Benjamin Church and the Origins of American Rangers

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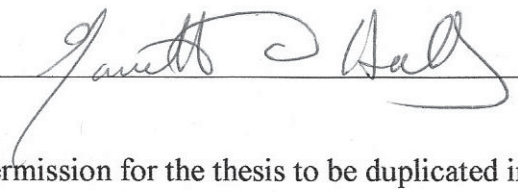
Signature 

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ABSTRACT

Benjamin Church was a Puritan from colonial New England. Church moved to the frontier where he befriended many of his Native American neighbors. Through those friendships, Church was able to pass between the cultural boundaries that separated native England and the Puritan settlements. Church maintained his loyalty to his Anglo-American community and his Christian faith, but also developed an appreciation for many elements of Native American culture. When King Philip's War broke out between the New Englanders and several groups of Native Americans in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Church fought for the English colonies. However, Church adopted many of the tactics he had learned from his Native American friends and used them against his enemies. Instead of following Native American allies into battle, Church recruited his Native American friends to fight for him. Church built a unit that combined men of both races and melded the tactics of both into a new style of fighting. Church and his unit gained fame when they killed the Wampanoag sachem, Metacom, and captured his War Chief, Annawon. Church's reputation grew, and he was called upon to fight again in King William's War and Queen Anne's War, against the French and their Native American allies. Men like John Gorham and Robert Rogers followed in Church's footsteps, creating more units that practiced an American style of irregular warfare, later known as ranging. When Robert Rogers published his "Rules of Ranging" in 1757, his name became synonymous with the American ranger. Yet Rogers is only a chapter of a story that began nearly a century earlier. Benjamin Church, a name little known outside of historians of colonial New England, was the true founder of American ranging.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Many people who study the military conflicts of the colonial period, both professional historians and casual fans of military history, have heard of Robert Rogers and his company of rangers. Infantry soldiers of the U. S. Army are also familiar with Rogers, as his "Standing Orders" appears in the U.S. Army Ranger Handbook, second only to the "Ranger Creed."[1] Much fewer people have heard of Benjamin Church, a colonial figure much more deserving of acclaim than Rogers. Who is Benjamin Church, and why is he more significant than Rogers in regard to the innovation of American rangers? Rogers is no doubt important, as he is credited with "the first written manual of warfare in the New World."[2] However, many of the tactics Rogers so famously published were being put to use nearly a century earlier by Benjamin Church and his company of guerilla fighters that would one day become known as American rangers.

Benjamin Church was a frontiersman who lived in an area of New England that was heavily populated by Native Americans. Church befriended his Native American neighbors, accepted parts of their culture, and even adopted some of their lifestyle. As a result of his openness to Native American culture, Church recognized potential in adapting parts of Native American warfare into New England militia units. By blending Native American and European military tactics, Church created an effective transcultural military unit in colonial New England. Church and his specialized unit are most famous

[1] United States Army, *SH 21-76: The Ranger Handbook* (Fort Benning, GA: 1996), i-ii.
[2] John R. Cuneo, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 55.

for the death of the Wampanoag sachem Metacom, called King Philip by early New Englanders, in what became known as King Philip's War. He also established similar units that saw action in King William's War and Queen Anne's War. Church's special brand of warfare did not die with him. In fact, the demand for soldiers like Church only increased throughout the colonial era. Church's innovation and success paved the way for men like Robert Rogers to become key figures in American military history.

Historians have not totally neglected Church. For more than a century, historians have mentioned the first ranger in a variety of secondary sources. Methodologies featuring Church range from grand narratives to social histories to cultural histories focused on topics as diverse as ideas about gender roles and the influence of written word on societies. Church is featured most prominently in military histories. However, despite the variety of historical commentary featuring Church, he is usually limited to only a few pages of subject matter within a much broader topic. Church has been portrayed as a romantic hero, a bloodthirsty villain, a cultural mediator, a tactical innovator, and an over-glorified self promoter. Much of the variation in Church's character is related to the overall scheme of the historical work or to the time it was written.

Early twentieth century works that feature Benjamin Church rely on a grand narrative approach. These works are focused on English colonists or French colonists, with little thought paid to the Native American perspective. At the turn of the twentieth century, Samuel Adams Drake published *The Border Wars of New England: Commonly called King William's and Queen Anne's Wars*. This volume does not discuss Church's campaign against the Wampanoags, Narragansetts, and Nipmucks during King Philip's War. Church was an older man and already a hero to the people of New England when

he went to war against French Canadians, Acadians, and their Native American allies during the imperial wars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Initially, many New England Puritan elites resisted Church's embracement of Native American culture and its application to New World warfare. It was only after a string of successes in King Philip's War that the New England governments were more supportive of Church. As Drake's work focuses on a later period, much of that information is avoided. However, Drake does mention that Church's unit was multi-ethnic. "A part of the two hundred and fifty men enlisted for this service were Seconnet and Cape Cod Indians, some of whom had been out with Church before."[3] The passage shows that Church not only used Native American soldiers during this war, but that he had in the past as well.

History has shown that Church's Native American recruits were essential to his style of warfare. Drake, however, dismisses them as "true Indians" who "sold their powder –horns and bullet-pouches to get money to squander for drink."[4] Professional historians today do not embrace this type of ideology. Drake was alive during a time when certain Native American groups were still very much considered enemies of the United States, and he was likely the product of his times. Drake also suggests that "Church now found himself at liberty to carry out his favorite idea of tracking the savages to their villages and striking them there."[5] Drake later supports Church's destruction of enemy villages with the phrase "root out the nests and the vultures would fly away."[6] While such dehumanizing terms as savage and vulture would surely be

[3] Samuel Adams Drake, *The Border Wars of New England: Commonly Called King William's and Queen Anne's Wars* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897), 38.
[4] Samuel Adams Drake, *The Border Wars of New England*, 38.
[5] Samuel Adams Drake, *The Border Wars of New England*, 41-42.
[6] Samuel Adams Drake, *The Border Wars of New England*, 67.

considered racist by today's standards, the context of the terms still gives insight into the tactics Church used during King William's War and Queen Anne's War.

It is important to note that while Drake is obviously biased towards the Anglo-American cause of King William's War and Queen Anne's War, he is not afraid to discuss Church's failures. After Church's final military expedition, Drake comments that "this expedition ended, like the others that had gone before it, in disappointment and disgrace."[7] In this case, Drake more likely perceived the failure, as he probably misunderstood a campaign of attrition versus a glorious victory with a high number of casualties. While Church never replicated his success of King Philip's War, that victory is not really indicative of guerilla warfare. Regardless, Drake does give an account of Church's campaigns into Acadia, mostly in the form of a grand narrative, and primarily using Church's own published memoirs as his source.

Shortly after Drake's publication, John Frederic Herbin published *The History of Grand Pré: The Home of Longfellow's "Evangeline."* Similar to Drake, the part of this work concerning Benjamin Church relates to King William's War and Queen Anne's War. Unlike Drake, however, this work is biased towards the people of Acadia, who were the target of Church's raids. Herbin's portrayal of Church is very much the villain. According to Herbin, Church "destroyed the populous villages, plundered the inhabitants, and killed their cattle" and that "ruin and desolation followed his route."[8] While Church's campaigns in Acadia were destructive, and there were casualties, the language of Herbin's text makes the raids seemingly more deadly. However brutal Herbin makes

[7] Samuel Adams Drake, *The Border Wars of New England*, 114.
[8] John Frederic Herbin; *The History of Grand Pré: The Home of Longfellow's "Evangeline*" (St. John, NB; Barnes & Co., Limited, n.d.), 36.

him appear, it is still evident that Church was utilizing unconventional tactics. Herbin refers to Church as "a celebrated partisan," a term synonymous with irregular warfare.[9]

Herbin does allow some of the blame to pass from Church to the colonial governments by arguing that "he was sent in the spirit of retaliation, because the Indians had been attacking the English settlements, instigated, it is said, by the French of Canada."[10] In doing so, Herbin also passes some blame to the French and their Native American allies, but maintains that the people of Acadia were innocent of any wrong doing. Herbin also tries to remove any hero status from Church by asserting that "he must have outgrown the valor that made him a noted Indian fighter: for… he treated the innocent people there in a despicable manner. Public opinion in Massachusetts branded him as a coward, though he received the thanks of the government."[11] Herbin maintains Acadian innocence while trying to use Church's own people to discredit him. Furthermore, it seems that Herbin has no problem with Church killing Native Americans, only Acadians. Like Drake, that likely indicates that Herbin was a product of his time.

A significant work concerning Benjamin Church's exploits in King Philip's War was published in 1958. Douglas Edward Leach's *Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War,* like Drake and Herbin's works, relies on a grand narrative style of history. Leach's primary focus is not on Church himself, but Church does receive more discussion than in previous works. After all, as Leach notes, "the name most frequently associated with the ending of King Philip's War is that of Captain

[9] Herbin, *The History of Grand Pré*, 36.
[10] Herbin, *The History of Grand Pré*, 36.
[11] Herbin, *The History of Grand Pré*, 37.

Benjamin Church."[12] Leach relies heavily on Church's memoirs as a source for Metacom's death, so some of Church's tactics are discussed.[13] It seems that Leach was aware of Church's new style of fighting, but was unaware of how revolutionary it was, or that it was connected to a cultural appreciativeness of Native American culture. It is important to note that Leach discusses early conflicts between Church and the other colonial military powers. Leach mentions that Church recognized an enemy retreat as a strategic withdrawal, whereas the other military leaders falsely believed they were victorious for having taken ground.[14] This ideological contrast was not demonstrated in earlier historical works, yet is significant in suggesting that Church was adopting a new military mindset while other Puritan commanders were settled on European military doctrine. Leach states that Church was "convinced he was in the company of fools and cowards," referring to the more conventional soldiers of the colonies.[15]

It is interesting that Leach recognized Church was different from the other commanders, but failed to recognize that the innovative tactics were rooted in cultural diffusion. Perhaps that is because Leach, like Drake and Herbin, was himself not open to Native American ideology. Leach admits that the Native American losers of the war left no sources to tell their side of the story. Leach argues that his book is an attempt to present a more rounded picture of King Philip's War. It is evident that he tries, but the socio-cultural attitudes of the 1950s are still present in his work. Leach uses society's familiarization with total war, because of World War II having just ended within a decade

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[12] Douglas Edward Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War* (New York, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1958), 228.
[13] Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, 232-236.
[14] Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, 54-55.
[15] Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, 51-52.

of publication, to justify some of the English actions against their enemies.[16] Leach argues that King Philip's War was inevitable because of the clash of two incompatible cultures. However, Leach unfavorably refers to the Native Americans as "Indians in their primitive ignorance" and "bloody fiends."[17] It would be difficult for a historian with that mindset to recognize Church's tactics grew out of an appreciation of Native American culture.

In the early 1960s, Howard H. Peckham published *The Colonial Wars, 1689-1762*. Once again, the focus shifted to the imperial wars that involved British America, French Canada, and Acadia. Similar to Drake and Herbin, Peckham mostly avoids Church's early years as a guerilla fighter, but does mention that he was an "experienced veteran who had crushed King Philip's uprising fifteen years" prior to the event of King William's War.[18] Peckham does acknowledge that Church's fighting style differed from more conventional forces, stating that "while Church ranged against the Indians, Phips laid out a respectable fort to accommodate more than a dozen cannon."[19] It can be argued, however, that Peckham uses a much more favorable voice when describing the conventional tactics of Sir William Phips. It is interesting to note that Peckham's work also discusses Robert Rogers. Peckham credits Rogers with scouting, taking prisoners, and gathering intelligence for British commanders in the French and Indian War, claiming "the innovation eventually reformed the British Army."[20] Peckham wrongfully attributes the innovative tactics to Rogers. While Rogers did influence the British

[16] Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk,* vi-viii.
[17] Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, 1, 7.
[18] Howard H. Peckham, *The Colonial Wars, 1689-1762* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), 41.
[19] Peckham, *The Colonial Wars*, 44.
[20] Peckham, *The Colonial Wars*, 153.

commanders, his methods were not innovative, as Rogers simply followed in the methods of Church.

In the 1970s, historical works that included Church moved away from the grand narrative to discussions about social and cultural factors affecting colonial New England. Charles M. Segal and David C. Stineback published *Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny,* which discussed the conflicted relationships between the two groups in the colonial period. A major problem with the book, however, is the lack of discussion of Church. The book is about Puritans and Native Americans but mostly excludes a significant character that bridged both cultures. The book discusses a female sachem, Weetamoo, who discussed Metacom's looming attack with Church, but the work makes no mention of his special relationship with his Native American neighbors that put him in the position to discuss such things with her.[21] The book also mentions that Church and his men killed Metacom.[22] A similar work, published one year later, was David Horowitz's *The First Frontier: The Indian Wars and America's Origins, 1607-1776*. Horowitz, like Segal and Stineback, make little discussion of Church. Horowitz explains that another female sachem, Awashonks, surrendered to Church and offered her warriors to fight for him.[23] However, the author makes no mention of Church and Awashonks's preexisting relationship, a vital element to Church's story. Also like Segal and Stineback, Horowitz briefly states Church's role in the death of Metacom, but nothing of the tactics that made him different from the other colonial military leaders.[24]

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[21] Charles M. Segal and David C. Stineback, *Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), 190.
[22] Segal and Stineback, *Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny*, 200.
[23] David Horowitz, *The First Frontier: The Indian Wars and America's Origins, 1607-1776* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 79.
[24] Horowitz, *The First Frontier*, 79-81.

The 1990s saw a new historical trend in exploring Native American culture and the colonial period. Works that discussed Benjamin Church reflected that trend. A significant work concerning Church was *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics among the New England Indians* by Patrick Malone. Malone's work was not just focused on Native American warfare, but how it differed from warfare practiced by colonial militias. Malone is one of the first historians to identify that Church's style was different from both, but heavily influenced by Native Americans. Malone argues that "a special combined force of Indians and militiamen under the command of Captain Benjamin Church was doing great damage to hostile groups… until the English made good use of their Indian allies and began to adopt some Indian tactics, the warriors who opposed them were far superior in forest combat."[25] Malone also mentions the New Englanders' disrespect for that style of fighting, arguing that "the English would have to use tactics which they had long regarded with contempt and indignation."[26] Malone refers to the tactics Church utilized as "a tactical and technological revolution" and that a "new doctrine of forest warfare was evolving."[27] Finally, Malone states that "Church probably did the most to popularize the adaptation of unconventional tactics by English forces."[28] More than any previous historian, Malone defines Church as a tactical innovator, but he is far from the focus of the work.

In 1996, Philip Gould published an article that was seemingly focused on Church. "Reinventing Benjamin Church: Virtue, Citizenship and the History of King Philip's

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[25] Patrick M. Malone, *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics among the New England Indians* (Lanham, MD: Madison books, 1991), 87-88.
[26] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 90.
[27] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 90.
[28] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 91-92.

War in Early National America" was actually focused more on the writings of early nineteenth century America. Gould agrees with Malone that Church's "unorthodox military tactics, which derived in large part from the Algonquians themselves, often put him at odds with the Puritan magistracy."[29] However, Gould argues that Church's memoirs, published by his son Thomas Church, saw a surge in popularity in the early nineteenth century because it appealed to "early national America's understanding of 'virtue' and 'republicanism.'"[30] Gould claims that historians of the early republic released new editions of the texts, but that they did more than "reprint Church; they reinvented him" as a character that was more appealing to the republican ideology of the time. Gould's purpose is to express caution when reading edited primary sources, but his article possibly explains why some earlier versions of Church were different from his original memoirs and later historical works.

Colin Calloway's *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* discusses how Anglo-Americans and Native Americans became more like one another. This work is similar to Malone's but on a much larger scale, encompassing cultural topics like religion and clothing. Therefore, the work is much larger than military tactics, but Calloway rightfully includes a brief discussion of Church. Calloway, in agreement with Malone, states that New Englanders abhorred the way Native Americans fought, but eventually they "resorted to such tactics themselves to defeat the Indian confederation led by Metacomet. Captain Benjamin Church in particular

[29] Philip Gould, "Reinventing Benjamin Church: Virtue, Citizenship and the History of King Philip's War in Early National America," *Journal of the Early Republic* 16, no. 4 (Winter, 1996): 646.
[30] Gould, "Reinventing Benjamin Church," 648.

employed Indian tactics and Indian allies against Indian enemies."[31] Furthermore, Calloway suggests that Church's connection to Native American culture went further than tactics. Calloway explains that "Church had lived among the Indians, and put what he learned to good use."[32] Church's lifestyle directly contrasts with the Puritan norm, as Calloway explains that New Englanders who lived with Native Americans or adopted their ways were considered degenerates and some colonies even passed laws to prohibit "indianization."[33] Another interesting topic in *New Worlds for All* is Calloway's comments on cultural historian Richard Slotkin's "'frontier hero,' who had knowledge of both Indian and white ways."[34] Calloway explains that Slotkin speaks of "fictional characters like Hawkeye in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*," but Calloway claims that "history furnished numerous examples: Benjamin Church, Robert Rogers, Daniel Boone, and others."[35] Calloway places Rogers and Church within the same category, yet Church's claim to "frontier hero" status was earned much earlier than Rogers.

Jill Lepore's *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* is not as much a history of King Philip's War as it is a discussion of how the contemporary writings about the war influenced American society. Therefore, Benjamin Church and his tactics are not a major point of conversation in the book, but Lepore does mention him, as his memoirs are one of the significant primary sources of the raid that

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[31] Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 102.
[32] Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 102.
[33] Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 153.
[34] Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 196.
[35] Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 196.

led to Metacom's death. Lepore suggests that he created a polished version of himself, stating that "Church portrayed himself as a man searching for conscience, an independent moral agent, acting on the courage of his convictions, more moral that the Mohegans, but also more moral than the English."[36] While it is likely true that Church created a more favorable image of himself for his memoirs, it is important to note that, even as Lepore suggests, he belonged to a space that was neither English nor Native American. It is also important to note that Church's memoirs are the major source for his pre-war relationships with Native Americans. Church died long before Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* and America's romantic fascination with white characters that embodied the spirit of Native Americans. Therefore, despite Church's self promotion, it is likely that much of Church's memoirs concerning his acceptance of Native American culture is true, supported by the fact that Church would not have gained any special status for doing so in a time where Native Americans were still perceived as a threat to Anglo-American life.

Entering into the new millennium, historical works that mention Church are primarily military histories, though not always. Even those military histories, however, are more rounded and complex than the grand narratives of the early twentieth century, and are more likely to include aspects of cultural, social, and political history. The result is a more rounded and complex discussion of Church as well. James D. Drake's *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676* is an example of such work. Even the title suggests a more objective view of the belligerents rather than portraying the New Englanders as good and the Native Americans as villains. While Drake describes Church

[36] Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 17.

as "the quintessential self promoter," the author does portray Church as an early champion of Native American rights.[37] Drake explains that Church spoke against "the sale of 160 rebel Indians" who had "surrendered with the promise of life and liberty."[38] Drake also mentions that "Church's force included a large number of non-Christian Wampanoags, suggesting that neither faith nor tribe necessarily, determined the treatment of Indians."[39] While this continues the discussion of Church's conflict in ideology with the colonial powers, it is beyond the scope of military tactics.

