-Shoe Men," in *Granite State Magazine* vol. 1, George Waldo Browne, ed. (Manchester, N.H: Granite State, 1906), 149–56, 201–9, Google Books.

Another man, Isaac Bradley, did not go on the 1703–4 mission, but knew Joseph as "an Indian Pilot & an Indian of Pennicook." (This unusual reference to Joseph as a Pennacook probably should not be taken too literally: Bradley also refers to Wattanumon as a "Merrimack Indian," indicating he probably used those terms interchangeably.)[120] All of these men cited Joseph English as an authority on the Merrimack River and Native place-names.

An interesting aspect of the 1737 depositions is that these frontier Englishmen, some of whom had suffered terrible losses at the hands of Native warriors, still spoke of hunting and trading regularly with Indians. Joseph Butterfield stated that he had hunted with the local Indians for about seven years, roughly up until the 1703–4 raid. Isaac Bradley said that he "was well acquainted with Wasonuman . . . & with many other Indians." John Cummings said that in the course of his service at the fort/trading house at Wataanuck he had met "most or all of the Indians at Pennicook." Evidently a considerable amount of interaction and even cooperation existed between the Merrimack settlers and nearby Native people, despite the ongoing possibility of violence.

Financial records indicate that Tyng's company entered service as volunteers on December 28, 1703.[121] (They had previously been under provincial pay as soldiers, and remained so throughout the raid; "volunteers" in this case meant simply that the men had volunteered for this particular mission, rather than being impressed.) The soldiers probably spent several days preparing at the fort at Wataanuck before embarking on their

[120] 5:79–80, Massachusetts Archives.

[121] 122:194, Massachusetts Archives.

journey up the Merrimack. Although no first-hand report from the raid has survived, we can form a likely picture of its arrangements from the report of a slightly later march commanded by Major Winthrop Hilton.[122] Three feet of snow covered the ground, and temperatures must have been frigid. The soldiers, dressed in their hardiest clothing, carried muskets and ammunition, and packed food, blankets and other necessities onto small sleds. These they dragged by hand as they walked atop the snow in Native-style snowshoes.

Joseph English led Tyng's company north from Dunstable sometime in the first weeks of January 1704, new style. (Because the year began in March according to the old style or Julian calendar, veterans like John Longley remembered the expedition as having taken place in 1703.) They made their way past the mouth of the Souhegan, past Amoskeag Falls at the site of present-day Manchester, into Pennacook country. Steven C. Eames describes the tactics used by English raiding parties in the forest: "As the main party followed a trail or a river, smaller scouts would be constantly detached to investigate signs of enemy activity and to prevent ambush."[123] Flanking scouts accompanied the main group on either side for the same purposes, and to look for footprints and other signs of enemy activity. In mid-winter the trees would have been mostly bare, allowing greater visibility, and making surprise more difficult for either side. When they were not marching the men no doubt focused their energy on building and maintaining fires to ward off frostbite. The snow continued to swirl down: John Pike of

[122] Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers*, 22:62–76 (March 3, 1704).

[123] Eames, *Rustic Warriors*, 77–78.

nearby Portsmouth recorded snowfalls on January third, tenth, sixteenth and nineteenth.[124]

Tyng's soldiers continued past Pennacook proper at the site of modern Concord, a location that may have been abandoned, as the informant at the trading house had indicated that summer. After one more day's march they arrived at the place where the Merrimack begins in the confluence of the Pemigawasset and Winnipesaukee Rivers—a spot they knew as "the Crotch."[125] From here it seems likely they followed the Winnipesaukee River to Lake Winnipesaukee and scouted its environs for several days. As we saw in an earlier chapter, French-allied Natives customarily used Winnipesaukee as a rendezvous point; Joseph English had himself been carried prisoner here in 1697. At some point, Tyng's men encountered a group of Natives and hostilities commenced, resulting in at least five Native deaths. The lack of first-hand sources means we can only speculate about what precisely happened. Because Tyng later received reward money for five scalps, probably these five slain Natives were above the age of ten, since the provincial resolves stipulated that payment would only be made in such cases.[126] Younger children were supposed to be taken prisoner and then sold, but the sources do not mention any such prisoners. Tyng's company may have come upon some of the warriors who would attack Berwick, Maine at the end of the month. Or perhaps the Natives were hunting in the game-rich forests around Winnipesaukee; a band associated

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[124] John Pike, "Journal of the Reverend John Pike," in *Collections of the N.H. Historical Society*, 3:65.