In *An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia*, by Geoffrey Plank, Church is once again portrayed as a villain. Like Herbin a century before, Plank's focus on Church is connected to raids in Acadia during King William's War and Queen Anne's War. Plank suggests that Church was motivated by economic gains because of the creation of scalp bounties.[40] Plank also portrays Church as a rogue warrior, who acts outside of the colonial system. According to Plank, "though no Acadians had participated in the attack on Deerfield, and some Acadian villagers had recently declared their willingness to cooperate with the New Englanders, Benjamin Church… decided on his own that he would return to Acadia for a punitive raid."[41] However, Plank then suggests that Massachusetts governor Joseph Dudley "warned Church to avoid Port Royal and refrain from engaging the French military. This would be a punitive raid aimed exclusively at noncombatants."[42] Not only does this seem to

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[37] James D. Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 151.
[38] James D. Drake, *King Philip's War*, 121.
[39] James D. Drake, *King Philip's War*, 153.
[40] Geoffrey Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 33.
[41] Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest*, 36-37.
[42] Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest*, 36-37.

contradict Plank's earlier statement that Church acted outside of colonial authority, it seems in this case that Church's brutal raids are the result of following orders. Plank's overall theme is the British plan to remove the Acadians, however, and Church provides a suitable villain for his thesis.

Contrary to Plank's portrayal of Church as a villain, Guy Chet portrays Church as an accidental hero undeserving of fame. In *Conquering the American Wilderness: The Triumph of European Warfare in the Colonial Northeast*, Chet argues that "The Colonies' military and political leadership never rejected European military conventions. Benjamin Church's accomplishments, as well as his legacy, have been overstated by himself and by generations of admirers. European tactics were not outdated or ineffective in the American wilderness."[43] Chet acknowledges that Church "adapted characteristics of Indian warfare" and later suggests that "the fact that Winslow ignored Church's advice sheds light on the inadequacies that characterized English military operations."[44] Chet himself admits that European tactics were problematic in the New World. However, Chet argues that "the lessons taught by Benjamin Church and his ideological successors went unheeded by those in positions of high military command."[45] Chet is correct in arguing that Anglo-Americans did not abandon European tactics, even after the War for Independence. Church himself did not fully abandon European tactics, but combined them with Native American tactics. What Chet fails to realize is that Church's style of combat, later known as ranging, did not replace conventional tactics but

[43] Guy Chet, *Conquering the American Wilderness: The Triumph of European Warfare in the Colonial Northeast* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 2.
[44] Chet, *Conquering the American Wilderness*, 38, 51.
[45] Chet, *Conquering the American Wilderness*, 60.

supplemented them. Even today, irregular forces work with much larger conventional forces. Church is the founder of such operations.

N.E.S. Griffiths returns the discussion to raids of Acadia in *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755*. Like Herbin and Plank, Griffiths portrays a villainous Church who "acted with considerable duplicity."[46] Unlike Herbin and Plank, who wrote of the death and destruction Church left in his path, Griffiths argues that Church's raids were ineffective and insignificant. Griffiths states that the villages Church raided, including the dykes that kept the fields free of seawater, "were repaired or rebuilt reasonably quickly."[47] From this point of view, Griffiths is more in alliance with Chet in arguing that Church's style of warfare was insignificant in terms of winning the war. However, history has shown that the majority of violence during King William's War and Queen Anne's War was carried out as raids similar to those conducted by Church. John Mack Faragher also discusses Church's raids in Acadia, but argues against Griffith's claims that they were insignificant. In *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from their American Homeland*, Faragher agrees with Herbin and Plank, stating that "the Acadians would long remember Major Benjamin Church's assault."[48] Faragher even blames Church for some of the Acadian combatants resorting to violence, claiming his "destruction of the Acadian settlements could not have been better calculated to turn

[46] N.E.S. Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 164.
[47] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian*, 208-209.
[48] John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from their American Homeland* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 112.

neutrals into implacable enemies."[49] Faragher also agrees that Church was motivated by money, stating that when the Massachusetts government "raised the bounty on native scalps to an astounding 100 pounds," it "drew the attention of Benjamin Church."[50]

The same year Griffiths and Faragher published their works, John Grenier published *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier*. Grenier does not deny Church's violence, and in fact, it is central to his thesis that American frontier warfare was bloody for combatants and noncombatants alike. Grenier briefly discusses Church, but states that he "took it upon himself to learn the Indian way of skulking," and created a special unit consisting of "friendly Indians" and "a handful of hardy settlers."[51] Grenier gives credit to Native American allies, without which, "Americans… never could have become rangers."[52] Grenier also warns against giving too much credit to Church and his men for the victory in King Philip's War, but that "he planted the seed from which the American ranger tradition would grow."[53] Genier also discusses Church's role in the wars with France, explaining that the "rangers skirmished with Abenaki warriors and waged extirpative war on Abenaki villages and the noncombatants they contained."[54] Grenier does not condemn or forgive Church for his actions, nor does he consider him a hero or villain. Instead, Grenier recognizes him as a tactical innovator and founder of a style of warfare that continues in the American military tradition today.

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[49] Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 112.
[50] Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 109.
[51] John Grenier, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 33.
[52] Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 33.
[53] Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 34.
[54] Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 36.

Ann M. Little approaches King Philip's War from a socio-cultural methodology in *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England*. Little argues that the war was a struggle of masculinity between the Puritans and Native Americans, and that both sides saw the other as lacking courage and masculinity in regard to their tactics.[55] While Little's book addresses the societies as a whole, she does identify Church as sort of a cultural outlier. Little mentions that "Church worked especially hard to secure the loyalty of Awashonks to the English… but apparently the authorities in Boston thought too little of these potentially valuable allies to strike the deal."[56] Little also suggests that he may not have been as effective at training Anglo-American rangers as hoped, stating that "despite Church's interest in adopting Indian tactics, his narrative suggests that Indian men were much more adept at creating a successful mix of Indian and European tactics."[57] Regardless of these setbacks, it is clear that Little sees Church as someone who disrupts the cultural guidelines set by the New England establishment.

John Grenier returns to the historiography with *The Far Reaches of Empire: War in Nova Scotia, 1710-1760*. The scope of this work actually discusses events in Acadia after Church's death, such as King George's War and Father Le Loutre's War. However, Grenier explains that, with the exception of a few conventional military operations, Church's raids were the only significant military actions that occur in Acadia during King William's War and Queen Anne's War.[58] Grenier also addresses Griffiths and Faragher, who both published works on Acadia the same year as Grenier's *The First Way of War*.

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[55] Ann M. Little, *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 13-16.
[56] Little, *Abraham in Arms*, 31-32.
[57] Little, *Abraham in Arms*, 52.
[58] John Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire: War in Nova Scotia, 1710-1760* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 12.

Grenier claims that "Griffiths remains the premier scholar of the Acadians" and the *From Migrant to Acadian* is "the natural starting place for any study that touches Acadian history."[59] However, Grenier says that "Faragher overstates his case; his focus on the grand derangement 'as an early example of ethnic cleansing' carries too much present day emotional weight and in turn overshadows much of the accommodation that Acadians and Anglo-Americans reached."[60] While Church is mostly omitted from this work, this is an important development. Griffiths portrayed Church as an insignificant raider whereas Faragher portrayed Church as a greedy, blood thirsty villain. If what Grenier suggests about Faragher's work is true, then it is possible that Faragher exaggerated Church's character as well.

A significant work to address Church was *Ranger Dawn: The American Ranger from the Colonial Period to the Mexican War*, by Robert W. Black. Once again, material on Church is limited to a few pages, but Black does establish that he had pre-war relationships with Native Americans. "This close contact served him well as he understood Indian methods of warfare and established friends among the Indians who would later serve as scouts and warriors in his force."[61] Black mentions that Church's rangers were "a mixture of colonists and Indians, thus combining the advantages of both groups," which does not credit one group or the other with the innovation, but explains that something new was created.[62] Black also mentions that Church and his men were carrying out tactics that Rogers made famous many decades later.[63]

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[59] Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire*, 6.
[60] Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire*, 6.
[61] Robert W. Black, *Ranger Dawn: The American Ranger from the Colonial Period to the Mexican War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2009), 16-17.
[62] Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 21.
[63] Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 21.

In 2010, Daniel R. Mandell published *King Philip's War: Colonial Expansion, Native Resistance, and the End of Indian Sovereignty*. In this work, Mandell portrays a much more complex view of the causes and effects of the war as well as a much more rebellious version of Church. Mandell states that he "spoke Wampanoag and had developed close relations with the Natives living in the area."[64] A Wampanoag-speaking Church who had close relations with Native Americans certainly builds on the idea of the man as a cultural outlier. Furthermore, Mandell presents several examples of Church battling with the other colonial officers. Mandell states that early in the war, Church had "tried to get the colonial forces to move more quickly against Metacom" and that he "urged the United Colonies to make more liberal use of Indian scouts and adopt guerilla tactics."[65] Mandell suggests that "Church and his sons negotiated with tribes in ways that recognized native leadership, autonomy, and culture."[66] While Mandell's version portrays Church as having possibly gone native, it is far from the racist Indian fighter historians were portraying years before, and likely closer to the truth considering Church's own words demonstrate he was close friends with his Native American neighbors.

R. Todd Romero's *Making War and Minting Christians: Masculinity, Religion, and Colonialism in Early New England* compares and contrasts Puritan and Native American attitudes about religion and masculinity. Like Little, Romero addresses the societies as a whole. Interestingly, the book is about English and Native American

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[64] Daniel R. Mandell. *King Philip's War: Colonial Expansion*, *Native Resistance, and the End of Indian Sovereignty* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 46.
[65] Mandell, *King Phiip's War*, 116.
[66] Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 136.

masculinity, but avoids discussing Church, who possessed qualities of both. Church is briefly mentioned, but as a commander that many Native Americans fought under during King William's War.[67] However, Romero's work is important to understanding Church because it provides information that demonstrates he crossed the cultural boundaries of the two groups.

Recently, Brian D. Carroll published "'Savages' in the Service of Empire: Native American Soldiers in Gorham's Rangers, 1744-1762." In this essay, Carroll also notes that "Robert Rogers is widely credited with instituting the American ranger tradition and, thus, with establishing… a uniquely American style of warfare based on Indian strategies."[68] Carroll also acknowledges that "some scholars assert that Rogers was merely the heir apparent to men such as Benjamin Church."[69] However, Carroll focuses on Gorham's Rangers, who he argues are "the true descendents of Church's early companies as well as the immediate antecedents to and model for Rogers's Rangers."[70] It is clear from these statements that Carroll recognizes Church as the true founder of American rangers, and only disputes that Rogers should rightfully come after Gorham.

It is clear that Benjamin Church has been portrayed many ways in a variety of historical works. The problem is that Church has been limited to only a few pages in each of those works. While volumes have been written about his successors, the founder of American ranging has yet to have even one chapter dedicated to him, with the exception of republications of his memoirs. The closest thing to a dedicated essay,

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[67] R. Todd Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians: Masculinity, Religion, and Colonialism in Early New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 175-176.
[68] Brian D. Carroll, "'Savages' in the Service of Empire: Native American Soldiers in Gorham's Rangers, 1744-1762," *The New England Quarterly* 85, no. 3 (September, 2012): 383.
[69] Carroll, "'Savages in the Service of Empire," 384.
[70] Carroll, "'Savages in the Service of Empire," 384.

Gould's "Reinventing Benjamin Church," is actually more focused on the historians of the nineteenth century. Some works feature him more heavily, specifically those few discussing the fighting of King Philip's War, but he is never the subject of the work. Perhaps that is why Robert Rogers is more nationally known, even if he only followed in the footsteps of Benjamin Church.

This thesis hopes to reexamine Benjamin Church and his contributions to irregular warfare in colonial America. Rather than mentioning him in the context of larger work, this work will make Church the subject of historical discussion. The second chapter discusses the Pequot War, which was the first major military conflict in New England. The chapter exposes some of the problems with European tactics in the New World and demonstrates the colonies' dependence on Native American allies. While Native American allies were used throughout the colonial period, Church's lessons helped reduce the dependency. The third chapter examines Benjamin Church in the years just prior to and during King Philip's War. This chapter is heavily focused on the cultural differences between the Puritans of New England and the Native American groups of the region as well as the ways Church moved between cultures. The fourth chapter also discusses Church during King Philip's War, but from a military methodology. The chapter explains how the creation of a transcultural military unit was a turning point in the war. The fifth chapter discusses Church's raids against the French Acadians and the Abenakis during King William's War and Queen Anne's War. The chapter compares Church's tactics to the conventional operations of the war, which demonstrates that he was truly conducting a guerilla war. The final chapter examines the

continued use of ranging after Church's death and an increased desire for ranger units by both the colonial forces and the British Army.

Chapter II

THE PEQUOT WAR: IDENTIFYING COLONIAL DEPENDENCE ON NATIVE AMERICAN ALLIES

When crediting someone with an innovation, in this case Benjamin Church and a new style of fighting, it is necessary to show what preceded the innovation. In the case of warfare in colonial New England, the Pequot War is best suited for such an example. A generation before King Philip's War and a few years before Church was born, the early colonists fought a war against the Pequots, who were one of the dominant Native American groups in New England at that time. There were no men like Church to lead the fight against the Pequots, yet the English colonists won the war by a large margin. The Pequots were almost entirely eradicated, and the New Englanders replaced them as one of the dominant powers in the region. How did the English colonists accomplish such a victory? The New Englanders did not have a man who, like Church, could fight like a Native American, but they had the support of Native American allies themselves, particularly the Narragansetts and the Mohegans.

The New Englanders were completely dependent on Native American allies to lead them into the wilderness to fight the Pequots. Yet, once they found the Pequots, they killed them indiscriminately, justifying their violence by their faith. Despite their total dependence on Native Americans, the early colonists viewed themselves as a far superior culture and race. These assumptions were what made Church so different from his Puritan brothers, and what caused his methods to be looked down upon early in King Philip's War. As a result of the near genocide of the Pequots, many Native Americans realized the dangerous potential of the English colonists for the first time. Also, despite

the assistance of Native American allies, the English filled the power vacuum left by the Pequots, which created more friction in the region. The Narragansetts and the Mohegans did not fight for the love of the English, but for the hatred of the Pequots and for their own gains. The empowered New Englanders denied their allies of some of the things for which they fought. This, along with an ever expanding English population, led to Native American anger and resentment, which contributed to King Philip's War.

The Pequots were an Algonquian speaking people who lived in the Connecticut River Valley. The Pequots lived in about fifteen villages at the time of European contact. In Pequot society, men hunted, fished, and made war while women gathered food from the wilderness and farmed. The Pequots were a warlike people, and were expanding their territory eastward and creating a tribute system among many of the Native American groups in New England when the English colonists first arrived. When the English arrived, they brought Old World diseases with them. From 1616 to 1619, a combination of European diseases broke out simultaneously, which decimated Native American populations in New England. The Pequots, however, escaped the epidemics, probably because they were somewhat further inland. However, in 1633, a smallpox epidemic struck the Pequots. The Pequots suffered a 77 percent mortality rate, bringing their numbers from an estimated thirteen thousand to about three thousand.[1] Not only would

[1] Clarissa W. Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian Wars* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2011), 15. For more on the impact of disease, see Alfred Crosby, "Virgin-Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd series 33 (1976): 289-299; David S. Jones, "Virgin Soils Revisited," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, 2nd ed., ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2007), 51-83; Marvin T. Smith, "Aboriginal Depopulation in the Postcontact Southeast," in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994), 257-275; Paul Kelton, "The Great Southeastern Smallpox Epidemic, 1696-1700: The Region's First Major Epidemic?," in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, ed. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson

such damaging numbers significantly reduce the number of fighting men, but it would also affect the society as a whole. Though there were many less mouths to feed, there were fewer men to hunt and fish, and fewer women to farm and gather. Much of the political, spiritual, and military leadership of the town would also be abruptly lost.[2] For a group that was expanding politically, such a blow would have been devastating, causing a frantic search to repair the balance of their world. The Europeans, being a new factor, would have seemed a likely cause of the deaths.

The Pequots first made contact with Europeans a year before the smallpox epidemic, in 1632. The Pequots occupied the territory between the rapidly expanding English and Dutch settlements. They quickly found themselves in close contact with both English and Dutch traders, who were competing for economic control of the region. Economic ties with Europeans created further problems for the Pequots. The Pequots dominated the fur trade and wampum trade, but their Native American rivals, like the Narragansetts, competed for the European trade. European goods not only contained economic value, but spiritual and political value as well. These European prestige items enhanced the power of sachems who could acquire them. The Pequots were competing with the Narragansetts for political power when a smallpox epidemic hit. While the Pequots were devastated, the Narragansetts were largely unaffected. Many of the Pequot tributaries abandoned them for the Narragansetts, or tried to enhance their own stature. One who broke away from the Pequot was Uncas, despite being the brother-in-law of the

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(Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 21-38; and Paul Kelton, "Shattered and Infected: Epidemics and the Origins of the Yamasee War, 1696-1715," in *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, ed. Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 312-332.

[2] Confer*, Daily Life during the Indian Wars*, 13-16.

Pequot sachem, Sassacus. Uncas and his followers called themselves Mohegans. The Pequots tended to favor trade with the Dutch, while the Mohegans favored trade with the English. The Mohegans continued their rivalry with the Narragansetts, but both groups fought on the side of the English colonists once the war broke out.[3]

In 1634, once the Pequots had become weak from smallpox and the loss of tributaries, the Dutch traders cut economic ties. The angered Pequots, desperate to reassert dominance, attacked the Dutch. In retaliation, the Dutch arrested and executed Tatobam, a Pequot sachem. The Pequots then sought an alliance with the New Englanders. The English exploited the desperate Pequots, requiring lands, furs, and wampum in exchange for their support.[4] The Pequots were in a rapid decline. Only decades earlier, they were a dominant power in New England. They were decimated by disease. They were surpassed by their rivals, the Narragansetts. They lost many of their tributaries. They became involved with two different groups of Europeans, and had lost the respect of both. It was only a matter of time before more blood was spilt.

Contrary to the Pequots, the English who came to New England were a subordinate group within their own people. The New Englanders were Puritans. They

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[3] Michael Leroy Oberg, *Uncas: First of the Mohegans* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 1; Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian Wars*, 17-18; and Robert W. Black, *Ranger Dawn: The American Ranger from the Colonial Era to the Mexican War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2009), 12. For more information on the cultural value of prestige items see Stephen R. Potter, "Early English Effects on Virginia Algonquian Exchange and Tribute in the Tidewater Potomac," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, Rev. ed., ed. Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 215-242; Christopher L. Miller and George R. Hamell, "A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade," in *The Journal of American History* 73 (1986): 311-328; Daniel K. Richter, "Tsenammacah and the Atlantic World," in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624*, ed. Peter Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 29-65; and Bruce M. White, "Encounters with Spirits: Ojibwa and Dakota Theories about the French and their Merchandise," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, 2nd ed., ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2007), 216-245.

[4] Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian Wars*, 19.

were anti-Catholic, and also faced many problems with the Anglican Church. Unlike the economic expeditions of the English in the South, the New Englanders sought a new land to practice a purified form of the Church of England. The New England Puritans believed themselves to be the chosen people of God, much like the Israelites who fled Egypt in the Old Testament. Furthermore, the Puritans believed that the New England wilderness would test them like the wilderness the Israelites faced in the book of Exodus and the three temptations of Christ in the New Testament. The New Englanders believed that the Promised Land awaited them, but they must build it themselves. Captain John Mason, a Puritan commander in the Pequot War, quoted the Bible, claiming that "in a word, the Lord was… pleased to say unto us, The Land of Canaan will I give unto thee, tho' but few and Strangers in it: And when we went from one Nation to another… He suffered no Man to do us Wrong."[5] Their goal was to "establish a city on a hill as a beacon for all the world."[6] The Puritans perceived part of their Christian duty was to civilize and convert the Native Americans of the New World to Christianity. The Puritans believed they were acting on God's will. To them, this meant that anyone or anything that opposed them was a tool of Satan. It also meant that any measures they felt necessary to accomplish their goals were justified in the eyes of God.[7]

The Pequots, like other Algonquians, placed much emphasis on war. In Native American culture, there is little division between the spiritual and secular spheres.

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[5] John Mason, *A Brief History of the Pequot War: Especially of the Memorable Taking of their Fort at Mistick in Connecticut* (1656; repr., Ann Arbor: University Mircrofilms, Inc., 1966), vii.
[6] Mary K. Geiter and W.A. Speck, *Colonial America: From Jamestown to Yorktown* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave McMillan, 2002), 42.
[7] Charles M. Segal and David C. Stineback, *Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), 105-106. For more information see R. Todd Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians: Masculinity, Religion, and Colonialism in Early New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011).

Warfare was permeated with rituals and ceremonies, meant to raise spiritual power and enhance strength, health, and bravery.[8] During the war, Roger Williams wrote to Governor John Winthrop Jr., explaining that "the Pequts comfort them selves in this that a witch amongst them will sinck" the boats the New Englanders would use to transport their men.[9] The Pequots, like all other Native Americans in New England, were very mobile, equipped with moccasins and snowshoes for over land. They also used canoes from which they quickly and expertly navigated the river systems of New England. They moved around with the seasons, but were not nomadic, and they had palisades around their villages to help defend them. Prior to European contact, these forts served them well, as they usually contained enough supplies to withstand a siege, which Native American attackers almost never did. The walls could be easily defended with arrows, bows being the primary weapon of Native Americans, even in the Pequot War. Though the bows were smaller and lighter than English longbows, they were still larger, roughly five to six feet long, than the bows associated with horse cultures from a later time and located further west. The bows could fire an arrow between one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet, but the warriors preferred to get as close as possible to their targets. Arrow heads were made from variety of sources, including stones, antlers, bones, and copper. Trained Native American warriors could fire their bows rapidly and accurately. The primary hand to hand weapon of the Pequots was a war club that had a smooth stone tip. Most Native Americans used clubs or axes, but at the time of the Pequot War, most were

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[8] Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, 2nd ed., ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2007), 427-454.
[9] Roger Williams to John Winthrop, September, 1636 in *The Winthrop Papers,1631-1637*, ed. The Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 3 (Boston, Merrymount Press, 1943).

made of stone and wood rather than iron. Yet, Native Americans quickly sought iron hatchets when they could be acquired.[10]

Philip Vincent's contemporary account describes the Pequots as "armed… with bows and arrows, clubs, and javelins."[11] These weapons were seemingly primitive compared to the weapons and armor of the English. While it is true that many New Englanders were saved from arrow wounds because of their armor, the arrows still had considerable force and penetration on impact. In fact, the number of accounts where an English soldier was harmlessly struck with an arrow on account of his armor or thick clothing created a myth that the Pequot bows were not powerful. Lion Gardiner dispelled that myth when he recovered an arrow from the corpse of one of his men. Gardiner found that "the arrow going in at the right side, the head sticking fast, half through a rib on the left side, which I took out and cleansed it, and presumed to send to the Bay, because they had said that the arrows of the Indians were of no force."[12] Furthermore, the Pequots, like other Native Americans, had perfected their use and developed tactics that were congruent with the weapons they had available. It is also important to note that those weapons and tactics were going to be used against the English colonists in New England. It is not as if the Pequots were sailing to England to wage war in the streets of London. Whether they were hunting or fighting, the Pequots were familiar with how to use their weapons in their own lands.

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[10] Patrick M. Malone, *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics among the New England Indians* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1991), 10-12, 14-15, 18-19, and 29.
[11] Philip Vincent, "A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England," in *The Pequot War: Contemporary Accounts of Mason, Underhill, Vincent, and Gardener* (Cleveland: The Helman Taylor Company, 1897), 98-99.
[12] Lion Gardiner, "Relation of the Pequot War" in *The Pequot War: Contemporary Accounts of Mason, Underhill, Vincent, and Gardener* (Cleveland: The Helman Taylor Company, 1897), 130. In this source, Gardiner's name is spelled Gardener.

The Native Americans established an overall plan of attack, but much of the fighting was done as individuals. Status was gained through individual prowess on the battlefield. The primary tactics of Native Americans were hit and run raids and ambushes in wooded areas. These methods utilized the element of surprise but also allowed Native American warriors to limit their own casualties as well as the number of casualties they inflicted on their enemies.[13] Native Americans typically went to war to avenge a blood feud, teach a lesson to their rivals, or to develop the masculinity of their own warriors. The primary objective of early Native American warfare was not killing, but the taking of live captives. Captives served social, cultural, and economic functions. Captives could be adopted to replace dead members of the group. Captives could also be ritualistically tortured as a way of replacing the lost spiritual power of the group. Captives helped warriors gain notoriety as a physical symbol of their prowess in war. Captives also had economic potential as they could be traded to other groups as commodity items or ransomed back to their original party.[14] For these reasons, the Pequots never fully expected to wage an all out war with the New Englanders. When they raided the Dutch, it was because they were offended and felt they needed to teach the Dutch a lesson while reasserting their masculinity. Later, when the Pequots killed an English colonist prior to the war, the Pequots felt they were justified because the man had killed a Pequot. For the Pequots, there was a matter of blood feud that needed to be

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[13] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 20-23.

[14] Wayne E. Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge: Patterns of Restraint in Native American Warfare, 1500-1800," in *The Journal of Military History* 71, no. 3 (July, 2007): 713-714, 730-731. See also Richter, "War and Culture," 427-454; Jose Brandao, *"Your Fyre Shall Burn No More": Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln: Universityof Nebraska Press, 1997); Adam J. Hirsch "The Collision of Military Cultures in Seventeenth-Century New England," in *The Journal of American History* 74, no. 4 (March, 1988): 1187-1212; and Ronald Dale Karr, "'Why Should You Be So Furious?' The Violence of the Pequot War," in *The Journal of American History* 85, no. 3 (December, 1998): 876-909.

resolved. In their eyes, the killing of the colonist settled the issue, and there was no further need of hostilities. The English, however, viewed the situation differently.

For the most part, the men that came to New England from England were not soldiers, but they were expected to serve in the militia when the need arose. Unlike other imperial endeavors to the New World, the early English colonies were expected to provide their own defense with no assistance from the royal government. The primary threat to early seventeenth century New England was attacks by Native Americans, and therefore military service by most men was essential to the survival of the colony. Every colony with the exception of Pennsylvania had militia laws which required every able bodied man between the ages of sixteen and sixty to serve. There were occupational exceptions, such as ministers, magistrates, and physicians. In truth, the actual units to which men were assigned were not militia units but trainbands. Trainbands were community based units where men reported for training, known as muster duty. The trainbands only met for muster about four to six days per year, less than a week overall. The institution of English trainbands began during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but most men who came to the New World had no combat experience. Training mostly consisted of how to hold, load, and fire a weapon in accordance to a designated manual. In a time of crisis, entire trainbands did not serve, but individual men volunteered or were selected from each trainband to form a military unit. The unit elected its own officers, with the exception of the commanding officer of the colony, who was given the rank of colonel and appointed by the governor, who served as commander-in-chief. In the early colonial period, a typical unit only served a few days at a time, for a specific duty. There was no official logistics plan. Each man supplied his own firearm and supplies, which was

usually limited to what he could carry.[15] In regards to martial culture, the Pequots had the advantage. They were fighters and lived in a culture where men advanced themselves through combat. They were also hunters who knew how to stalk and kill prey with their bows. The Pequots also knew the terrain better than any colonist in New England, as they had already conquered much of the area in previous years. The Pequots were much better trained for a war than their English adversaries.

The English colonists were not as well trained and, despite some misguided opinions, were not better equipped than the Pequots. The New Englanders did have firearms, but the early colonists who fought in the Pequot War were armed with matchlock muskets. Matchlocks were really only an effective firearm when used against an opposing force that was likewise armed with matchlocks. The firearms were very heavy, weighing up to twenty pounds, and fired a projectile that weighed one twelfth of a pound.[16] The weight of the firearm required it to be shot from a rest, which also had to be carried into battle. Matchlocks also required a match to fire it, which was really more similar to a wick or fuse. This meant that the English colonists had to carry a long length of fuse with them into battle as well as a torch to light the wick. Wet weather rendered the firearms useless. The weapon took a significant amount of time to reload. Matchlocks were also inaccurate past fifty yards, which did not matter because most Englishmen had no concept of aiming the firearms. The matchlocks lacked sights, and were intended to be fired en masse at an opposing force. In Europe, hunting was a sport of the nobility rather than a way of life. Most of the men of early New England had

[15] James M. Morris, *History of the U.S. Army* (Greenwich, CT: Brompton Books, 1986), 10; Howard H. Peckham, *The Colonial Wars, 1689-1762* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 4, and 26; and Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 54-58.
[16] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 32.

never gone hunting, and therefore the only intended use of a firearm was against other soldiers. In that case, matchlocks seemed effective, because their initial training was designed for conflicts with enemies similar to themselves, who would meet them in open battle, armed with similar weapons.[17]

The projectile fired by the matchlock could travel further and penetrate deeper than the Native American bow. However, the weapon could not be fired accurately, giving it an effective range not much better than the Native American bow. The bow was more reliable, as it was not dependent on weather, or as many components, such as the round, the match, and the powder along with the actual mechanism that made the weapon work. The bow was lighter than the matchlocks, and therefore contributed to Native American mobility. Furthermore, the Pequots used the bow for its intended purpose, which was aiming it, firing it, and killing something. The English colonists could not use the matchlocks for their intended purpose, which comprised of lining up against a similar enemy, and exchanging massive volleys of fire in organized battle. Aspects of the early firearms demonstrated the potential that firearms could have over the bow, but in New World warfare, the matchlocks were a disadvantage.

Concerning the differences between Native American and European tactics, Captain John Underhill, a New England militia officer, wrote that "the Indians fight farre differs from the Christian practice, for they most commonly divide themselves into small bodies."[18] Underhill's passage indicates several things. First, the English colonists indeed fought, or wanted to fight, in large formations. Second, the Pequot style of warfare placed more emphasis on small units, which is more congruent with modern

[17] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 32-33, and 54-61.
[18] John Underhill, *Nevves From America* (1638; repr., Amsterdam: Da Copo Press, 1971), 4.

guerilla warfare. Also, Underhill refers to European warfare as "Christian" warfare, which implies that, to the Puritans, European warfare is more righteous and even masculine. So how is it possible that, despite advantages in military culture, terrain, and weapons, the Pequots not only lost to the English, but lost to the point of near extinction? The answer is that the English had Native American allies who hated the Pequots. Without their Native American allies, the English could not have nearly destroyed the Pequots as quickly and efficiently as they did.

The Pequot War began with a dispute between the English colonists and the Pequots over the murder of some English traders. Some Pequots and some of the western band of Niantics, tributaries who remained with the Pequots, attacked a boat containing Englishmen in the Connecticut River. The Native Americans killed everyone on board, about eight people, and lit a powder keg which caused the boat to explode. Accounts vary as to the reason for the attack. The first murder was a possibly a case of mistaken identity. After the Dutch arrested and executed Tatobam, the Pequots sought retaliation. It is possible that the Native Americans thought they were attacking the Dutch instead of the English. Some sources claim the Native Americans thought they were justified because the English party had some Native American prisoners. Either way, the Pequots thought their actions were justified and also that their actions restored balance and did not require further actions against the English.[19]

The commander of the vessel, John Stone, was disliked by the New Englanders. Stone was from Virginia and had a bad reputation in New England. Stone was a heavy drinker and made a living as a smuggler. He had been banned from Boston for having

[19] Alfred A. Cave, *The Pequot War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 59-60; and Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian Wars*, 19.

sexual relations with another man's wife, and in the Plymouth Colony, Stone had tried to stab the governor, Thomas Prence.[20] Despite New England's lack of affection for Stone, he was still an Englishman. Whether the New Englanders truly wanted to give Stone justice, or he was just an excuse to assert more dominance in the region, the English colonists used his death to confront the Pequots.

The New Englanders' official position after confronting the Pequots was that the Pequots had indeed murdered John Stone. Jonathan Brewster, one of the New Englanders who confronted the Pequots, wrote to Governor John Winthrop, Jr. that he was "enformed that [Sassacus] with his Brother, upon consultation with their own men, was an actor in the death of Stone, and thes men being [five] of the pricipall actors alive."[21] The New Englanders required the Pequots to pay a large indemnity for the loss Stone and his crew. They also demanded the Pequots to submit to English trade demands. Lastly, the New Englanders demanded the Pequots surrender all of the Native Americans who had a hand in the attack on Stone's vessel. As Brewster mentioned, that meant five men, including the sachem Sassacus and his brother. The Pequots refused the issue of trade. In regard to surrendering the persons responsible, they left the request open, but never turned over any of their people to the English. The Pequots did pay some of the indemnity, but left most of the balance unpaid. Their response angered the English, and animosity grew between the two groups. The colonial political powers had already made their position clear if the Pequots did not cooperate. The authorities stated

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[20]Cave, *The Pequot War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 59-60; Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian Wars*, 19; and Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 38.
[21] Jonathan Brewster to John Winthrop, Jr., June 18, 1636 in *The Winthrop Papers, 1631-1637*, ed. The Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 3 (Boston, Merrymount Press, 1943), 270.

that "if they shall not give you satisfaction… or shall be found guilty of any of the sayd Murthers and will not delivver the Actours in them into our hands… we hold ourselves free from any… peace… and shall revenge the blood of our Countrimen."[22] Both sides realized that a war was inevitable. The English realized that their mission to create their Promised Land would require the submission of the Pequots to their demands. The Pequost realized that they needed allies to oppose the English.[23]

The Pequots pursued an alliance with their rivals, the Narragansetts. The Pequots realized that Native Americans needed to stand together against the English if they were going to survive. The Pequots warned the Narragansetts that if the Pequots were destroyed by the English, it would only be a matter of time before the English destroyed the Narragansetts as well. Unfortunately for the Pequots, the Narragansetts refused the alliance. It was unfortunate for the Narragansetts as well, as the Pequots' prophecy would come true in King Philip's War. It was not that the Narragansetts supported the English, but instead that they hated the Pequots. The Narragansetts had only recently become a power in the region, helped by the decline of the Pequots.[24]

The Narragansetts also had a close English friend, Roger Williams. Williams, like Church a generation later, was a friend of Native Americans and open to their way of

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[22] "Commission and Instructions from the Colony of Massachusetts Bay to John Winthrop, Jr. for the Treaty with the Pequots, May 4, 1636" in *The Winthrop Papers, 1631-1637*, ed. The Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 3 (Boston, Merrymount Press, 1943), 284-285.
[23] David Horowitz, *The First Frontier: The Indian Wars and America's Origins* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 40; and Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian Wars*, 20.
[24] Horowitz, *The First Frontier*, 42; and Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian Wars*, 20. For more on Native American and Anglo-Alliances as a result of pre-existing rivalries see Roger L. Nichols, "Backdrop for Disaster: Causes of the Arikara War of 1823," in *The American Indian, Past and Present*, 4th ed., 130-141; and Richard White, "The Winning of the West: The Expansion of the Western Sioux in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, 2nd ed., ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2007), 685-704.

life. Williams was a proponent of freedom of religion, and contrary to much of Puritan society, did not view Native American culture or religion as demonic or uncivilized. To make further note of how extreme his views were perceived by Puritan society, Williams was exiled by the Massachusetts Bay Colony under charges of heresy. In exile, Williams lived with the Narragansetts, and despite his problems with his former Puritan neighbors, convinced the Narragansetts to fight with the English. Williams also convinced the English to use the Narragansetts because they would better oppose the Pequot's style of fighting.[25] This is an interesting point, not only in the study of the Pequot War, but later in King Philip's War and the origins of American guerilla warfare. Williams and Church are ideologically similar. Williams recruited his Native American friends to fight with the New Englanders, without which victory may not have been possible. Church uses similar relationships with Native Americans to help New England's cause in King Philip's War, but uses those relationships to teach the New Englanders themselves how to fight rather than relying on others. Church thus possesses the same mentality as Williams, but uses his connections to lessen the colonies' dependence on Native American allies rather than acquiring them.

A second group of murders occurred when Native Americans attacked a vessel carrying John Oldham and his crew in 1636. Oldham was much like Stone, as he was an abrasive individual who was banned from the Plymouth Colony. Interestingly, Oldham was also the brother in law of Jonathan Brewster, the man who wrote John Winthrop that Sassacus and his brother were responsible for the murder of John Stone. Another trader, John Gallop, was sailing near Block Island when he noticed several Native Americans

[25] Horowitz, *The First Frontier*, 43; and Drinnon, *Facing West*, 41.

aboard the deck of Oldham's ship. Gallop and his crew began firing muskets at the Native Americans on deck. Then Gallop twice rammed Oldham's smaller craft with his own vessel, knocking several of the Native Americans into the sea, where they presumably drowned. Gallop and his crew boarded the vessel, where they found two more Native Americans. The crew captured the two Natives and bound them. However, Gallop claimed that he was afraid they would escape their bonds, and for his safety and the safety of his crew, had them thrown into the sea, still bound. Inside the ship, they found Oldham's body. Oldham's head was caved in with an axe or club, and his legs were cut off. Interestingly, the Native Americans who occupied Block Island, and likely the ones on Oldham's boat, were not Pequots. They were from the eastern band of Niantics, who had abandoned the Pequots for the Narragansetts. However, the Narragansetts had reached out to form an alliance with the English, thanks to the work of Roger Williams, and the English were still angry about the Pequots response to the terms delivered after the death of John Stone. Massachusetts appointed John Endicott as commander of a ninety man force responsible for avenging Oldham. Sources differ on who to blame for the attack: the Pequots, the Narragansetts, or the Niantics of Block Island. Regardless of the blame, Endicott's orders were clear. Endicott was to land on Block Island, kill the men, and capture the women and children. Afterword, Endicott was to travel back to the mainland, and demand the Pequots honor the terms the English had given them after Stone's death. If the Pequots did not comply, Endicott was to attack them.[26]

[26] Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 12; Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian Wars*, 20; Segal and Stineback, *Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny*, 110; and Horowitz, *The First Frontier*, 41.