[125] 5:79–80, depositions of Longley, Bradley and Cummings, Massachusetts Archives.

[126] 122:200, Massachusetts Archives.

with Pigwacket, or Pennacooks who had chosen not to depart from the area with Wattanumon. Whoever they were, the colonists led by Tyng and Joseph English got the better of them. They returned to the fort at Dunstable seventeen days after their departure, five enemy scalps in their possession and the mission a success on its own terms.

Tyng's expedition demonstrates clearly how allegiance was a matter of survival for Joseph English. As pilot, he held the second-most important position in the party, and William Tyng's relative youth may have tended to shift even more of the burden of leadership onto Joseph's shoulders. He bore responsibility for finding the way through the forest, avoiding ambushes, and locating the enemy. In the severe winter conditions through which they marched, even a wrong turn carried risk of death from frostbite or hunger. It is impossible that the white colonists would have given him this level of responsibility if they had not substantially trusted him. Some, like Joseph Butterfield, had hunted or scouted with Joseph English previously, and judging by their statements over thirty years later, held him in high regard. At this moment in New England history circumstances may have precluded whites and Natives from calling each other "friend" (at least in a personal sense), but Joseph's relations with Butterfield, Isaac Bradley and other of the Merrimack settlers have the hallmarks of friendship.

At the same time, Joseph was perhaps the only Native in Tyng's company of sixty. Every white soldier present had either lost family members to Indian attack or knew those who had. Their ongoing quarrel with the Wabanaki, Pennacooks, and other Indians—despite the intercolonial and imperial dimensions of the war—was personal and brutal. We can imagine that some men in the company viewed Joseph with suspicion or even hatred; perhaps some pondered the fact that a scalp like his would bring at least ten

pounds in Boston. The pilot's safety, therefore, in this situation and presumably many others, depended on communicating as clearly as possible whose side he was on. All of the acts and gestures of allegiance that characterized Joseph's life—his dramatic escape and return to New England from French captivity bearing intelligence, his cooperation in land transfers, even his name—can be seen partly as performances meant to deflect the hostility of white settlers, hostility that might at any time be turned on him.

The Tyng raid's success did not come without cost for the English. Sometime in the following weeks James Blanchard of Groton died from "hardships and difficulties" endured on the march.[127] Given the weather conditions, frostbite seems a likely cause. Moreover, at roughly the same time Tyng's party returned to Dunstable, Pennacooks and other diaspora Natives including Wattanumon were preparing to join with the French in a major raid on New England.[128] On February 29 a force of 250 French and Indians took Deerfield in western Massachusetts by surprise, killing forty-seven English residents and militiamen and taking 109 captive. Thus, as the English exerted greater power in the upper Merrimack valley, its former residents found new routes to strike back.

William Tyng had another duty to fulfill after the company's return: go to Boston, present the enemy scalps to provincial authorities, and swear to their authenticity, in order to receive the bounty money for himself and his men. Confusion has existed among

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[127] 71:1, Massachusetts Archives.

[128] Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, "Revisiting The Redeemed Captive: New Perspectives on the 1704 Attack on Deerfield," *William and Mary Quarterly* 52, no.1 (January 1995): 6, 21, JSTOR.

historians as to the amount Tyng received. The most frequently-cited passage about Tyng's 1703–4 expedition comes from Samuel Penhallow, who wrote in his history of Queen Anne's War:

> The General Assembly, being sensibly affected with the state of matters, and dispos'd to a Vigorous prosecution of the War, enacted, That Forty Pounds should be given for every Indian Scalp, which prompted some, and animated others to a noble Emulation [of John March's successful raid]. Capt. Ting was the first that embraced the tender, who in the depth of Winter, went to their head quarters, and got five, for which he received two hundred Pounds.[129]

Penhallow, a Portsmouth merchant and judge, lived through the period in question and participated in local affairs at a high level, making him a reliable source in general. Nevertheless, he is mistaken about the amount of scalp money the province paid Tyng. Massachusetts treasurer's accounts for 1703–4 record the payment of fifty pounds, rather than two hundred, to Captain Tyng for "five Indians by them slain ye scalps of which ye sd Captain hath produced & made Oath as ye Act directs."[130] That is, Tyng's company received the ten-pound-per-scalp reward for soldiers under provincial pay, not the larger bounty offered to those who financed themselves. This does not mean that other Englishmen were not "animated" by large scalp bounties; but Tyng's men, many of whom had lost loved ones to Native raids and had families living on the frontier, were probably motivated to volunteer more by the desire to protect their homes than by financial gain.