Endicott and his forces arrived at Block Island late in the day on August 22, 1636. Block Island is located off the coast of New England. The island is not large, with an area of less than ten square miles. When Endicott's forces attempted to land their vessels, they were met with a volley of arrows. The seas were rough, which made the boats toss and turn. Because of the nature of English training regarding matchlock muskets, the English colonist's could not return fire as they could not stand to position their weapons. Many New Englanders fell or jumped out of the boats and stumbled through the rough water to the shore. Once on the beach, the New Englanders formed and fired into the direction of the Niantic defenders. The Niantics dispersed into the brush. The English suffered a few arrow wounds from the volley, but nothing significant, thanks to their armor. However, due to their late arrival on the island and with darkness closing in, the New Englanders decided to set up camp.[27]

The New Englanders spent two days on the island. The first day, Endicott's men came across a small group of Niantics. The colonists fired at the group, who returned fire with their bows and disappeared. Other than that small exchange, the New Englanders could not locate any enemy forces, much less kill the men and capture the women and children. The New Englanders did find Niantic villages. Over the course of the two days, the English colonists burned all of the wigwams, sleeping mats, and corn they could find. They even killed the dogs which were left at the village. At the end of the second day, Endicott ordered a withdrawal. Endicott claimed in his report that his men may have killed about fourteen Niantics in the landing, yet that was a lie at worst and a hopeful estimation at best. The Narragansetts later informed the English that only one Niantic

[27] Cave, *The Pequot War*, 110-111.

was killed. The eastern band of Niantics did, however, make peace with the English colonists after the raid.[28] This may have been due to the destruction of their homes, or because of the alliance between the Narragansetts and the New Englanders. Regardless, the attack on Block Island demonstrates the ineffectiveness of European warfare against the Native Americans. Whether the expedition killed fourteen or one, the fact that the New Englanders could not find their enemies, on an island with an area less than ten square miles, shows a considerable lack of ability on their part. Even if the New Englanders did kill fourteen Niantics, it was during the first exchange of fire that the Niantics initiated. Furthermore, Endicott's orders were to kill the men and capture the women and children. Endicott left Block Island with no captives, and no proof of enemy casualties. In contrast, during King Philip's War, King William's War, and Queen Anne's War, Benjamin Church was responsible for the capture of hundreds of prisoners. Endicott's raid on Block Island shows that New England severely lacked the skills to conduct offensive operations in the North American wilderness in the early seventeenth century. The destruction of homes and crops, however, was a tactic used by American forces against Native Americans for the next two and a half centuries.

Endicott's forces moved to the Pequots on the mainland, where they demanded retribution for the death of John Stone. A Pequot messenger told Endicott that his sachem, Sassacus, admitted to killing Stone himself, to settle a blood feud. The Pequots were justified in the murder, and furthermore, could not turn over their sachem for the death of Stone. Endicott's forces were waiting near the village while the Pequot messenger relayed correspondence back and forth. After a long delay, Endicott decided

[28] Cave, *The Pequot War*, 111-113; and Drinnon, *Facing West*, 36.

to attack, believing the Pequots were not complying, but stalling to make preparations for fight. Endicott's forces attacked, but the Pequost had fled. Endicott and his men burned the homes and crops, as they had done on Block Island. They planned to follow up with an attack on the western Niantics, allies to the Pequots, but could not find them either. Again they burned the homes and crops and went home.[29] Like Block Island, the expedition was unsuccessful with the exception of the destruction of property,

The Pequot War only had two events which could arguably be described as battles: a 1637 raid on a Pequot village near the Mystic River, and a battle at Sadqua Swamp. That is not to say that the period before those fights was without violence. After Endicott's raid, the Pequots retaliated with a series of attacks along the frontier. The Pequots besieged Fort Saybrook, an English trading post. The commander of Fort Saybrook, Lion Gardiner, wrote to Governor John Winthrop, Jr. explaining the nature of Pequot attacks. Gardiner wrote:

> I with ten men more with me went abov our neck of land to fire some small bushes and marshes whear we though the enemie might have lien in ambush… we started [three] Indians and having the possibility to… cutt them short we runinge to meet them… when rushed out of the woods [two] severall ways of a great company of Indians which we gave fire upon… yet they run.. to the very mussels of our pieces and soe the shot [three] men downe… and [three] more shott that escaped of which one died that same night.[30]

As the New Englanders fled the ambush, they made their way to a clear, elevated area in sight of the fort. The attacking Pequots then withdrew because, as Gardiner wrote, "they durst not follow us any further because it is under

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[29] Cave, *The Pequot War*, 116-117; Horowitz*, The First Frontier*, 41; and Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian Wars*, 20.
[30]Lion Gardiner to John Winthrop, September, 1636, in *The Winthrop Papers, 1631-1637*, ed. The Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 3 (Boston, Merrymount Press, 1943), 381-382.

command of our great guns."[31] The passage demonstrates several things about the war. The Pequots used ambush tactics often. Gardiner's troops were trying to clear brush to prevent an ambush, and in doing so, were ambushed. The Pequots actually used their own men to bait the New Englanders into the ambush, showing that the English pursuits were ineffective. The passage also shows how the Pequots got in close proximity to their enemies to fire their arrows, killing three men and wounding three others, one of which was mortal wound. That was a sixty percent casualty rate for the small English party. Also, the Pequots retreated from the threat of artillery support or reinforcements from the fort. Those Pequot tactics are exemplary of guerilla warfare.

The Pequots attacked settlements where they burned homes and killed English livestock. They also set up ambushes on the roads to attacks the New Englanders who pursued them. The Pequots killed about thirty New Englanders in the raids.[32] In April of 1637, the Pequots attacked the village of Wethersfield, Connecticut. They killed nine New Englanders, and two girls were taken captive in the raid.[33] The siege and raids provoked English action. The colonies declared war against the Pequots. The war united the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth as the Confederation of the United Colonies of New England. The alliance, combined with the Narragansetts, created a strong advantage in power for the English. Uncas, the sachem of the Mohegans, also aligned his people with the colonists. Uncas brought the New Englanders four Pequot heads and a live Pequot captive as a sign of good friendship. The

[31] Gardiner to Winthrop, September, 1636, 381-382.
[32] Drinnon, *Facing West*, 41.
[33] Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian Wars*, 21.

Mohegans tortured the captive, with English help, and then ate the captive while the English watched. While seemingly brutal, the death of the captive was part of Native American culture in the eastern woodlands. The act also demonstrates that Uncas and his followers identified themselves as Mohegans, not Pequots.[34] Uncas's offering demonstrates another fact as well. In one single act, Uncas produced more evidence of military skill against the Pequots than the New Englanders had been able to produce. Now, with the support of strong Native American allies, the English were finally able to take the offensive.

The colonies appointed Captain John Mason as the commander of its forces. Mason was given ninety men from New England and was accompanied by Narragansetts, eastern Niantics, and Mohegans. The Native American allies far outnumbered the English militiamen. Captain John Underhill and a smaller force of seventy men accompanied Mason on the expedition.[35] The New Englanders were completely dependent on their Native American allies. Mason wrote that, with the help of their allies, the New Englander force "should come upon their backs and possibly might surprise them unaware."[36] The plan depended on the allies themselves, but also on access through their territory. The first attack was on a Pequot village near the Mystic River. The village is sometimes described as a fort. However, this was not a fort in the sense that it contained soldiers, artillery, and strategic military value. Instead, it was a village surrounded by a palisade made from logs buried in the dirt. The villagers were living in wigwams inside

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[34] Segal and Stineback, *Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny*, 110; Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian Wars*, 20; Geiter and Speck, *Colonial America*, 75-76; Horowitz, *The First Frontier*, 46-47; and Oberg, *Uncas,* 61-62.
[35] John Grenier, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier, 1607-1814* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), 27.
[36] Mason, *A Brief History of the Pequot War*, 2.

the palisade. Some have argued the village was occupied only by women, children, and the elderly at the time of the English attack. While many men may have been gone, it is unlikely that there were no fighting men at the fort, due to the resistance the English met. En route to the fort, several times the English became confused as to the direction their Native American guides were leading them, sometimes even questioning their loyalty. "Fearing [the New Englanders] might have been deluded" by their Native American guides, Mason "gave the word for some of the Indians to come up," to which he "demanded, Where is the Fort?"[37] Uncas resolved the matter, and eventually, the New Englanders arrived at the village.[38] The problems on the march to the village demonstrate two things. First, the English colonists were lost without their guides. Second, the Puritans did not truly trust even their own Native American allies.

The palisade had two entrances, and the New Englanders decided to attack both at once on May 26, 1637. As the New Englanders entered the fort, they met effective resistance from arrow fire. Two New Englanders were killed, and twenty were wounded, five of which needed to be carried.[39] The English were pushed back, but regrouped. Mason ordered the English to form a perimeter around the fort, followed by a second perimeter formed by the Narragansetts and Mohegans. Mason then ordered the New Englanders to set fire to the village, with the assistance of gunpowder. The resulting fire and explosions created chaos around the village. Many of the Pequots were burned alive. The Mohegans had been given yellow bands to wear before the fight to distinguish them from the Pequots, but there had not been enough bands for the Narragansetts. As a result,

[37] Mason, *A Brief History of the Pequot War*, 7.
[38] Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian Wars*, 21; Horowitz, *The First Frontier*, 47; Drinnon, *Facing West*, 41; and Cave, *The Pequot War*, 148.
[39] Oberg, *Uncas*, 68.

some of the Narragansetst were killed by the New Englanders. The Narragansett and Mohegan allies forming the second perimeter were expecting to take captives. Instead, the English colonists gunned the fleeing Pequots down as they fled the fort. Hundreds of Pequots were killed, and out of the village, only five survived the fight.[40] The New Englanders had not been able to find their way to the fort, nor take it once they got there. They did, however, perform the one tactic they had gotten good at, which was burning the Pequot homes, only this time with the Pequots still inside. The fire finally forced the Pequots to do what the English wanted, that is, face them and fight them. Only the Pequots were not fighting, but fleeing right into English muskets.

The Narragansetts were shocked at the atrocities committed against the Pequots, their traditional enemies. The Narragansetts abandoned the English, leaving them at the fort. The New Englanders became angry because they feared they could not find their way back home. Underhill wrote negatively of the Narragansetts "leaving us in this distressed condition, not knowing which way to march out of the colony."[41] Despite being appalled by the English actions, the Mohegans guided the New Englanders from the fort. On the way back, Pequot warriors discovered the fort, and tracked the English attackers. It was the Mohegans who fought off the Pequot attackers. The Mohegans also carried the wounded English and guided them back to their boats.[42] The actions concerning the Narragansett desertion, the Mohegan guiding and covering the English withdrawal, and the comments concerning the atrocities demonstrated several things. The English, despite a large victory, were still completely dependent on their Native

[40] Oberg, *Uncas*, 68; Confer*, Daily Life during the Indian War*, 22; Grenier*, The First Way of War*, 28; and Drinnon, *Facing West*, 43.
[41] Underhill*, Nevves from America*, 42.
[42] Oberg, *Uncas,* 68; Drinnon, *Facing West*, 43; and Horowitz, *The First Frontier*, 48.

American allies, as demonstrated by Underhill. Despite that dependence, the New Englanders viewed Native Americans as inferior, sub-human, and even demonic.

Even some of the English colonists were shocked by the atrocities, but Mason and Underhill used biblical references to justify their actions. Underhill, commenting on his fellow Englishmen's disapproval, wrote

> Should not Christians have more mercy and compassion? But I would referre you to David's warre, when a people is growne to such a height of bloud, and sinne against God and man, and all confederates in the action, there hee hath no repects to persons… but puts them to the sword, and the most terriblest death that may bee: sometimes the scripture declareth women and children must perish with their parents… We had sufficient light from the word of God for our proceedings.[43]

Underhill's comments not only justify his actions, but demonstrate the growing attitudes that Puritans in New England formed following the Pequot War. Mason agreed that the Pequot fate was God's will. Mason wrote that "God was above them, who laughed his Enemies and the Enemies of his People to scorn, making them as a fiery Oven."[44]

The New Englanders, still with the help of their Native American allies, continued to relentlessly pursue the Pequots in the following months. In June, the New England and Mohegan forces met a considerable Pequot force in the Sadqua Swamp in Connecticut. At the swamp, however, the Pequot women and children were allowed to surrender. About two hundred women and children were captured but the men were killed in the fighting.[45] It is interesting to note that the New Englanders were using smaller pistol bullets in their muskets to create a spray of shot in the thick brush of the

[43] Underhill, *Nevves from America*, 40.
[44] Mason, *A Brief History of the Pequot War*, 9.
[45] Oberg, *Uncas*, 71.

swamp. This practice was a Native American innovation in the use of firearms. Initially, the colonists considered the practice to be improper use and attributed this to Native American ignorance.[46] However, it seems by the Pequot War, the colonists had accepted its value in the New World. The Pequot sachem, Sassacus, and about thirty to forty Pequot warriors went to the Mohawks in an effort to form an alliance. Instead, the Mohawks beheaded Sassacus and killed the Pequots. The Mohawks gave the Pequot scalps to the English as an offering of peace. Also in June, a group of Pequot refugees surrendered to the Massachusetts Militia commanded by Captain Israel Stoughton. The women and children were sold as slaves, while the men were turned over to John Gallop, the same man who had discovered Oldham's body. Similar to his actions before the war, Gallop sailed off the coast into deep waters and threw the Pequot men overboard.[47]

Eventually, a few remaining Pequots sought peace with the English colonists. Peace was created with the Treaty of Hartford. At the time of the treaty, there were only about two hundred Pequots left.[48] By August of 1637, the Mohegans had adopted many of the remaining Pequots into their group. Many of the women and children were sold to other Native American groups. The Pequot men who survived were sold into slavery in the West Indies. The *Desire*, the ship who carried the Pequots to the Caribbean, returned with one of the first shipments of African slaves to New England. The Native American allies, though much better off than the Pequost, were still negatively affected by the war. The Narragansett sachem, Miantonomo, was promised that he would acquire the Pequot hunting lands in return for his alliance. Instead, English settlers took the land for

[46] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 65.
[47] Drinnon, *Facing West*, 44; Horowitz, *The First Frontier*, 50; and Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian Wars*, 21.
[48] Greiner, *The First Way of War*, 28-29.

themselves. Miantonomo realized that his old enemies, the Pequots, were right in their warning of English power. Miantonomo attempted to unite New England's indigenous peoples against the New Englanders, but he was killed on orders from Uncas by request of New England officials. Uncas was also forced to give up some lands to the English. The English colonists emerged as the dominant power in New England, but the power placed new strains on the New Englanders' relationship with Native Americans.[49]

As a result of the somewhat easy victory over the Pequots, the New Englanders felt confident in their self imposed ideas of superiority over Native Americans. The war seemed to affirm their ideas that they were God's chosen people, and could conquer anything that stood in their way. The colonists neglected to realize that their victory had come at the hands of their Native American allies. Additionally, the New Englanders' actions, during and after the war, alienated the very allies on which they depended. When King Philip's War erupted a generation later, New England's confidence was shattered. The New Englanders still lacked the ability to fight an offensive war against Native Americans on their own. That is, until Benjamin Church adopted the ways of his Native American allies.

[49] Oberg, *Uncas*, 72; Horowitz, *The First Frontier*, 51; Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 14; Confer, *Daily Life during the Indian War*, 23-24; Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 29; and Drinnon, *Facing West*, 56, and 60.

Chapter III

BENJAMIN CHURCH: TWO WORLDS AND THE FOUNDATION FOR A TRANSCULTURAL MILITARY COMPANY

In 1676, soldiers under the command of Benjamin Church successfully tracked down and killed the Wampanoag sachem Metacom, known by the English as King Philip. A few weeks later, Church and his men captured the Wampanoag war chief, Annawon. The two victories, for the most part, ended King Philip's War, a brutal war in colonial New England that pitted the English settlers and their Native American allies against other Native American groups, specifically the Wampanoags, the Narragansetts, and the Nipmucks. While the victory itself is important, what is more interesting is the innovative tactics Church used to achieve victory, and the place from where he derived those tactics. Why are Church's tactics more interesting than the victory alone, and what is significant about their origins? Church learned his tactics from his Wampanoag friends, members of the same group as Metacom. While Church is most known for his innovative military tactics, it is important to see how Church accepted Native American culture in ways other than just military tactics. Church's willingness to learn tactics came from a deeper appreciation of Native American culture, something very rare for a Puritan in colonial New England.

King Philip's War was, among many things, the result of irreconcilable cultural differences between the Puritans of New England and their Native American neighbors. The two cultures were very different with conflicting ideas about land, gender roles, agriculture, weapons, dress, and religion. Benjamin Church transcended these cultural

barriers and formed the most successful military unit of the war. Church embraced many of the cultural aspects of Native American society that his fellow Puritans rebuked. Church considered himself to be a devout Puritan. His elevated status after the war seems to imply that the rest of New England felt so as well. However, it was Church's friendly attitude towards Native Americans before the war that provided the opportunity for success. Church was truly a man of two worlds.

One area where Church occupied two worlds was in regard to land. When the English colonists arrived in New England, they immediately attempted to recreate the type of civilization they had known in Europe, which required the colonists to clear the land. The New Englanders chopped down trees and put up fences. They built houses and churches and roads. Their actions permanently changed the landscape of New England.[1] Native American views about the land indirectly caused the colonists to believe the land was free for the taking. The Native Americans of New England were semi-nomadic. They did not move day to day, but did move throughout the year. The seasonally mobile people occupied hunting camps in the fall. During the winter, they would move to wooded valleys. Springtime saw another movement to fishing camps. Summer saw the Native Americans of New England occupying large, open fields. The Native Americans lived in houses that were constructed from pole frames and had skin or bark panels. In times of imminent warfare, they constructed palisades around the village, but the villages themselves were only semi-permanent, moving with the people as the seasons changed. The Native Americans' mobility allowed for the recovery of the ecosystems they

[1]Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 12, and17.

occupied. The result was that the Native Americans of New England had left a small mark on the environment when the English colonists arrived.[2] However, the conflict was not an environmental issue but a cultural one. It is the ideological difference about how the land was to be used that caused problems between to the two groups.

The colonists assumed that the land was unused and therefore available for their own use. Francis Higginson exemplifies the Puritan opinion of Native American land practice in his letter: "the Indians are not able to make of the one-fourth part of the land, neither have they settled any places, as towns to dwell in, nor any ground they challenge as their own possession."[3] The New Englanders assumed that the Native Americans had failed to create boundaries and tame the land. The English colonists viewed the land as a commodity that could be bought or sold. From the English viewpoint, once the land was owned, the owner had the right to do with it as they pleased and to exclude others from the land as well. Land was considered property, and property was a significant part of Anglo-American identity. The colonists saw it as their duty to civilize the land. Civilization was also connected with Christianity, especially in their practiced form of Puritanism. In the Puritan mindset, Christianity inspired manliness and manliness inspired civilization. Thus, the duty of a Christian man was to recreate the English landscape in New England. Also, Puritan rhetoric believed that the Native Americans had failed to civilize the land because they themselves were uncivilized.

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[2] Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 12; and Patrick M. Malone, *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics among the New England Indians* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1991), 10-11, and 14.
[3] Francis Higginson, "The Reverend Francis Higginson to His Friends at Leicester, September, 1629," in *Letters from New England: The Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629-1638*, ed. Everett Emerson (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), 37.

Some Puritan leaders took the connection between civilization and Christianity even further. John Winthrop wrote "the natives in these parts, God's hand hath so pursued them as, for three hundred miles' space, the greatest part of them are swept away by smallpox."[4] The idea that the smallpox epidemic was in God's control is not profound, especially for a Puritan writer. Winthrop continues "so as God hath hereby cleared our title to this place."[5] Here, Winthrop suggests not only that God controlled the plague, but that He provided it to kill the Native Americans to clear the land for the Puritans. Further, Winthrop wrote "those who remain in these parts, not being fifty, have put themselves under our protection and freely confined themselves and their interest within certain limits."[6] Winthrop suggests that God killed many of the Native Americans to give their land to the Puritans.

Another problem associated with land was the English importation of livestock. The introduction of livestock had an overwhelmingly negative effect on the Native Americans in New England. Livestock attacked two major forms of Native American sustenance. The grazing of animals required land used for hunting or farming. The livestock also scared away game animals such as deer. Livestock, especially pigs, had a habit of finding Native American food stores and depleting them. Livestock may have also carried diseases that were potentially detrimental to Native American populations. Some Native Americans, Metacom included, tried to accept English methods of raising livestock, but faced problems because they were not treated as equals with the whites in

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[4]John Winthrop, "John Winthrop to Sir Simonds D'Ewes, July 21, 1634," in *Letters from New England: The Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629-1638*, ed. Everett Emerson (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), 119.
[5]John Winthrop, "John Winthrop to Sir Simonds D'Ewes," 119.
[6]John Winthrop, "John Winthrop to Sir Simonds D'Ewes," 119.

terms of property rights and regulations concerning livestock. English livestock practices created even more tensions regarding land use, but more importantly, showed the Native Americans that they were not being treated fairly by their Puritan neighbors.[7]

The conflicting ideas about land, civilization, and property manifested themselves violently once King Philip's War broke out. As stated, the New Englanders identified themselves by their property. The Native Americans who attacked the English settlements not only attacked the people but their property as well. By threatening their property, the Native Americans were threatening their English culture and civility. Therefore, while King Philip's War was very much a physical war marked by bloodshed, it was also a cultural war.[8] Killing a New Englander eliminated one person. Burning a village removed the English culture from the landscape.

It is interesting to note that many of the powerful New England elites were involved with speculation and land acquisition. Among those investors was Benjamin Church. In this case, Church was a member of the Puritan world, as he desired to own and occupy his own land for the purpose of European settlement. Church acquired land in Rhode Island at Sakonnet, which the New Englanders later referred to as Little Compton. A proprietary committee purchased the land from the sachem of the Sakonnet Wampanoags. Church built a home there and developed the land in ways common to

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[7] Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 13-14; and Virginia DeJohn Anderson, "King Philip's Herds: Indians, Colonists, and the Problem of Livestock in Early New England," *The William and Mary Quarterly* Third Series 51, no. 4 (October, 1994): 601-624.
[8] Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 74-79.

English ideology. After the war, Church continued to develop the area and contribute to the Anglicization of the landscape.[9]

In terms of expansion into Native American territory, Church was no different than his Puritan associates. Church was, after all, a New England born Puritan. What makes Church different in terms of land, and later in regards to forming a transcultural military unit, is the relationship he formed with the Wampanoags on the frontier. Church's own words indicate that he was "the First Englishman that built upon that neck, which was full of Indians."[10] The fact that Church was the first white man to occupy the area is in itself not so profound. However, Church also writes that he exercised "the uttermost caution… to keep myself free from offending my Indian neighbors all round about me."[11] This entry is significant. Between the two entries, Church explains that his new home site requires a lot of work to develop because the land is natural and untouched. This includes the clearing of land and construction of the home, outbuildings, and fences. Church also indicates that livestock would be acquired once the home site construction was finished. Here exists evidence of both English and Native American cultural attitudes concerning land. The New Englander feels the need to civilize the landscape for his family. At the same time, the evidence shows that the area was populated with Native Americans, yet seemingly untouched to the English writer. Church is special because of his efforts to develop his own lands in ways to ensure he does not offend the Wampanoags with whom he shares the land. This indicates that

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[9] Douglas Edward Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England and King Philip's War* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1958), 14-15; Daniel R. Mandell, *King Philip's War: Colonial Expansion, Native Resistance, and the End of Indian Sovereignty* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 46; and Alan and Mary Simpson, introduction to *Diary of King Philip's War*, *1675-1676*, by Benjamin Church (Chester, CT: The Pequot Press, 1975), 37-38.
[10] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War, 1675-1676* (1716; repr., The Pequot Press, 1975), 65.
[11] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 65.

Church was aware of the problems associated with land and English expansion and that he wished to prevent those problems with his neighbors.

Church established positive relationships with the Wampanoags near his home. Church formed especially close ties with the Sakonnet sachem, Awashonks. When war was eminent between the New Englanders and the Wampanoags, Metacom recruited as many Native American followers as he could, including Awashonks. Awashonks held a ceremonial dance, to which Church was invited. At the dance, Awashonks informed Church of Metacom's offer, and that the some of the Sakonnet Wampanoags desired to join him. Church attempted to persuade Awashonks to side with the New Englanders rather than Metacom. Metacom's envoy was also present at the dance and wished to do harm to Church, but Awashonks would not allow it. Awashonks asked Church to speak to the Plymouth government on behalf of the Sakonnets. Awashonks also provided Church with an escort to see him home safely. [12]

In his own account of the event, Church makes it clear that there was a lot of trust between himself and Awashonks. In Church's account, Awashonks informed Church that Metacom threatened the Sakonnets to join him, or his own Wampanoag troops would attack the New Englanders under the guise of the Sakonnets, which would bring English retaliation. Awashonks also claimed that Metacom said the New Englanders were building an army and preparing for war against the Native Americans. Church informed Awashonks that he had no knowledge of English war preparations and that he would not "have brought up his goods to settle in that place if he apprehended an entering into war

[12]Robert W. Black, *Ranger Dawn: The American Ranger from the Colonial Era to the Mexican War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2009), 16-17; Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, 34-35; and Mandell, *King Philip's War,* 46.

with so near a neighbor." [13] As a sign of good faith, Church kept his goods at his home. Church's Native American friends and neighbors urged him to secure his property elsewhere, but he refused. Once the war broke out and Church became involved as a military officer, the same Native American friends moved and secured his goods for him.[14]

Despite Church's efforts to recruit Awashonks and the Sakonnets or encourage their neutrality, they allied themselves to Metacom. The Sakonnets fought against the New Englanders during the early part of the war and participated in the burning of Puritan settlements. At the same time, Church argued for the colonial governments to allow him to create a military unit that utilized the same tactics that Metacom was using against the New Englanders. Church was denied time and again, but eventually, after a string of English defeats, he was allowed to create such a force. One of his first actions was reaching out to Awashonks. This time, Awashonks expressed a desire to actively support Church, and ultimately the New Englanders. Many of Awashonks's fighters expressed loyalty to Church and willingness to fight under his command. Church readily forgave and accepted Awashonks's offer but had to convince the New England officials, who mistrusted all Native Americans, much less those who had fought against them. Church personally vouched for Awashonks, citing their close friendship and the willingness of the Sakonnets to prove their loyalty through military action. Most Native Americans who fought against the New Englanders faced severe punishment if captured.

[13]Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 70.
[14] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 69-73.

Thanks to Church, Awashonks avoided the English repercussions despite allegiance to Metacom for the early part of the war.[15]

Even during the early part of the war, when the Sakonnets were an enemy of the New Englanders, Church sought military action intended to protect Awashonks from both Metacom and the English forces. In his memoirs, Church claims to have argued for the pursuit of Metacom's forces in a way to push them opposite of Awashonks's land "with the greater earnestness because of his promise made to Awashonks."[16] As stated, Awashonks occupied the same territory as Church's own lands, so therefore he may have actually intended to protect his own property. However, given that Church recorded this in his diary after the war when he was not only a victor but a regional hero, in a period where Native Americans were still very much a threat to Anglo-Americans, and the American romanticization of Native Americans had not yet occurred, it seems unlikely that he would claim to be acting for Awashonks's benefit rather than his own.

Awashonks's friendship with Church is more indicative of Church's acceptance of Native Americans than any Anglicization on the part of the Sakonnets. Awashonks and the Sakonnets were just as resistant to English expansion and culture as Metacom and his war chiefs. Yet, Awashonks was not only a cordial neighbor of Church, but a friend. The only explanation is that Church impressed Awashonks and the Sakonnets by not embodying the typical English attitudes toward Native Americans. They maintained the friendship while they were officially at war, and the cultures they fought to protect were inarguably at war. During the war, the two found a way to reconcile, despite the

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[15] Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, 210; Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 116; and James D. Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 96-97, and 154.
[16] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 80.

repercussions they could have faced from their own ethnic group. Yet that friendship began when Church bought and began developing the land where the Sakonnets lived. Church and Awashonks occupied the same land. Church and Awashonks used the land in ways relative to their own culture, but they built a relationship from their proximity. Church's friendship with Awashonks demonstrates that he bridged the world of Puritan New England and the Wampanoag world. It is even more interesting when considering that Awashonks was a woman.

Church's relationship with Awashonks is important because it crossed not only racial barriers but gender barriers as well. Neither the Native Americans nor the English practiced true gender equality. Both groups had specified gender roles that were expected to be filled by members of a certain sex. Any person who tried to cross into the other culturally designated gender role would have drawn attention. However, in the case of Awashonks, Native American women could fill powerful roles such as that of a sachem. A sachem could inherit their position, but could only hold it by gaining the respect of their people. Church understood that Awashonks' power was conceded by her people because of her leadership ability. As sachem, Awashonks possessed political power of her people. Awashonks was the diplomatic representative for the Sakonnets.[17] In Reverend William Hubbard's account of King Philip's war, he describes Awashonks as "a Squaw Sachem of Sakonet, one of Philips Allies."[18] Church's own diary confirms

[17] R. Todd Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians: Masculinity, Religion, and Colonialism in Early New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 22-23. For more on gender roles,see Natalie Zemon Davis, "Iroquois Women, European Women," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, 2nd ed., ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2007), 84-106; and Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).
[18] William Hubbard, *The History of the Indian Wars in New England from the First Settlement to the Termination of the War with King Philip, in 1677* (1677; repr., New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969), 251.

Metacom's diplomatic envoy to Awashonks. The fact that she is diplomatically approached by Metacom and Church demonstrate that she is a significant political player in the region. Hubbard also recorded that Awashonks "sent three Messengers to the Governour of Plimouth to sue for Life and Liberty, promising Submission to their Government on that Condition." [19] Here, Awashonks used her political power in attempt to achieve peace between her people and the government of the Plymouth Colony. The attempted diplomacy is technically an example of international, and definitely intercultural, politics.[20]

It is difficult to know what the ethnocentric government of the Plymouth Colony thought of Awashonks's diplomatic approach because she surrendered her forces at Church's request before the messengers returned. Unfortunately, Church had his own superiors who embodied more typical Puritan views. Whether because she was a Native American or because she was a woman, Church's commanding officer, Major William Bradford ignored the diplomatic terms agreed to by Church and Awashonks. Church argued to have the Sakonnets placed under his control, but Bradford insisted the Native Americans be marched to a new location. Church was visibly angry, as his own diary indicates that "he walked off from the rest" and explained to Awashonks that it "twas best to obey orders, and that if he could not accompany them to Sandwich, it should not be above a week before he would meet them there."[21] Though it was clearly diplomacy between Church and Awashonks that led to the Sakonnets switching sides, Puritan elites of the era chose to give credit to Bradford. Cotton Mather referred to Bradford as "the

[19] Hubbard, *The History of the Indian Wars in New England*, 251.
[20] Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians*, 22-23.
[21] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 120.

Oedipus by whom that Sphinx was conquered."[22] Mather's statement reveals several things about the Puritan view of Awashonks. First, Mather removes Awashonks's political agency by referring to her as conquered. Whereas Church explicitly describes a diplomatic discussion between himself and the Sakonnet sachem, Mather's version implies that Awashonks was defeated in battle by the New Englanders. Second, by referring to her as a sphinx, Mather removes Awashonks's humanity. Mather's view is concurrent with Puritan ideology that Native Americans were beasts or only partly human. William Bradford's father, also named William Bradford and governor of the Plymouth Colony years before King Philip's War, referred to the New World as a land of "wild beasts and wild men."[23] In which category would Bradford have placed Awashonks?

As sachem, Awashonks embodied a role as spiritual leader for the Sakonnets as well. Sachems were associated with spiritual power and ceremonies that were important for a time such as King Philip's War.[24] Church's dairy indicates that once Metacom's messengers arrived to recruit the Sakonnet, Awashonks "called her subjects together to make a great dance, which is the custom of that nation when they advise about momentous affairs."[25] Church also recorded that when he arrived, "Awashonks herself in

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[22] Increase Mather and Cotton Mather, *The History of King Philip's War and Also, A History of the Same War*, ed. Samuel G. Drake (Boston: Printed for the Author and Sold to Him at No. 13 Bromfield St., 1862), 170.
[23] William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (New York, Knopf, 1952), 62.
[24] Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians*, 22-23. For more on women's roles in ceremonies, see Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998). For more on women as political leaders, see Martha W. McCartney, "Cockacoeske, Queen of Pamunkey: Diplomat and Suzeraine," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, Rev. ed., ed. Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 243-266.
[25] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 69.

a foaming sweat was leading the dance."[26] This record indicates that: Awashonks was a spiritual as well as political leader, or that the two were intertwined; the dance was a cultural and spiritual method for determining which diplomatic route to take; and Benjamin Church understood the cultural significance of the dance and Awashonks's role in it. Church's relationship with Awashonks was important because it demonstrates that Church believed that a woman, at least a Native American woman, is capable of being an effective political and spiritual leader.

Whereas a Native American woman like Awashonks could become the most prominent member of her society, Puritan women possessed much smaller leadership roles. Puritan society was dominated by male authority, with the exception of the household. Women did not dominate the household, but they did exercise some authority. Women maintained the home and took care of small children while men worked in fields. Women's association with the home and children led to their designated responsibility of preparing the next generation for Christian adulthood. Richard Mather stated that women suffer in childbirth and should also suffer to ensure the "salvation of the childs soule."[27] Women's role of providing spiritual guidance for children fits a Christian agenda. Their role of cooking meals and tending the sick created a spiritual, if not religious, authority within the household, even if the husband was technically the head of house defined by patriarchal authority.[28]

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[26] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 69.
[27]Richard Mather, as quoted in David D. Hall, "From 'Religion and Society' to Practices: The New Religious History," in *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 152.
[28]Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 173-178.

Both Puritan and Native American societies adhered to specific gender roles. A specific gender role where Benjamin Church occupied two worlds was connected to agriculture. By his own account, Church was involved in agriculture, as upon acquiring his new land, he set out "diligently settling his new farm."[29] Agriculture was necessary for sustenance in the New World, and both the English and Native Americans participated in agriculture. For the English, males dominated agricultural production. By placing agriculture in a male specific role, the practice of farming becomes something more than the ability to put food on the table. The ability to produce food signifies dominance and independence. Male dominance was asserted over the earth because he was able to bend nature to his will. Independence was established because the man was able to provide for himself and his family. Therefore, the New Englanders also perceived the opposite to be true. If a man cannot grow enough crops, he was a failure and becomes subordinate both to the earth and the other farmers, whom he depends on for sustenance. The ability to develop and successfully farm the land also signifies civility. Land that has been surveyed, cleared, and farmed is considered civilized land. Therefore, by English standards, those doing the surveying, clearing, and farming are civilized people.[30]

The Native Americans of New England were also agricultural people, but, as stated, moved with the seasons. English colonists misunderstood Native American agriculture. Furthermore, for the Native Americans, females dominated agriculture. The English colonists perceived the Native American female agricultural practices to be the products of male aggression towards their women. The New Englanders viewed the

[29]Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 67.
[30] Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians*, 82-83.

Native American men as lazy, uncivilized, and cruel because of the reversed gender role. Cotton Mather described the men as "Barbarous" and "slothful" because they made their "poor Squaws, or Wives, to plant."[31] New Englanders were not just upset about Native American agriculture because they felt the men were cruel or lazy. New Englanders were upset because the reversal of their accepted gender roles conflicted with what they believed to be the natural order. Males dominated Puritan society, and in this Puritan male dominated society, men farmed. In the Puritan mindset, if Native American men refused to farm, they were not real men.[32]

Native Americans were also accustomed to their own gender roles about agriculture. As stated, in Native American society, women did the agricultural labor. From their viewpoint, the English were not men because they placed so much emphasis on farming, which the Native Americans considered to be feminine. For the Native Americans, male responsibilities included hunting and warfare. Englishmen shared the Native American association with warfare and manliness, even if their ideas of military conduct differed greatly. Hunting, on the other hand, was a facet of Native American culture that drew animosity from the Puritans. For the English, a man's value emanated from hard work and provision. Puritans perceived hunting as a lackadaisical pastime, mostly because of its nature in the European society from which they came. In Europe, hunting was a pastime for the nobility. Most of the colonists who came to New England in the seventeenth century were from levels of society that were not afforded the

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[31] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana: Or, the Ecclesiastical History of New England, from Its First Planting in the Year 1620. Unto the Year of Our Lord, 1698,* vol. 1 (London, Thomas Parkhurst, 1702), 505.
[32] Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 134; Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 10-11; and Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians*, 82-83.

opportunity to hunt. The English colonists not only viewed Native American men as lazy, but were offended that Native Americans were participating in an activity deemed socially superior to them. While hunting was available to them in the New World, their cultural attitudes towards it caused refrain. Those who did attempt to hunt game lacked the skill to be successful. The lack of skill resulted in unsuccessful hunts which were regarded as a waste of time. The Puritans regarded activity that wasted time to be almost sinful, which further condemned the activity.[33] Cotton Mather recorded that Native American men's "Chief Employment, when they'll condescend unto any, is hunting."[34] Mather's statement provides insight into both cultures. First, the passage gives evidence that Native American men hunt. Not only do they hunt, they hunt enough or place so much emphasis on hunting that a New Englander considers it to be their job. Also, Mather's tone implies that the Puritans do not truly consider hunting to be work. Puritan ideas of Native American laziness are also present in the passage because Mather refers to hunting as the only work Native American men are willing to undertake. Higginson recorded a similar comment, which states "the men for the most part live idly. They do nothing but hunt and fish. Their wives set their corn and do all their other work."[35] It is clear that both men, religious leaders of their communities, found fault with Native American hunting, agriculture, and gender roles.

Church possessed masculinity in both worlds. He was a New England Puritan who fulfilled his cultural role of manliness through farming. However, Church was also a hunter. Despite Puritan ideas about hunting, Church hunted and was seemingly

[33] Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians*, 83; and Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 52-54.
[34] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana,* 505.
[35] Francis Higginson, "The Reverend Francis Higginson to His Friends at Leicester," 37.

successful at it. Church does not specifically mention himself hunting in his account of King Philip's War, but he does leave evidence that he has some hunting experience. As commander of scouting party, Church and some of his soldiers, both English and Native American, "killed a deer, flayed, roasted, and ate the most of him before the army came up with them."[36] The scouting party that Church commanded moved some distance ahead of the main body to provide reconnaissance and search for ambushes. The fact that Church's party arrived at its destination and killed the deer fast enough to prepare it and eat it before the main body arrived demonstrates proficiency in hunting.