Curiously, Governor Dudley wrote in March 1704 to Fitz-John Winthrop of Connecticut that the winter expeditions, including Tyng's, had "heard of no Indians," and

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[129] *Collections of the N.H. Historical Society*, 1:27.

[130] 122:200, Massachusetts Archives.

that he believed the Natives had all "gone eastward of Saco River to lodge their wives and children more securely."[131] Dudley repeated this assertion in a letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations in April.[132] The payment entry in the Treasurer's accounts constitutes strong grounds for believing that Tyng's company did encounter and kill five Natives that year, and Penhallow affirms the scalps were taken "in the depth of winter." Furthermore, raiders had since attacked Berwick in late January and Haverhill in early February, both with fatal results; so Dudley must have known that all the Indians had not gone east as he claimed.[133] But the governor for some reason preferred to give that impression to officials outside the province.

Although English troops found few Natives in the borderlands in the winter of 1703–4 (eventually Massachusetts leaders would learn that many had relocated to Canada at the urging of the French), the establishment of winter marches as a regular feature of colonial military strategy proved to be a pivotal development in the Anglo-Wabanaki conflict. For decades the Indians had enjoyed a distinct environmental advantage because of their mastery of snowshoes and associated winter-weather skills. In a recent article, Christopher Wickman shows how the severe cold winters New England experienced in the 1690s and early 1700s were a manifestation of the global "Little Ice Age," and how better adaptation to these extreme conditions contributed to Wabanaki power and

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[131] Dudley to Fitz-John Winthrop, March 6, 1704, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, sixth series, vol. 3, *The Winthrop Papers* (Boston, 1889), 179, Google Books.

[132] Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers,* 22*:*18–30 (April 20, 1704).

[133] John Pike, "Journal of the Reverend John Pike," in *Collections of the N.H. Historical Society*, 3:52–53.

independence in these years.[134] Snowshoes made overland travel easy in conditions under which people on foot or horseback covered ground only slowly, or not at all. Native bands had in previous years been able to lodge relatively close to the outer New England settlements, secure in the knowledge that they could outrun any colonial troops who came their way. At the same time, they could launch effective attacks on English towns at a time when the English found it necessary to limit their own activities. From 1704 on, the Massachusetts government made it a priority for snowshoes to be present in frontier settlements and ready for service: a law was passed in June of that year requiring men in specified towns to provide and maintain a pair of snowshoes and moccasins at their own expense.[135]

Dudley and other English leaders recognized the strategic breakthrough they had made by adopting this indigenous technology. The use of snowshoes had the effect of extending the range of English power much farther into interior lands that had long been a sanctuary for the Wabanaki and other Native groups for a large part of the year. As the Massachusetts governor wrote to Fitz-John Winthrop, "the Indians are now sensible that we can walk upon our rackets and carry our victuals as long as they, and the circles that we have taken in the woods make that figure that they will scarce lodge so near us another winter."[136] In a March letter to his superiors in Whitehall, Dudley wrote with

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[134] Thomas Wickman, "'Winters Embittered with Hardships': Severe Cold, Wabanaki Power, and English Adjustments, 1690–1710," *William and Mary Quarterly* 72, no.1 (January 2015): 81–98, JSTOR.

[135] *Acts and Resolves*, 1:547.

[136] Dudley to Fitz-John Winthrop, March 6, 1704, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, sixth series, 3:179.

satisfaction of the party commanded by Winthrop Hilton that had marched from the vicinity of Portsmouth to Pigwacket at the head of the Saco and discovered an abandoned Native fort. He sent along Hilton's firsthand report as evidence of the new winter potency of the provincial military.[137] Winthrop Hilton has thus received credit in some quarters for proving that colonial forces could march effectively on snowshoes. To be accurate, however, it was William Tyng and Joseph English who proved this, since Tyng's company had already been out and returned before Hilton's departed.[138]

In subsequent years William Tyng continued to lead provincial troops on missions into Indian country. In January of 1705, a year after his initial pathbreaking snowshoe raid, Tyng took part in a multi-pronged expedition against Norridgewock, the Wabanaki stronghold on the Kennebec River. At least three men from Tyng's company died in the course of the journey, but the English found the village deserted.[139] In October of that year, Tyng once more took a company up the Merrimack to Winnipesaukee, this time ending his route at Exeter; and the following January he was again scouting the woods.[140] We have no evidence as to whether or not Joseph English accompanied Tyng on these missions, but it seems likely that he at least joined those to the upper Merrimack, an area in which he specialized.