Later in the war, Church recorded that he saw an enemy combatant, who turned out to be Metacom. Church quickly "clapped his gun up, and had doubtless dispatched him but that one of his own Indians called hastily to him, not to fire, for he believed it one of his own men."[37] While this act in itself does not seem related to hunting, a deeper understanding in the evolution of colonial military tactics provides insight. Hunting and firearms were connected in the New World. Firearms were European weapons, but it was the Native Americans who made them effective and used them in the manner in which Church used them at this instance. Most of the Englishmen who came to New England in the early colonial period did not have any combat experience. Any training they may have had came from European militia drills which placed an emphasis on rank and file movement and the proper ways to hold and carry a firearm. Actual firearms training in terms of marksmanship was nonexistent. The European method of warfare involved

[36] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 75.
[37] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 141.

formations of men firing volleys at their enemies. Volleys of musket fire were simply new versions of European archery volleys.[38]

Native Americans did not approve of the European volleys and instead believed that warfare utilized individual skills. Individual skill placed an emphasis on marksmanship. Native American marksmanship originated in hunting. Though they had less experience with firearms than their European counterparts, Native Americans were excellent marksmen. Similar to Europeans, the firearm replaced the bow for Native Americans. However, whereas European archery was based on large groups firing as many arrows towards an enemy as possible, Native American archery was a part of hunting even more so than combat. Native Americans were accustomed to stalking game in the woods and having to quickly raise their weapon and fire. After European contact, Native Americans continued to develop these skills with guns instead of bows. Romanticized views of early colonists as riflemen and hunters are a myth, with some exceptions, like Church.[39] Methodical stalking of game and quickly shouldering the weapon to fire is identical to Church's statement concerning his pursuit of Metacom. Church also demonstrates marksmanship at the Great Swamp Fight, where he claims to have "fired upon them, killed fourteen dead on the spot and wounded a greater number than he killed, many of which died afterwards with their wounds."[40] Even if Church embellished his claims of how many he killed in the battle, the excerpt is still indicative of a Native American style of fighting. If Church had been fighting in a European style

[38] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 54-58.
[39] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 52, and 59-60; and Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 102.
[40] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 102.

formation, he could not have known how many he had killed nor would anyone have been interested in his individual marksmanship.

It is also interesting to note that Church's description indicates he used a flintlock musket. The primary weapon of English soldiers in 1675 was the matchlock musket. From the European view, matchlocks were suitable firearms for combat even though they were heavy and required a lit fuse to fire the weapon. When fighting in organized formations, this did not appear to be too much of a disadvantage. Native Americans, on the other hand, needed a weapon that enabled them to crawl or run, and in any environment. A running deer would not allow a hunter an opportunity to light his fuse, and the smell of the burning fuse might alert game. Therefore, Native Americans preferred to use flintlock firearms which contained a self igniting action. Flintlocks were also more accurate than matchlocks, something that would have been negated by European style formation fighting. A flintlock would have been the only firearm at the time of King Philip's War that would have allowed Church to quickly raise his rifle and potentially fire at an enemy. The flintlocks were better suited for Native American hunting, and ultimately, combat in the New World. Another Native American innovation of European technology was the perceived misuse of ammunition. Native Americans sometimes used smaller, pistol rounds in their long guns. The English perceived this as ignorance, when actually the Native Americans were creating weapons capable of firing a spray of shot, which was effective in hunting game and later in warfare. [41]

Through marksmanship, appropriation and innovation, the Native Americans quickly became better at the use of firearms than their European counterparts. The

[41] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 32-36, and 65; and Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 102.

success of Native American marksmen and men like Church caused the colonies to rethink their position on firearms. After King Philip's War, the colonies placed an emphasis on marksmanship as part of their defense. Also, the colonists recognized a need to replace matchlocks with flintlocks. In fact, the Plymouth Colony banned matchlocks after King Philip's War.[42]

Native Americans excelled at the use of firearms, which in turn caused English anger and distrust. The English viewed a well armed Native American population as a threat and created legislation to prevent the Native Americans from acquiring firearms. Firearms legislation required the Native Americans to acquire their firearms through the black market or from other European powers. William Bradford wrote that the laws were ineffective due to "the baseness of sundry unworthy persons, both English, Dutch, and French" who "led with the like of covetousness" sold illegal firearms to the Native Americans "for their own gain."[43] New Englanders who were caught selling firearms to or repairing firearms for Native Americans were punished by the law and socially admonished by other members of Puritan society. Offenders were publicly whipped and branded. They were viewed not just as law breakers but as agents of evil. However, the variety of different Native American groups in the region, and the presence of other possible European threats, forced the Puritan New Englanders to entrust firearms to some Native American groups. This led to the arming of the Wampanoag. Later, when tensions were rising between Metacom and the New Englanders, the colonial governments attempted to confiscate the Wampanoag firearms. Metacom refused, and possibly perceived the attempt at gun control as further aggression by the New

[42] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 35, and 60.
[43] William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation,* 204.

Englanders.[44] Benjamin Church not only lived among armed Native Americans, but allowed them to fight under him during the war.

Another strong English criticism was the Native Americans' dress and appearance. The New Englanders regarded Native American dress as uncivilized. Native American dress was a combination of symbolism, spirituality, and practicality. Native American dress, though not always understood by Europeans, symbolized a person's political power and social status within a group. The dress could also symbolize allegiance to a certain clan. Dress and appearance contained powerful symbols for the English as well. The New Englanders felt that their dress was a symbol of civilization. In their eyes, European clothing was one of the things that distinguished them from their Native American neighbors. When Native Americans converted to Christianity, the New Englanders expected them to adopt European dress. This included hairstyles as well. The Puritans viewed long hair as effeminate and expected the converted Native American males to cut their hair. Native American converts did adopt some form of European dress, but usually maintained elements of their traditional culture as well.[45]

In Native American culture, almost all aspects of life contained the property of being secular as well as spiritual. This applied to dress and appearance as well. Clothing could demonstrate social status and political power, but also spiritual power. War time rituals could be both religious and militaristic. Native Americans dressed for battle with the intention to look fearsome as well as summon spiritual energy. Battle dress may have included tattoos, paint, feather, bones, and jewelry. Puritans viewed the practice of

[44] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 42-44, and 48-51.
[45] Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians*, 23, and 107-110; Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 63, and 67; and Lepore, *The Name of War*, 93.

piercing and tattooing the skin as an assault on God's own image. Furthermore, because Puritans viewed the world through a Christian lens, they perceived everything in a very dualistic nature. For the New Englanders, everything concerning the spiritual world was good or evil, holy or demonic. The Puritans already drew lines between themselves and their Native American neighbors in terms of Christianity. They surely recognized a spiritual element of the Native American dress and assumed it to be demonic.[46]

Native American dress was also practical. Many pieces of Native American attire were better suited for the New World or warfare in general. Snow shoes and moccasins allowed their wearers to travel lightly and quickly in the appropriate terrain. Native Americans also used camouflage to hide themselves in the swamps and forests. Many of the English officers viewed the use of camouflage as cowardly and uncivilized. Church, like other frontiersmen, adopted some articles of Native American dress. Frontiersman often wore a combination of Native American and European style clothing. Church and his soldiers wore moccasins to move quickly and quietly through the woods. They also replaced the European sword with the Native American tomahawk as their close combat weapon of choice.[47]

When Church captured Metacom's war chief, Annawon, he "crept close behind the old man, with his hatchet in his hand."[48] Instead of marching into the Annawon's camp with English military might, Church and a few of his Native American soldiers captured Annawon without a fight. More significant in terms of dress and Church's

[46] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 20; and Lepore, *The Name of War*, 93.
[47] Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 98; Lepore, *The Name of War*, 84-85; and Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 66.
[48] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 167.

acceptance of Native American culture is Annawon's actions upon capture. Annawon surrendered his men and his weapons. Then the two parties shared their supper while Annawon told Church of his younger days as a warrior.[49] Annawon then "pulled out Philip's belt, curiously wrought with wompom, being nine inches broad, wrought with black and white wompom in various figures and flowers, and pictures of many birds and beasts." [50] Annawon draped the belts around Church's shoulders. Annawon then placed Metacom's headdress, with "two flags on the back part which hung down his back" on Church's head and another piece "with a star upon the end of it."[51] Annawon told Church "these were Philip's royalties which he was wont to adorn himself with when he sat in state" and that he was happy to "present them to Captain Church, who had won them."[52] This event is significant for several reasons. First, it shows mutual respect for both men, even though their respective loyalties had deemed them enemies. Second, it shows the power and symbolism associated with Native American dress. The clothes were Metacom's political and ceremonial attire. The clothes signified that Metacom was the sachem of that group of Wampanoag. Annawon perceives Church to have accumulated Metacom's power and feels the articles rightfully belong to Church. Finally, it shows that Benjamin Church deviated from the dominant Puritan views concerning Native American dress. Church, though himself the victor of the engagement, allowed Annawon to dress him in Native American clothing. Church could have refused the gesture. Instead, the fact that he chose to include it in his account of the war indicates that he was honored.

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[49] Benjamin Church, *Diaryof King Philip's War*, 170.
[50] Benjamin Church, *Diaryof King Philip's War*, 170.
[51] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 170.
[52] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 170.

Both Puritan New Englanders and Native Americans led lives filled with religious meaning. For the Native Americans, the natural world was filled with spirituality. Puritans viewed the world through a very specific Christian context. The New England Christians viewed animistic religions as satanic worship. For the Native Americans, spirituality permeated almost every aspect of their lives. Therefore, the Puritans attempted to force Native Americans who converted to Christianity to abandon all aspects of their former culture, not just religious practices. Some Puritans even regarded Native American languages as demonic and required that the Native Americans learn English so that God would listen to their prayers. Many Native American converts maintained elements of their traditional cultures. Some of the converts caught maintaining traditional elements were publicly punished. Native Americans who did attempt to become culturally white were still not fully accepted by Puritan society. Regardless of their cultural transition, Anglicized Native Americans were still Native Americans with a background in their traditional culture and socially shunned my most Puritans. Unfortunately, assimilated Native Americans were often shunned by their own people as well.[53]

The New England governments placed a great deal of emphasis on preventing whites from embracing Native American culture. The New Englanders regarded anyone who adopted Native American cultures as a reprobate. From a Puritan viewpoint, anyone who embraced Native American culture had not only forsaken their spiritual worth, but also accepted a devolved way of life. Some colonies, like Massachusetts, even passed

[53] Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 68, and 74-77; and Lepore, *The Name of War*, 29, and 32. See also Jill Lepore, "Dead Men Tell No Tales: John Sassamon and the Fatal Consequences of Liberty," in *American Quarterly* 46, no.4 (December, 1994): 479-503.

legislation outlawing its citizens from embracing Native American culture. Adopting Native American cultural elements was admonished and English people who lived among the Native Americans were suspected as traitors. The Puritans were obsessed with maintaining racial purity as well as cultural purity, which caused English resistance to miscegenation in New England. Native Americans, however, conducted rituals which sometimes included adopting captives into their societies. Joshua Tift was captured by Native Americans during King Philip's War. Tift eventually married a Native American woman and lived as a member of her society. Later, when Tift was recovered by the New Englanders, he was accused of treason. An account of the event refers to Tift as a "Renegadoe English Man."[54] Tift was accused of building a fort for the Narragansetts. The Puritan accusers assumed Tift must have built the fort because it was well built and therefore impossibly a product of Native American skill. It was also concluded that Tift chose life over death and in doing so chose his sachem over God. Tift was hanged, drawn and quartered, and his head placed on a spike for his alleged crimes.[55] Tift's public execution serves not only as his punishment but as a warning to other New Englanders to not associate with Native Americans.

Benjamin Church violated some, if not most, of these cultural barriers. Church embraced elements of Native American culture such as hunting. Church also appropriated certain articles of Native American clothing. Church wore moccasins because of their practicality. Church donned Metacom's ceremonial clothing. Church did not technically live among the Native Americans, but his frontier home in Sakonnet

[54] Nathaniel Saltonstall, "The Present State of New-England with Respect to the Indian War, February 8, 1675/6," in *Narratives of the Indian Wars: 1675-1699*, ed. Charles H. Lincoln (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1913), 67.
[55] Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 153, 164, and 178; and Lepore, *The Name of War*, 131-133.

was in close proximity to Native Americans with whom he formed close relationships. During the war, Church eventually gained command of a force that was comprised of both New Englanders and Native Americans. During those campaigns, Church was immersed in Native American culture, sharing food, language, and shelter. Some historians mention that Church may have been sexually involved with Awashonks.[56] If that is true, Church definitely crossed some boundaries, including miscegenation and violating his Christian marriage vows. There is, however, little evidence to support Church's sexual relationship with Awashonks and the theory is possibly the result of nineteenth century romanticism. Still, Church's own memoirs state that he had some sort of a close relationship with Awashonks, even if nonsexual.

Benjamin Church was also known to treat Native Americans fairly, even those who fought against him. After Church received his commission, some of the Native Americans serving under him brought him a captive. Church's Native American troops explained that the captive was known as Little Eyes, and that he was "the rogue that would have killed [Church] at Awashonk's dance."[57] The Native American captors expected Church to execute the captive, but instead Church informed them that he should receive the proper quarter due an enemy. Furthermore, Church orders Little Eyes to be left "on an island until [Church] returned; and, lest the English should light on them and kill them, [Church] would leave [Little Eye's] cousin, Lightfoot, to be his guard. Little Eyes expressed himself very thankful to [Church]."[58] This passage indicateds several

[56] Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 102; and Philip Gould, "Reinventing Benjamin Church: Virtue, Citizenship and the History of King Philip's War in Early National America," *Journal of the Early Republic* 16, no. 4 (Winter, 1996): 656.
[57] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 133.
[58] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 133.

things. First, Church respected Native Americans, including his enemies. Second, Church recognizes what typical English soldiers would do if they found Little Eyes. Last, Church's own forces contain Native Americans and that he trusted them to follow his orders, even to the point of placing one of the captive's own kin in charge of him. The entire incident, from the Native Americans explaining Little Eye's identity to Church to Lightfoot's responsibility as captor indicates that Church had a close relationship with his Native American brothers in arms.

Benjamin Church and the other New England officials had many disagreement s on the treatment of Native Americans. Church was friendly to Native Americans and did not understand why the rest of the New Englanders treated them so badly. Many of the Native American captives were sold into slavery by the New England governments, including Metacom's wife and son. Puritan victory and the ensuing practice of selling Native American captives into slavery cemented the idea for New Englanders that they were the superior race in the region. Native Americans who were not sold into slavery were forced to adopt English culture and were relegated to subservient positions in the colonies.[59]

Church allowed many captives the opportunity to fight for him rather than be sold into slavery. When Church captured Annawon, Church ordered his troops to spare the lives of all of Annawon's troops. Church also told Annawon that "it was not in his power to promise him his life, but he must carry him to his masters at Plymouth, and he would entreat them for his life."[60] Later, Church sought to capture Metacom's last war captain,

[59] Lepore, *The Name of War*, 150-153, 166, and 184-185; Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*, 84; and Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians*, 197.
[60] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 169.

Tuspaquin. Tuspaquin was considered to be a war captain with a great amount of spiritual power and could not be harmed by bullets.[61] Most Puritans would have considered Tuspaquin to be a satanic enemy because of his perceived combination of animistic spirituality and military prowess. Church, on the other hand, explained that "he would not have him killed, for there was a war broke out in the eastern part of the country, and he would have him saved to go with them to fight the eastern Indians."[62] Here, in two examples, Church attempted to preserve the lives of his enemies, including high ranking members of Metacom's army. Church later wrote that "he found to his grief that the heads of Annawon, Tuspaquin, [had been] cut off, which were the last of Philip's friends."[63] The two had been executed by order of the General Court of Plymouth. Church expressed grief at the two men being killed, while reiterating that they were Metacom's loyal subjects.[64] It is important to remember that Church's diary was written well after the war, when white New Englanders were the dominant force in the region. Puritan self perception of cultural supremacy was at a high, and yet Church still grieved for the loss of the two men. It is most likely that Church's attitude about the incident was genuine.

Benjamin Church also contradicted English treatment of Native American casualties in other ways. Native Americans practiced a form of ritualistic torture on captives that was undeniably brutal. European firsthand accounts of Native American torture are described in vivid detail that no doubt provokes an emotional response. In William Bradford's words, the Native Americans were "savage people, who are cruel,

[61] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 173.
[62] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 173.
[63] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 173.
[64] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 173.

barbarous and most treacherous, being most furious in their rage and merciless where they overcome; not being content only to kill and take away life, but delight to torment men in the most bloody manner" which included "flaying some alive with the shells of fishes, cutting off the members and joints of others by piecemeal and broiling on the coals, eat the collops of their flesh in their sight whilst they live, with other cruelties horrible to be related."[65] Brutal as it may be, however, Native American torture was ritualistic and therefore had some cultural significance, usually related to the mourning of kin who had died. Despite English attempts to berate the Native Americans for their practices, the New Englanders also supported such practices against their enemies, except with no cultural value. Church gives an account of such torture where a Native American captive was brought before Church's commanding officer. Church claims that "some were for torturing of him to bring him to a more ample confession."[66] In this case, there is no spiritual reason for torturing the captive but instead the torture is intended to produce intelligence. Church wrote that he "interceded and prevailed for his escaping torture."[67] Instead, the general ordered the captive to be executed with a tomahawk blow to the head. Church "taking no delight in the sport, framed an errand at some distance"[68] from the execution. Unfortunately, the execution was botched and the prisoner escaped towards where Church had gone to avoid the sight. The result was a struggle, where Church was forced to recapture the fugitive. The executioner caught up to them and killed the man while in Church's arms. While Church played a significant role in the

[65] William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 26.
[66] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 103.
[67] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 103.
[68] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 103.

man's death, it is evident that Church opposed the practice of torturing prisoners, despite some English support of the action.[69]

Another conflicting cultural practice was the desecration of dead bodies. English accounts describe the mutilation of their dead at the hands of Native Americans similar to the torture accounts. The desecration accounts are intended to provoke an emotional response. However, the Puritans also participated in the desecration of corpses. For Native Americans, the act was intended to create fear in the enemy but it was associated with a strong spiritual connection. The mutilation was intended to affect the soul of the dead in the afterlife. Such acts would inspire fear in Native American enemies because they understood the cultural significance of the act. From a Puritan standpoint, the act was horrific, not because it affected their soul but because it affected their civility. The English interpreted the act as barbarous and uncivilized. The English also participated in the mutilation of corpses, but as a symbol of victory and celebration.[70] Hypocritically, from an English view point, the desecration of bodies was a demonstration of civility. As in the case of Joshua Tift, English corpse mutilation was a symbol of law and order, the exact opposite of barbarous savagery. In an account of Tift's execution, Nathaniel Saltonstall states that Tift was "brought to our Army, and tryed by a Counsel of War" where he was "condemned to be hanged and Quartered, which was accordingly done."[71] The passage indicates that Tift was executed followed by having his body torn apart. The letter states the punishment plainly because its audience understood this to be an acceptable way of dealing with prisoners accused of treason.