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[137] Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers,* 22:18–30 (April 20, 1704).

[138] Tyng's company's service as volunteers ended on January 25, 1704; Hilton was still in Portsmouth making preparations to depart on January 27. See 122:194, Massachusetts Archives and Bouton, *N.H. Provincial Papers,* 2:419.

[139] *Acts and Resolves,* 8:445–48, 520–21.

[140] *Boston News-letter,* no. 79, Oct. 15–22, 1705, and no. 93, January 21–28, 1706, Readex: America's Historical Newspapers.

The New Englanders had altered the terms of the war through their incorporation of winter marches, and chronicles such as Penhallow's show a distinct drop-off in French and Indian winter activity after 1704. The warmer months, however, still brought frequent strikes by Native raiders. In the spring of 1706, with negotiations over an exchange of prisoners at an impasse, the marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, gave consent for several parties of local warriors to march against New England.[141] Dudley received word of their approach from contacts in Albany and took measures to reinforce the frontier, but Massachusetts leaders could not know when or where the Indians would strike. On July 3, after dark, a large party of Natives assailed several buildings in Dunstable, including two garrison houses. By chance, one of the garrisons contained a troop of provincial cavalrymen who managed to beat back the invaders, preventing what could have been greater casualties, yet the English still lost ten soldiers and a number of civilians.

For the next several weeks Native warriors harassed the frontier from Groton to Exeter, penetrating as far into the interior of the province as Reading. The Indians employed their customary stealthy tactics, ambushing farmers going out to mow in the fields, or laying siege to an isolated building, then departing before organized resistance could arrive. In the midst of this uncertain situation, John Pike made the following entry in his journal, dated July 27: "Lt. Butterfield and his wife, riding between Dunstable and some other town, had their horse shot down by the enemy. The man escaped, the woman was taken, and Jo English, a friendly Indian in company with them, was at the same time

[141] *Acts and Resolves*, 8:614.

slain."[142] Penhallow confirms this event in similar language, although he omits the date and merely states it happened "about the same time" as the July 3 attack on Dunstable.[143]

The Lieutenant Butterfield mentioned is the Joseph Butterfield who accompanied Joseph English on Tyng's 1703–4 snowshoe raid, and who took part in the 1737 depositions in which Joseph was remembered. He went on to serve as an officer in the 1710 expedition against Port Royal in Acadia.[144] Later in life he had a wife named Sarah, but whether this is the same woman who was "taken" that day is unclear. As the Anglo-Native conflict was dying away in this part of the Merrimack valley, Joseph and Sarah Butterfield built a home on a large tract of land on the east side of the river, where their descendants continued to live for many generations.[145]

A number of authors have suggested that Joseph English was specifically targeted in this attack because of his many years of service to the English colonists, or as revenge for some particular incident in the past.[146] Most of these assertions can be traced back to *A Collection of Indian Anecdotes,* published in Concord, New Hampshire in 1838 and attributed to Rufus Merrill. Merrill presents himself as a compiler of pre-existing traditions, yet it is clear that he embellishes his material. In a chapter entitled "Story of Joe English," Merrill takes a few basic facts (Joseph's capture, exile in Canada, escape

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[142] *Collections of the N.H. Historical Society*, 3:57.

[143] *Collections of the N.H. Historical Society*, 1:49–50.

[144] 71:672, Massachusetts Archives.

[145] George A. Gordon, "The Butterfields of Middlesex: A Summary," *New-England Genealogical and Historical Register* 44 (January 1890): Entry beginning "13. Lieut. Joseph Butterfield," Proquest.

[146] E.g., Fox, *History of Dunstable*, 86–88; *Acts and Resolves* 8:618.

and return to Deerfield, death near Dunstable with a man named Butterfield) and spins them into a dramatic yarn, replete with detail no one could know who had not actually been present. In Merrill's telling, the enemy Indians have an "inveterate hostility" for Joe because of his past escape from their hands, and they intentionally ambush him while he is escorting the Butterfields through Dunstable. The attackers shoot Joe when he is "just on the point of entering a thicket," bringing him to the ground; but as they are contemplating the "hellish tortures" to which they will soon subject him, Joe makes a gesture so offensive that they tomahawk him on the spot.[147]

Though Merrill's picturesque story has strongly influenced the image of Joseph English held by later generations, there is no proof that Joseph was specifically targeted in the attack that resulted in his death. Neither Pike nor Penhallow mentions this sort of intention on the part of the enemy Natives; their accounts of the incident are brief, but they both seem to view it essentially as an attack on Lt. Butterfield and his wife in which a friend Indian was also unfortunately killed. Certainly ethnocentric bias on the part of these writers may play a role, and there would be nothing surprising about enemy warriors targeting a veteran scout like Joseph for retaliation. But if we consider the chaotic situation on the Massachusetts frontier in July 1706, we cannot safely attribute the killing of Joseph English to any one group or individual. Governor Dudley believed the party that attacked Dunstable on the third were "Quebec Indians."[148] This term is

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[147] Rufus Merrill, ed., *A Collection of Indian Anecdotes* (Concord, N.H., 1838), 161–62, Gale Primary Sources. Merrill incorrectly gives the date of Joseph English's capture as 1724, many years after his death.

[148] *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, sixth series, 3:339, footnote.

vague enough, and might refer to resident Indians from various mission communities on the St. Lawrence, or to exiled Wabanaki temporarily sojourning in Canada. On the other hand, Penhallow writes that Exeter, only a day or two's travel from Dunstable, was at that time suffering assault by "French Mohawks," presumably from Kahnawake near Montreal.[149] Pike, meanwhile, attributes two attacks slightly earlier in the year to Bomazeen, the Wabanaki sagamore, and the Hegans, a clan native to the Pennacook-Pigwacket region.[150] Most of these Native enemies of the English moved periodically between the New England border and Canada, and any of them might have staked out a road near Dunstable, hoping to pick off a soldier or take a few captives. Whether or not his killers knew Joseph English from his past activities remains undetermined.

There is, however, one detail in the "Story of Joe English," not mentioned elsewhere, that has the appearance of plausibility: Merrill writes that the enemy warriors launched their attack on Joseph and the Butterfields as they were passing "Holden's brook, now in Tyngsborough." Lt. Joseph Butterfield is supposed to have lived from an early age in the southern part of old Dunstable, which now comprises the town of Tyngsboro.[151] An 1856 map of Middlesex County shows a "Howard's brook," which begins in the hills to the west and empties into the Merrimack just south of the New Hampshire border, nearby several houses marked "Holden" (and close to houses marked

[149] *Collections of the N.H. Historical Society*, 1:50.

[150] *Collections of the N.H. Historical Society*, 3:55–56.

[151] Stearns, "Snow-Shoe Men," 155.

"Butterfield" and "Merrill").[152] Perhaps this part of Merrill's tale is genuine local or family tradition. In some such place, close to the Merrimack River on the war-torn perimeter of New England, Joseph English met his end.

About two weeks later, on August 14, the following petition came before the House of Representatives:

> John English, in behalf of his sister Joseph English's Widow, prays the General Assembly now sitting, that they would allow his sister, aforesaid what they think fit. Considering the good service he has done for the Country He being Lately Killed in the Countrys Service. [153]

The petition is signed with an upside-down U, labeled "the Mark of John English." It bears a very close resemblance to the mark with which John Umpee signed the Bradford deed on October 22, 1701 (and in two other cases, John Umpee signed documents with a sideways U).[154] Apparently, like his relatives, he adopted the surname "English" to signal allegiance on occasion—and here, his relationship to Joseph as well. The petition seems to show that John was Joseph's brother-in-law, the brother of his wife (unless "sister" is used to mean sister-in-law). In any case, John was one of Joseph's closest kinsmen and associates.

On the reverse side of the petition, the legislature's response is recorded:

"Ordered that the Comissary Generale Deliver four yards of Duffields to the widow of Joseph English, to make Blankets for her self & her two children + charge the

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[152] Henry Francis Walling, Thomas W. Baker, Smith and Bumsted, and Ferdinand Mayer and Co., *Map of Middlesex County, Massachusetts: Based upon the Trigonometrical Survey of the State*, 1856, 1:50,000, 146 x 147 cm, Harvard Map Collection Digital Maps, Massachusetts State, Counties, and Regions.

[153] 71:242, Massachusetts Archives.