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[69] Lepore, *The Name of War*, 17.
[70] Lepore, *The Name of War*, 81-82, and 180.
[71] Nathaniel Saltonstall, "The Present State of New-England with Respect to the Indian War," 67.

Church also participates in the desecration of corpses, and in that sense is no different from other Puritans. In his account, once Metacom was dead and his men had secured the area, Church "gave them the news of Philip's death upon which the whole army gave three loud huzzahs."[72] This indicates the celebratory nature of the event. Then the troops dragged the body through the mud. Church ordered Metacom's body to be drawn and quartered, typical of the punishment for treason. Church also commands the body parts to be hanged from a tree. Church claims the mutilation of Metacom's corpse is because he "caused many an Englishman's body to lie unburied and rot above ground."[73] Church gave Metacom's hand, which was recognizable due to scarring from a previous wound, to the Native American who had shot and killed him. Church brought Metacom's head back to the Puritan authorities in New England. However, Church does not allow the English to mutilate Metacom's body but instead asks a Native American to perform the task. The Native American charged with the mutilation "made a small speech, directing it to Philip, and said, he had been a very great man."[74] While the end result is not different from Tift's punishment, it is interesting to note that Church had Metacom's body dismembered by a Native American. Though Tift was an Englishman, Church gives a more detailed and somewhat more honorable account of Metacom's corpse than Tift's executioners allowed him.

Church was a man who occupied two worlds in colonial New England. Church was an Anglo-American. He was a Puritan. He was a farmer. He fought against Native Americans to defend his English colony. Church adopted and accepted many aspects of

[72] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 154.
[73] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 156.
[74] Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War*, 156.

Native American culture that made him exceptional to his New England peers. Church is most famous for his innovation of military tactics that led to the death of Metacom and the capture of Annawon during King Philip's War in colonial New England. Church's military innovations are the origins of the American ranger. It is just as important to see Church's acceptance of Native American culture in ways unrelated to warfare. After all, it was Church's relationships with Native Americans that led to his advanced tactics, not the other way around.

Chapter IV

BENJAMIN CHURCH: THE FORMATION OF A TRANSCULTURAL MILITARY COMPANY DURING KING PHILIP'S WAR

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the English colonists of New England were at war with several Native American groups of the region, specifically the Wampanoags, the Narragansetts, and the Nipmucks. Initially, the colonists were losing the war, but a series of turning points put them on the path to victory. Though it is likely that the English colonists would have won the war regardless, it was a company under the command of Benjamin Church that effectively defeated the Wampanoags by killing their Sachem, Metacom, who was known by the English as King Philip. Church's company also captured Metacom's war chief, Annawon.

What enabled Church's men to track down and kill or capture such highly valued targets? Benjamin Church recognized the need for colonial soldiers to understand and adopt Native American methods of warfare. This required an understanding of Native American culture. His unique company was comprised of Anglo-Americans and Native Americans. Church used Native Americans to train his men, and the unit integrated Native American tactics with European weapons and rank structure. Church's innovative transition to a new style of warfare is considered a turning point in King Philip's War. Church's innovative methods were only possible because of his receptive views of Native

American culture. More importantly, Church's group was the first of what today is recognized as an American ranger company. Church's transcultural methods of warfare continue to influence the course of American warfare today.

King Philip's War was not the first conflict in New England. The results of the the Pequot War influenced the tactics used by Metacom's forces as well as those used by the English colonists. The effectiveness and ineffectiveness of those tactics forced Church to recognize the need for a transcultural army. As Anglo-American populations expanded into Native American lands, the settlers tried a method of European warfare to protect them. The settlers constructed blockhouses in the frontier. In the case of an attack, the settlers could go to the blockhouses to fight off their attackers. However, the Anglo-Americans were completely dependent on Native American allies to take the offensive. New Englanders themselves could not effectively fight a Native American force in wilderness terrain. New Englanders won the Pequot War with the help of Native American allies. Their victory over the Pequots made the New Englanders a very real threat to the other Native American groups in the region. Old alliances and perceptions of power began to change.[1] English tactics could be effective, but only in open fields or populated areas. Native American tactics still dominated the wilderness and paths linking villages.

Alliances between the New Englanders and Native Americans as well as alliances between Native American groups continued to change prior to King Philip's War. The cause for King Philip's War is heavily debated. Arguments range from economic

[1]John Grenier, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 26-29; and Robert W. Black, *Ranger Dawn: The American Ranger from the Colonial Period to the Mexican War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2009), 13.

disputes over English encroachment into Native American lands to political conflict over the rights of Native Americans. There are cultural arguments stemming from the conversion and confinement of Native Americans to Praying Towns to Metacom's perception that he was losing power on account of the colonists.[2] Whereas the causes of the war are debatable, Metacom himself clearly perceived the Puritans and Praying Indians as a threat to his power. Several attempts were made to proselytize to Metacom by both New Englanders and Praying Indians. One Praying Indian named William Abahton, who would later fight for the English in King Philip's War, approached Metacom about converting to Christianity. Metacom responded:

> You praying Indians do reject your sachems, and refuse to pay them tribute, in so much that if any of my people turn to pray unto God, I do reckon that I have lost him. He will no longer own me for his sachem, nor pay me any tribute. And hence it will come to pass, that if I should pray to God, and all my people with me, I must become as a common man among them, and so lose all my power and authority over them.[3]

Clearly Metacom's own words indicate that the New Englanders and their practices regarding the conversion and confinement of Native Americans to Praying Towns conflicted with his role as sachem.

Other sources from the period show how New England perceived the cause of the war and where they placed the blame. Nathaniel Saltonstall sent a letter to London in

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[2] Daniel R. Mandell, *King Philip's War: Colonial Expansion, Native Resistance, and the End of Indian Sovereignty* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010), 37-38, and 46; Virginia DeJohn Anderson, "King Philip's Herds: Indians, Colonists, and the Problem of Livestock in Early New England," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 51, no. 4 (October, 1994): 601-624; Jill Lepore, "Dead Men Tell No Tales: John Sassamon and the Fatal Consequences of Liberty," *American Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (December, 1994): 479-512; and Philip Gould, "Reinventing Benjamin Church: Virtue, Citizenship and the History of King Philip's War in Early National America," *Journal of the Early Republic* 16, no. 4 (Winter, 1996): 645.

[3] Metacom, "Dialogue with Anthony and William Abahton," in *John Eliot's Indian Dialogues: A Study in Cultural Interaction,* ed. Henry W. Bowden and James P. Ronda (Wesport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 121.

1675 which gives an explanation for the cause of the war. According to Saltonstall, an educated, Christian Native American called Sassoman went to proselytize to Metacom. In Saltonstall's words:

> But King Philip (Heathenlike) instead of receiving the Gospel, would immediately have killed this Sosomon, but by the Perswasion of some about him did not do it, but sent him by the Hands of three of his Men to Prison; who as he was going to Prison, Exhorted and Taught them in the Christian Religion; they not liking his Discourse, immediately Murthered him after a most Barbarous Manner.[4]

Eventually the three Native Americans accused of killing Sassoman were captured, tried, and executed. According to Saltonstall, the trial "so Exasperated King Philip, that from that Day after, he studied to be Revenged on the English, judging that the English Authority have nothing to do to Hang any of his Indians for killing another."[5] Whether or not therein lies the truth about the cause of the war, it is evident is that there was a gap between the interests of Metacom and the English colonists. What it important is that, according to the Puritans, the blame lies with non-Christian, "heathenlike" Native Americans. The letter indicates a Puritan feeling of cultural superiority over their Native American enemies. The only sign of respect towards Native Americans in the letter is in regard to Sassoman, who essentially abandoned his culture through English education. This ideology made men like Church, who embraced aspects of Native American culture, outliers within the New England mindset.

When Metacom felt that diplomacy was no longer an option, he built alliances with other Native American groups such as the Narragansetts and the Nipmucks to make

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[4] Nathaniel Saltonstall, "The Present State of New-England with Respect to the Indian War, November 10, 1675," in *Narratives of the Indian Wars: 1675-1699*, ed. Charles H. Lincoln (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1913), 24-25.
[5]Saltonstall, "The Present State of New-England," 25.

war against the New Englanders. According to Puritan letters, Metacom's recruitment of allies and acquisition of arms was slow, deliberate, and methodical:

> [Philip] privately sent Messengers to most of the Indian Sagamores and Sachems round about him, telling them that the English had a Design to cut off all of the Indians round about them, and that if they did not Joyn together, they would lose their Lives and Lands; whereupon several Sachems became his Confederates. And having now five Years Time, had Opportunity enough to furnish themselves with Ammunition and Arms, which they did plentifully at Canada, amongst the French; and its judged that some English have also Sold them some Arms through ignorance of their Design[6]

The letter indicates that Metacom spent several years accruing European weaponry for his allies for his war against the New Englanders. The letter may also possibly indicate some frontier tension and alliance building between European powers as well. What is evident is that Metacom's army was well equipped, and the New Englanders had no technological advantage in weaponry. Tactics played a major role in the upcoming fight. That is not to say that muskets were the only weapons to be used, nor the most reliable. New Englanders still utilized pikes and swords, whereas Native Americans employed bows and arrows, spears, and war clubs. Battlefield conditions determined the effectiveness of these weapons. At close range or in wet weather, a musket could be more of a liability than an advantage.[7]

The New Englanders recruited Native American allies as well. Perhaps no one was more influential to the recruitment of New England's Native American allies than Benjamin Church. Church's background influenced his ability to recruit Native American allies. He was a born in the Plymouth Colony in 1639. The son of a carpenter, he trained

[6] Saltonstall, "The Present State of New-England,"26.
[7] Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 58.

as a carpenter himself. Church's father was a veteran of the Pequot War. New Englanders knew Church for being physically strong and aggressive. He married into an influential Massachusetts family and acquired some Native American land in Sakonnet, on the frontier. Church's frontier home was surrounded by Wampanoag neighbors. Church established friendships with his Wampanoag neighbors and learned their language. Church also learned Wampanoag methods of hunting and warfare. Church was often a liaison between the Native world and the world of Puritan New England.[8] Even before King Philip's War, Church established ties with his Native American neighbors and at the same time distanced himself from Puritan New England. It seems that Church saw Native Americans as neighbors and that to be successful in the New World, one could not remain one hundred percent European.

When it became evident to the Puritans that Metacom was building alliances to make war on the colony, the New Englanders commissioned Church to recruit Native American allies. Church's recruitment efforts led him Awashonks, a female sachem of the Sakonnet Wampanoags who lived near his home. Female sachems were not uncommon, as the wife of Metacom's late brother also carried the title. Awashonks invited Church to a dance where they discussed the rumors of war. Church and Awashonks were friends, and some have even suggested that the frontiersman and the Awashonks engaged in an extra-marital affair. Awashonks warned Church that Metacom had sent men to recruit her allegiance and that he had blackmailed her into support, claiming he would attack the New Englanders from her borders to provoke Puritan retaliation against her. Furthermore, Awashonks's people supported Metacom. Church

[8] Black, *Ranger Dawn*,16-17; Gould, "Reinventing Benjamin Church," 646; and Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 46.

warned Awashonks that she would do better to stand with New England. Despite her friendship with Church, Awashonks's people served Metacom's interests early in the war.[9]

King Philip's War started slowly. New Englanders were familiar with rumors of an impending attack. In the summer of 1675, a few small, isolated incidents of Native American raids led the colonists to believe the rumored war was underway. In response, a young New Englander fired on and killed a Native American that was running from a house. The act triggered a response from Metacom, who had his warriors attack and kill isolated New Englanders when the opportunity rose. The first town struck was a frontier village called Swansea. Swansea stood between Metacom's lands and the Plymouth Colony and Massachusetts.[10]

The blockhouse tactics that served the colonists well in previous years became ineffective in King Philip's War. The colonists fled to the blockhouses at the first sign of an attack. Rather than attack the blockhouse, the Native American attackers burned the settler's homes, crops, and storehouses. Not only were the Native American attacks devastating, New Englanders sat in the blockhouses and let the attacks go uncontested. They defended themselves against an enemy that would not attack. The Native American enemies placed ambushes on roads leading into and out of settlements. There they attacked any who journeyed through the wilderness. With European defensive tactics ineffective, it became necessary for the settlers to take the war to their Native American

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[9] Thomas Church, *The History of Philip's War: Commonly Called the Great Indian War of 1675 and 1676* (Boston: J.H.A. Frost, 1827), 20-26; and Douglas Edward Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1958), 35-35; and Gould, "Reinventing Benjamin Church," 656.

[10] Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, 35; and Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 48-50.

enemies. The colonists faced the problem of not knowing how to find their enemies or how to fight them in the wilderness.[11] As William Harris protested in 1676, the Native Americans made war and "mischiefs in a secret sly, skulking way, no man knew well how to find them."[12]

Church volunteered as an officer to lead the militia against the Wampanoags and the Narragansetts. Church recognized the need for his men to be able to fight like their Native American enemies. Church appealed to his Native American friends to join his cause and instruct his men. Church recruited fellow frontiersman and hunters to fill his ranks. Though Church was a rough frontiersman, his faith led many of his actions. Church's orders began with prayer and biblical scripture and the requirement that his officers also consult the Bible. Many of Church's Native American allies were Praying Indians. His faith possibly persuaded his command, as Church ordered to take as many captives as possible. Church also gave Native American captives a choice to join his unit or face death or slavery at the hands of the colonies. This recruiting of captives led some Native Americans to be very loyal to Church. Some of Church's Native American soldiers were so loyal to him that they would willingly fight against their own kin. It is important to note that not all Wampanoags, Naragansetts, and Nipmucks fought for Metacom, nor did all Praying Indians side with the colonies. In fact, about one-third of Church's men were Wampanoag. Ranks from both sides contained both Christian and non-Christian Native Americans.[13]

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[11] Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 30-32.
[12] William Harris, "Letter to Sir Joseph Williamson, August 12, 1676," as quoted in Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 32.
[13] Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 17-18; Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 32-33; and Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 61, 68, and 116.

Church's company was small and often acted independently of the orders of the larger, traditional European forces in New England. The company moved using the terrain for cover and faster mobility. Unlike the other New England forces, Church and his men rarely occupied forts. Church was of the opinion that defensive warfare from fortified walls was useless, as the Native Americans often avoided them. He did not overlook all European tactics, but often adapted his tactics around them. Church studied the way large New England military units moved from location to location. Small groups of Metacom's warriors stalked or eluded numerically superior New England forces from concealed positions. Church's unit counter-stalked these groups, often forcing them into an ambush where they were killed or captured. The small size of Church's unit allowed it to move quickly and stealthily through the forest. Its small size, however, was not much of a disadvantage as the enemy often believed Church's men to be part of the larger New England force they were stalking, leading them to surrender.[14]

Church's company became well known among the colonial commanders for its ability to maneuver through wooded terrain undetected. Once, the governor of the colony ordered his officers to march their units to a rendezvous point. Church's company was used as a forward scout element. By marching some distance ahead of the larger body, Church could detect and repel ambushes or return intelligence of enemy activity to the rear. According to Church's account,

> Major Bradford desired Mr. Church, with a commanded party, consisting of English and some Friend Indians, to march in the front at some distance from the main body. Their orders were to keep so far before as not to be insight of the army. And so they did, for by the way, they killed a deer, flayed, roasted, and eat the most of him, before the army came up with them.[15]

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[14] Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 56-57.
[15] Thomas Church, *History of Philip's War*, 30.

Church's account does raise some questions. How were the men able to kill, cook, and eat an entire deer while providing a forward security element for the main army? How effectively were they doing their jobs? It is possible that Church may have exaggerated his account somewhat. Still, the source implies simply by the task provided to Church's unit that they were excellent at moving through the forest quickly and undetected. Furthermore, it shows that Church's unit consisted of both whites and Native Americans.

Church let the terrain dictate how his men moved through the wilderness. His soldiers maintained small groups and separation between men to limit the effects of ambushes. Heavily wooded areas required tighter groups in order to maintain visual contact and communication as quietly as possible. An open meadow allowed men to spread out while maintaining contact. These tactics limited the effects of an ambush because small groups of Native Americans could not concentrate fire into a thick group of bodies. Church invented other tactics regarding ambushes as well. When attacked, Church's men sought cover and returned fire. Church made it clear "not to discharge all their guns at once, lest the enemy should take the advantage of such an opportunity to run upon them with their hatchets."[16] Furthermore, those who were reloading were more likely to expose themselves. Church ordered those who had not fired to maintain cover and concealment. The exposed soldier reloading his musket often provoked his enemy's tomahawk, only for the hidden soldier to counter attack the approaching Native American with his still-loaded musket.[17] These tactics strayed from the European style of rank and

[16] Thomas Church, *History of Philip's War*, 41-42.
[17] Thomas Church, *History of Philip's War*, 41-42.

file warfare. The tactics were not fully Native American either. Church studied his enemy and learned their methods and adapted it to his own methods or warfare.

Another element of Indian warfare in which Church's unit excelled was rescue missions. An important element of Native American warfare was the capture of enemies. Captives could be killed, absorbed into their captors, sold into slavery, or held for ransom.[18] English settlers were often powerless to rescue captives, as a rescue operation required knowledge of tracking the Native American captors followed by a successful military operation to secure the prisoners. Mary Rowlandson, a Puritan New Englander who was captured by Metacom's forces, serves as an example. While a captive, Rowlandson was moved twenty times by her captors, often while they conducted other raids on white villages. Rowlandson was eventually ransomed back to the Massachusetts Colony after several months of captivity.[19] While captive, Rowlandson noted that her Native American captors had little faith in the English to rescue her:

> I cannot but remember how the Indians derided the slowness, and dullness of the English Army, in its setting out. For after the desolations at Lancaster and Medfield, as I went along with them, they asked me when I thought the English Army would come after them? I told them I could not tell: It may be they will come in May, said they. Thus did they scoffe at us, as if the English would be a quarter of a year getting ready.[20]

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[18] Wayne E. Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge: Patterns of Restraint in Native American Warfare, 1500-1800," in *The Journal of Military History* 71, no. 3 (July, 2007): 713-714, and 730-731. See also Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, 2nd ed., ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2007), 427-454; and Adam J. Hirsch "The Collision of Military Cultures in Seventeenth-Century New England," in *The Journal of American History* 74, no. 4 (March, 1988): 1187-1212.

[19] Mary Rowlandson, "A Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," in *Narratives of the Indian Wars: 1675-1699*, ed. Charles H. Lincoln (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1913), 118-166.

[20] Mary Rowlandson, "A Narrative of the Captivity,"158-159.

Rowlandson's account explains that the Native Americans had little respect for the Puritan soldiers, especially their inability to mobilize quickly. Additionally, it is interesting that Rowlandson was captured in February, moved around twenty times over the course of several months, and ransomed all before the time speculated by her captors that the New England soldiers would mobilize. Perhaps that is more indicative of a fear or realization on the part of New Englanders that a rescue operation was futile. They were, in fact, giving Rowlandson's captors time to return her for ransom.