[154] Perley, *Indian Land Titles*, 115, 126–27.

same to the Province in his accompts."[155] This order was read and concurred in by the Governor's Council. Four yards of duffel cloth represented what provincial leaders considered appropriate compensation for the widow of an Indian scout. By comparison, in response to a similar petition, Anna Blanchard, the widow of James Blanchard who died after experiencing "hardships" on the 1703-4 Tyng raid, received seven pounds and fivepence "for Defraying the charge of her late Husband's funeral."[156] Neither widow's allowance was exorbitant; but in the case of James Blanchard the legislature assented to pay for a respectable funeral with a coffin, winding sheet, and refreshments for mourners, while in the case of Joseph English's family only the barest essential—blankets for warmth—was considered necessary.

Joseph's widow and her two children had not been completely forgotten by the province. More importantly, they still had friends and kinfolk like John Umpee living in the vicinity whom they could rely on for help. But deprived of the support Joseph provided through his military career, they faced a difficult future. The coming decades of the eighteenth century brought exclusion, poverty and wandering for many Massachusetts Natives. As they became less necessary to the English as military partners or sellers of land, white attitudes towards Indians evolved from suspicion to contempt. Joseph's widow may have pursued domestic service in a white household, and it would not be unusual for her children to have become indentured servants. She may have remarried, perhaps finding a husband at one of the remaining praying towns of Natick or

[155] 71:243, Massachusetts Archives.

[156] *Acts and Resolves*, 8:40, 320.

Hassanamisco. As a final possibility, one thinks of Joseph's uncle Thomas Tyler, who rediscovered a vital Native community by moving across the water to Martha's Vineyard. Like the famed pilot, the widow and children of Joseph English needed to develop their own strategies for survival.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to bring together the available evidence concerning Joseph English and set it in the context of contemporary events. Along the way, it has touched on issues such as the situation of "friend Indians" in colonial Massachusetts, the process of land transfer from Native Americans to English, and the wars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and their causes. With this material in front of us, we can try to address the question of why Joseph, a Native by ancestry, should have displayed such consistent loyalty to the English colonists.

First, cooperation with the English was a tradition in Joseph's family. His grandfather Masconomet adopted the strategy in the 1630s, participating in deeds and permitting English settlement of his lands in exchange for protection from the Micmacs. His grandmother, Joane Quanapohkownat, also took part in land transfers, and Thomas and James Quannapohit, his close kinsmen, carried their cooperation a step further by serving in the colonial military. Joseph's relatives belonged to elite sagamore families who had led the indigenous people of the North Shore before the English arrived. Appalling population losses caused by disease in the early seventeenth century left these groups at risk of extinction, and made the finding of new allies imperative. Over time, this tradition of cooperation reinforced itself, as Masconomet's descendants invoked his name in establishing their own ties with the colonists.

Secondly, Joseph apparently grew up in Ipswich, a small but thriving colonial town, at a time when only a handful of Native residents remained. Though he likely had exposure to indigenous ways thanks to his family, Anglo-American society and culture must have made a profound impression on him. In his article "The Search for a Usable Indian," Richard R. Johnson ascribes the Praying Indians' willingness to fight for the colonists to "processes of socialization and acculturation that accompanied conversion." According to Johnson, "the thoroughness of this training in conformity to white practices and beliefs. . . does much to explain" these Natives' readiness to assist the English.[157] Johnson rightly points out that Christian Indians within Massachusetts became dependent on the English, and that the colonists attempted in various ways to replace their traditional cultural practices with European ones. It may not have required any deliberate "training," however, for Natives like Joseph to develop competence in, and attachment to, English culture. Simply living in the midst of English settlers, observing and participating in their prosperous and growing society (though not as equal citizens), provided numerous incentives for cooperation.

Along with family tradition and the effects of immersion in English society, we must also take account of the risks of strategies other than cooperation. For an Indian to live within the New England colonies without accepting their religion, laws, and customs would have been nearly impossible in this period. The Mohegans of Connecticut managed to fend off Christian conversion for a time, mainly because of their compact population and their invaluable service to the whites in political and military matters.

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[157] Johnson, "Usable Indian," 645–46.

Natives from communities like Joseph's, few in number and no longer in actual control of land, lacked the leverage to resist acculturation.

His main alternative to accommodation, therefore, consisted of relocating beyond the frontier of New England. This was a viable option for Joseph: he knew the Massachusetts frontier and its defenses as well as anyone, and he had ample opportunity to flee during his many scouting trips. Independent Native communities like Pennacook and Cowass were heterogenous and accustomed to receiving refugees. Many Indians from Chelmsford/Wamesit had taken this very course during King Philip's War, when the hostility of local settlers reached a deadly pitch. However, as his career progressed and his reputation as a soldier and pilot grew, Joseph probably acquired more enemies in the Native-controlled interior. With respect to relations with neutral or French-allied Indians, his piloting of the Tyng expedition that took five scalps at Winnipesaukee might have been the point of no return. The fact that he started a family in the Chelmsford area also indicates that his alignment with the interests of the English was becoming permanent, if it was ever in question.

Concerning New England Indians, Johnson writes:

> Even those who, like the Praying Indians, acquiesced in the pressures exerted upon them by white society, *chose* [emphasis added] a path of accommodation over the alternatives of resistance or withdrawal. From this perspectives, the Indians of New England were not just being used by the whites; their military service was also a personal strategy for survival, a revealing and neglected phase in their response to the dislocations inflicted by European colonization.[158]

[158] Johnson, "Usable Indian," 647.

Emigrating beyond the territory of the English, or even joining their enemies, comprised possible courses of action for Joseph English; but when all the options were weighed, cooperation seemed to offer the best chance of survival. The fact that he still met a violent death does not mean he made the wrong choice but shows how dangerous his position had always been.

Historians who have mentioned Joseph English have sometimes been unsure what to make of him. A romantic and largely fictional 1908 account of the Tyng expedition by George Waldo Browne provides an example: "Here," Browne writes, "sacrificing every hope and ambition for his people, brave Merruwacomet, better known as Joe English, fought and fell in the interest of an alien people, an unhonored hero."[159] Browne imagines Joseph as sacrificing his own people, the Indians, in the interest of the whites; but the reason for such a sacrifice appears beyond his ability to guess. Other authors of the time similarly acknowledged Joseph's exceptional service to New England without much attempt to understand his motives.[160] They saw him, vaguely, in the mold of the "friend of the white man," but did not inquire into the basis of that friendship.

More recently, some authors have characterized Natives who fought on the side of the English as mercenaries or traitors. Francis Jennings, in his influential book *The Invasion of America,* describes Massachusetts' Native auxiliaries as "hired pirates," both

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[159] *Manchester Historic Association Collections,* 4:7.

[160] Merrill, *Indian Anecdotes,* 161–62; *Collections of the N.H. Historical Society,* 1:49, footnote.

venal and ineffective.[161] Lisa Brooks, in her recent history of King Philip's War, pays considerable attention to Joseph's kinsman, James Rumney Marsh (or Quannapohit). Brooks' evaluation is more sympathetic than that of Jennings, acknowledging that colonial Native scouts like James faced conflicting pressures. Yet she still concludes that James committed "betrayal" by spying for Massachusetts against Philip's forces.[162]

To betray is to be false to an allegiance or other strong obligation. Thus, one might describe James Rumney Marsh or Joseph English as traitors because in serving the colonists they betrayed their proper loyalty to other Native people. Yet each of these men was bound by other, powerful obligations to the cause of the English. For Joseph, this meant primarily his obligation to preserve himself, his wife and his two children during a time of constant danger. This immediate family loyalty was reinforced by his kinship ties to the other Christian Indians in the Chelmsford area, in Natick and elsewhere in the province; and by the bonds of mutual trust he built over years of cooperation with white settlers like Joseph Butterfield. Joseph English served New England faithfully throughout his life: he never changed sides. To view him as a traitor for this service is, therefore, to prioritize allegiance to race or ethnic group over loyalty to self, family, and comrades.

The life of Joseph English cannot be well understood by reference to a simplistic opposition of white against Native. Both the authors of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who painted New England's Indian soldiers as heroic martyrs, and later writers

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[161] Francis Jennings, T*he Invasion of America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 316.

[162] Lisa Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 262 "James Quannapohit . . . had betrayed its location" 288 "they risked betrayal of their relations."

who portray them as traitors to their people, fail to appreciate the network of competing loyalties within which they made their choices. In dealing with the challenges of colonization, Joseph and his relatives chose the path of accommodation—a distinct strategy from resistance. Rather than struggling against an expansive political and military power, they preserved what they could of their lives and culture by cooperating with it. Since the stakes were survival, theirs is not a strategy that should be lightly dismissed.

Appendix 1.

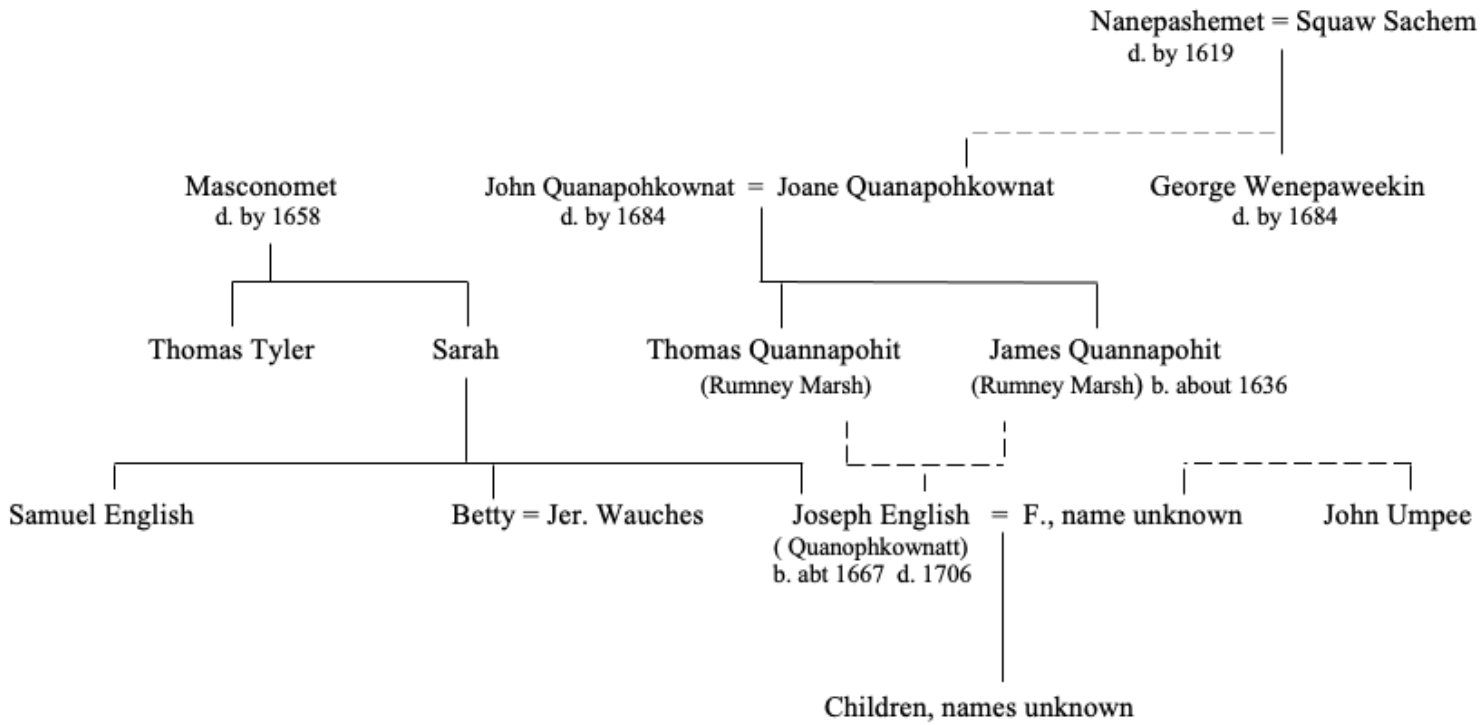
Note on Dates and Spelling

Until 1752, the new year in England and its colonies began on March 25, according to the old style of dating associated with the Julian calendar. In that year Britain adopted the Gregorian calendar (the new style), with the year beginning on January 1. Colonial authors before 1752 generally used the old style: to avoid confusion, in this thesis dates between January 1 and March 25 are given new style—that is, they are placed in the new year, according to modern usage.

In quotations, a few irregularly spelled words have been corrected to aid the reader, without affecting the meaning of the passage (for example, "thier" has been changed to "their.") The majority of the original spelling and capitalization has been left as written. Native names like "Quanophkownat" and "Masconomet" are spelled in a multitude of ways in the primary sources. In my view, Quanophkownat, Quanapohkownat, Quanapohit, etc. are essentially different renderings of the same name. Out of caution, however, in the text I use the version of the name most closely associated with the person mentioned.

Appendix 2.

Joseph English Kinship Web



Note: Only individuals discussed in this thesis are included. Hypothetical relationships are indicated by dashed lines.

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