Church's unit, on the other hand, was known for mobilizing quickly. Cotton Mather recorded an even in which the company defeated an enemy force and rescued English captives.

> Auxiliaries both of English and Indians, under the Command of Major Church… were dispatched away upon this Design… who Landed by Night in the Casco Bay… and by Night March up to the Pechypscot-fort… but found that the Wretches were gone farther afield. They then marched away for Amonoscoggin Fort, which was about Forty Miles up the River… they met Four or Five Salvages, going into their Fort, with two English Prisoners. They sav'd the Prisoners, but could not catch the Salvages; however… they got up to the Fort undiscovered, where… they found no more than one and Twenty of the Enemy, whereof they Took and Slew Twenty. They found some Considerable Store of Plunder, and Rescued Five English Captives, and laid the Fort in Ashes.[21]

This excerpt reveals several things about Church's unit and New England warfare against Native Americans. First, it shows that Church's unit was ethnically mixed, consisting of New Englanders and Native Americans. Also, Church's unit mobilized quickly and could cover large distances in a relatively short period of time. Church's unit also moved at night if the situation dictated. Also, their enemy was mobile. The first fort was abandoned. Church and his men were able to track their enemy down to a second fort.

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[21] Cotton Mather, "Decennium Luctuosum," in *Narratives of the Indian Wars: 1675-1699*, ed. Charles H. Lincoln (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1913), 225-226.

More importantly, the rescue of seven prisoners and twenty one enemy killed must have been significant for Mather to record the event with such fervor. Mobilizing and covering ground in darkness, tracking the enemy across miles of wilderness, and attacking them on their own ground is the exact opposite of how Rowlandson's captors viewed the colonial militias. Perhaps that is because Church's unit was unlike anything anyone had seen, a blend of European and Native American warfare.

Though successful, Church's unit and tactics were not very popular with the colonial officials at the beginning of the war. Church often disputed orders from higher colonial military authorities. Church particularly disliked military operations involving forts. In one battle, the New England forces were in direct combat with Metacom, who fled. In European fashion, the commander declared it a victory and ordered the men to build a fort on the grounds. Church argued against the plan and instead requested the commander allow his men the freedom to pursue Metacom. Church was denied, but his memoirs indicate that he felt the fort was a complete waste of time. Church and his superiors disagreed again at a major battle of the war known as the Great Swamp Fight. The battle was part of a campaign against the Narragansetts. The battle took place in December where the Narragansetts had built a large fort in a formidable location in a large swamp. However, the winter cold had frozen the swamp, making it more accessible for the New Englanders. The New Englanders surrounded the fort. Several New Englanders died trying to take the fort. Church and thirty men mobilized and crossed the ice and fought their way into the fort, allowing more New Englanders to follow. In a conventional English method of warfare, the commander, General Josiah Winslow, ordered the fort burned. Church opposed the order. Church argued that the fort could

provide safety for the New Englanders for the night and that the wigwams within the fort contained food and supplies. Church's challenge to the order was ignored and the fort was burned. Many of the Narragansett elderly and small children were hiding in the wigwams and burned to death. Many more died from fleeing into the cold swamp with no supplies.[22]

The Great Swamp Fight was a New England victory, but a pyrrhic victory at most. Historians disagree on the number of Narragansetts killed, but agree that most were noncombatants. The actions provoked an increase in raids in the following months led by the Naragansett war chief, Canochet. Also, because of the decision to burn the fort and provisions rather than use them, the militia was forced to endure cold and starvation. The New Englanders were forced to eat their horses to survive. The lack of suitable shelter and provisions in the New England winter forced the New Englanders to retreat back to the safety of the colony.[23]

The colonies continued to suffer defeat at the hands of Native American raids in the months after the Great Swamp Fight. With the thawing of winter, the tide began to turn in favor of New England. Several key events led to a turning point in the war. Probably the single most important factor was that the New Englanders gained a new ally. The governor of New York, Sir Edmund Andros, successfully recruited the Mohawks to assist the New Englanders in the war. The new alliance created a war on two fronts for the Wampanoags as the Mohawks began raiding their villages. Another event was the death of Canochet. New England's Native American allies tracked down

[22] Thomas Church, *History of Philip's War*, 36, 58-62; and Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, 130-131.
[23] Greneir, *The First Way of War*, 32; Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 89; and Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, 134-144.

and killed the Narragansett war chief. The third event was the colonial approval of Benjamin Church's tactics and an increase in his authority. The news of Church's authority spread. He was summoned by his friend, Awashonks. Awashonks's warriors were dressed and painted for battle. She swore allegiance to Church and the Plymouth Colony, and asked Church to lead her men into battle against Metacom. In return, Church guaranteed the safety of her and her people.[24]

Perhaps the culmination of Church's tactics occurred when men under his command hunted down and killed Metacom himself. Church was an innovator of military tactics, but for most of the war was restrained by orders from the colonial governments. The colonial powers loosened their reigns and granted him special authority. Church was authorized to move freely within the colonies in the hopes of killing or capturing Metacom. Church was also granted the right to offer amnesty to deserters of the lower echelons of Metacom's ranks. [25]

Church's unit began pursuit upon reports from local town militias of Metacom's activity in the area. Church's memoirs recount an incident that happened while in pursuit of Metacom. Church and his men approached a tree that was a makeshift bridge across a stream.

> The Captain [Church] spied an Indian sitting on the stump of it on the other side of the river, and he clapped his gun up, and had doubtlessly dispatched him, but that one of his own Indians called hastily to him, not to fire, for he believed it was one of their own men. Upon which the Indian upon the stump, looked about, and Captain Church's Indian perceived his mistake, for he knew him to be Philip; clapped up his gun and fired, but it was too late; for Philip immediately threw himself off the stump, leaped down a bank on the other side of the river and made his escape.[26]

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[24] Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 34; and Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 108-110, and 116-117.
[25] Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 124-125.
[26] Thomas Church, *History of Philip's War*, 110.

At a glance, it may seem that Church was bragging in his memoirs about having Metacom in his sights, or even possibly blaming an Indian for Metacom's escape. However, this excerpt provides several clues to the nature of Church and his unit. First, Church's unit caught up to Metacom. This is indicative of Church's soldiers' ability to pursue their enemies. Second, Native Americans were integrated into Church's unit. Third, the Native Americans in Church's unit must have appeared similarly dressed to Metacom and his soldiers, due to the confusion. Finally, Church respected the opinions of his Native American soldiers, as he did not fire when the Native American soldier stopped him. Church makes no mention of chastising or punishing the man who caused the escape.

The incident at the river was not a total loss. Church's men captured several prisoners, mostly women and children. Among the prisoners were Metacom's wife and his nine-year-old son. Metacom and his Wampanoags fled in one direction while his Narragansett allies chose a different route. Several Native Americans from Church's unit pursued the Narragansetts, killing some and taking others prisoner. Church continued to pursue Metacom and the Wampanoags. Church's unit soon reunited with those who pursued the Narragansetts and continued to capture prisoners while in pursuit of Metacom. Despite Metacom's best efforts to move quickly, Church and his men continued to gain ground. They forced Metacom into a swamp. Church divided his forces to set a trap for Metacom, but he once again eluded capture. However, Church's trap captured more prisoners. Those prisoners were mostly women and children and could not keep up with their warriors. Since the incident at the log bridge, Church and his men had captured one hundred and seventy three prisoners. The amount of prisoners

forced Church to abandon pursuit for the moment, but the losses weighed heavily on Metacom.[27]

Metacom became more a fugitive than an opposing military leader. Metacom's soldiers sensed the impending defeat. One of the Native Americans who served under Metacom deserted his cause and sought out Church. The deserter claimed that his brother had suggested that the sachem make peace with the New Englanders. Metacom had the dissenter killed. The deserter disclosed Metacom's location to Church and freely gave information about his numbers. Church's men prepared to move, once again utilizing the dark of night to maneuver into position.[28] Church gave orders to one of his officers, Captain Roger Goulding to

> Creep with his company, on their bellies, until they came as near as they could; and that as soon as the enemy discovered them, they would cry out, and that was the word for his to fire and fall on. [He] directed him, [that] when the enemy should start and take into the swamp, [that] they should pursue with speed, every man shouting and making what noise [he] could; for he would give orders to his ambuscade to fire on any that should come silently.[29]

The orders provide more insight into Church's tactics. The soldiers were getting into position under cover of darkness. They prepared to bushwhack the Wampanoags in their camp. Soldiers were told to fire when the enemy cried out upon discovery. Those who fled were pushed into an ambush. War cries of those pursuing alerted those lying in wait to ambush of their fraternity. Those are not the tactics of European gentlemen. These are the "skulking ways" of war William Harris attributed to the Narragansetts and Wampanoags in 1676. The tactics had come full circle.

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[27] Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 125-126; and Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, 230-231.
[28] Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 126; and Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, 232-233.
[29] Thomas Church, *History of Philip's War*, 122.

There was a slight error on the part of Captain Goulding that could have been disastrous for Church's attack. One of the enemy Wampanoags had risen early to urinate. The warrior gazed into to the wood line, which Goulding mistook as being discovered. Goulding fired, followed by the rest of his men. Unfortunately for New Englanders, the rest of the Wampanoags were still asleep, lying down. The bullets passed harmlessly over most of them. The startled Wampanoags began fleeing into the forest. Fortunately for the New Englanders, Church and his men had just barely got into place at the ambush sight. At the ambush sight, two men saw an enemy warrior approaching. The first man to fire was a New Englander, but his weapon malfunctioned. The second man was one of Church's Native American troops. He fired his musket and it functioned flawlessly. The shot struck the enemy soldier in the chest followed by a second shot. The Wampanoag warrior fell face first into the mud. A few others were killed in the ambush, but most escaped. The two brothers in arms checked the body of the slain warrior, and recognized him as Metacom, the infamous King Philip.[30] The events surrounding the death of Metacom surely portrayed the creation of a transcultural army. First, a military unit, led by a New Englander but consisting of Anglo-American and Native American troops, silently and effectively attacked a Wampanoag position. The tactics employed were definitely more representative of Native American fighting styles. Second, Metacom was killed in a Native American style ambush by two men, one English, the other Native American, standing side by side, using European weapons.

In a letter to London, Richard Hutchinson described what happened next. "This seasonable Prey was soon divided, they cut off his Head and Hands, and conveyed them

[30] Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 126; and Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, 234-235.

to Rhode Island, and quartered his Body, and hung it upon four Trees."[31] Church ordered Metacom's body hung from the trees as revenge for all of the New Englanders killed and left to rot unburied. The Native American who shot Metacom was named John Alderman. One of Metacom's hands was famously scarred from a faulty pistol. Church gave Alderman the recognizable hand, which Alderman preserved in a jar of rum as confirmation of the kill. Alderman carried the jar for the rest of his life and earned money by showing it to people. News reached the colonial villages of Metacom's death. The New Englanders rejoiced and in Puritan fashion gathered for a sermon. Just as the sermon was finishing, Church arrived with Metacom's head. Metacom's head was placed on a tall pole for everyone to see.[32]

Though Metacom's death was a great victory for the Puritans, the Wampanoags still posed a threat to the English colonies. The Wampanoag war chief, Annawon, still had a force under his leadership capable of making war on the New Englanders. Intelligence from captured Wampanoags led Church and his men to Annawon's location, deep within a swamp. Church was only able to take a few men with him, only one of which was a New Englander. The small group made their way to Annawon's camp in the darkness where they found the war chief and his men resting and waiting for their women to prepare food. From Church's vantage point, he could also see that Annawon's men had placed their weapons together under a cover to keep them dry. The weapons were next to Annawon and his son. Church sent an elderly Native American captive and his daughter into the campsite to create a distraction while Church and his men slipped into

[31] Richard Hutchinson, "The Warr in New England Visibly Ended," in *Narratives of the Indian Wars: 1675-1699*, ed. Charles H. Lincoln (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1913), 105.
[32] Thomas Church, *History of Philip's War*, 125-126; and Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 127.

the camp. Church, armed with a tomahawk, simultaneously confiscated the enemy weapons and captured Annawon. Church's soldiers, who were all Native Americans with the exception of one, captured the rest of Annawon's warriors.[33]

Church respected Annawon, who was a war chief when Metacom's father was still sachem. Church had pursued the war chief many times and was unable to capture him until now. It seems Church had now earned Annawon's respect in return. Annawon ordered the women in his camp to prepare a meal for Church and his men. Church told Annawon that he must take the captives to the New Englanders, but that they would be given quarter and their lives spared. Church explained that he could not extend this promise to Annawon himself once turning him over to colonial officials, but that he would do everything in his power to insure he keep his life. Peace was made between the two and fighters from both sides fell asleep after the meal. Church and Annawon both stayed awake watching each other. Church and Annawon had spoken Wampanoag, with the help of translators, throughout the night and now sat in silence. Annawon got up and retrieved something and returned to Church. Annawon spoke English to Church for the first time: "Great Captain, you have killed Philip, and conquered his country; for I believe that I and my company are the last that war against the English, so suppose the war is ended by your means; and therefore these things belong to you."[34] Annawon presented Church with Metacom's wampum belts, powder horns, and blanket. Annawon dressed Church with the items and told him "these were Philip's royalties, which he was wont to adorn himself with, when he sat in state; that he was happy that he had an

[33] Mandell, *King Philip's War,* 127; and Thomas Church, *History of Philip's War*, 131-138.
[34] Thomas Church, *History of Philip's War*, 141.

opportunity to present them to Captain Church, who had won them."[35] Annawon then told Church stories about wars he had fought in over the years.[36] Church's capture of Annawon is significant for several reasons. Obviously, it ends the war between the Puritans and Metacom's forces. More significant, however, are the details of the capture. Church is an English officer commanding a predominately Native American force in this event. The tactics used are not traditionally European. Church does not win the battle with European muskets, cannons, or even swords. When Annawon is captured, Church is sneaking under cover of darkness, carrying a tomahawk. The two men show great respect for one another, especially when Annawon dresses Church in his sachem's ceremonial garb. One can only question what the colonial officials and Puritan magistrates would think if they saw Church dressed like a "savage" and dining with the enemy.

While the nonviolent capture of Annawon and the exchange of respect between him and Church may seem like a happy ending, it unfortunately was not for the Native Americans of New England. Annawon was beheaded by order of the colonial officials. Metacom's wampum belts and other possessions were taken from Church and sent to the king as a gift. New laws were passed in some colonies that ordered captured enemies killed or sold into slavery in the West Indies. Praying Indians who sided with the colonies' enemies were doubly tried for their treason to the colony and to God. Many of those promised quarter were shot. The balance of power shifted and the New Englanders became the most powerful group in the region.[37]

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[35] Thomas Church, *History of Philip's War*, 142.
[36] Thomas Church, *History of Philip's War*, 139-142; and Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 127.
[37] Mandell, *King Philip's War*, 127-128.

Benjamin Church and his company did not single handedly win King Philip's War. In fact, Church and his unit did not contribute to the majority of the war effort against the Wampanoags, Narragansetts, and Nipmucks. In reality, New England's victory was more likely because of Native American allies than superior strategy. However, Benjamin Church is significant to the history of King Philip's War and American military history. Church did not view Native Americans as culturally inferior and saw them as neighbors and friends. Church embraced Native American tactics and recognized their effectiveness in the New World. Church believed that Native Americans could effectively train English militiamen to make war as they did. By creating a military unit that incorporated European and Native American soldiers, that utilized European and Native American leadership, and combined European and Native American tactics and weaponry, Church was able to support the larger New England army through asymmetrical warfare. Ultimately, Church was able to track down and kill or capture the leaders of the enemy force through the adaptation of that enemy's tactics.

Chapter V

BENJAMIN CHURCH'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO KING WILLIAM'S WAR AND QUEEN ANNE'S WAR: THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE AMERICAN GUERILLA FIGHTER

Between the years of 1636 and 1638, New England's war with the Pequots exposed the inadequacies of European warfare in North America. Although they were victorious in the end, the New Englanders struggled to conduct offensive operations, and were heavily dependent upon Native American allies. In 1675, in what became known as King Philip's War, the colonists seemed to experience the same failures that plagued them in the Pequot War. A major turning point occurred when the colonial political powers, after much resistance, granted more power to Benjamin Church. Church was a frontiersman, a fighter, and, unlike most Puritans, a close friend of Native Americans. Church raised a force comprised of both New Englanders and Native Americans to conduct small offensive operations in support of the larger New England forces. Church's company utilized a combination of European and Native American methods of warfare, including tactics, clothing, weapons, and rank structure. Church and his men tracked down and killed Metacom, and on a separate occasion captured the Wampanoag war chief, Annawon. Church's acceptance of Native American culture and warfare caused some reluctance on the part of other colonial officers and political powers. Church's successes altered their opinions of him and his new style of warfare, and he emerged as the hero of King Philip's War.

Around the turn of the century, a pair of imperial wars began in the New World. The two wars, known as King William's War and Queen Anne's War, were technically American theaters of European wars involving England and France. However, the way in which these wars were fought were more like the early wars against Native Americans

than anything seen on European battlefields. In fact, the wars saw two sides of combat. Though still dominated by militia, there was a somewhat organized, conventional side of the wars, which was mostly ineffective. There was also an unconventional, violent, guerilla side of the conflicts that was fought from people's homes on the frontier. This side of war saw both sides employing Native Americans and Europeans to brutally attack civilian populations, killing and capturing hundreds of people, many of whom were noncombatants. How do imperial wars with regular and irregular warfare relate to the hero of King Philip's War? The colonial powers requested an aging Church to continue the tactics that made him famous against the French Canadians, Acadians, and Abenakis. While Church's methods alone could never remove the French from the continent, they did disrupt and harass the enemy and affect their will to fight. It was in King William's War and Queen Anne's War where early Americans first began to use, in conjunction, regular and irregular forces. The use of irregular forces is directly connected to Benjamin Church.

The first of the two wars was called King William's War after the new English king, William III, also called William of Orange. King William's War, which was a North American conflict, coincided with the European war known as the War of the League of Augsburg, or sometimes called the Nine Years War. King William's War officially lasted from 1688 to 1697. It has been suggested that the colonists renamed this conflict, as well as Queen Anne's War and King George's War, to remove any blame for hostilities from themselves while placing it on the monarchy. While these conflicts do

coincide with European wars, it is evident that tensions already existed between the English and French colonists as well as their Native American neighbors.[1]

Disputes over trade, land, culture, and alliances caused many problems between the peoples of North America. Trade arguments often involved fishing rights and the fur trade, especially with regards to Hudson Bay. Land disputes occurred between the French and English borders as well as with Native Americans. Cultural arguments can be attributed not only to the differences between Europeans and Native Americans but also to Protestants and Catholics. Alliances created problems because both the French and English were victims of attacks by Native Americans: the Iroquois were allies of the English and the Abenakis were allies of the French. A fragile peace existed between the belligerents based on small treaties of neutrality. When hostilities finally broke out in Europe and North America, it is clear that the peoples of New England and New France went to war with each other for their own reasons.[2]

King William's War was much more than simply a matter of numbers. In terms of numbers, the English colonists far outnumbered the French. It is estimated that the English colonists numbered around 205,000 whereas the French numbered between twelve and thirteen thousand.[3] English colonial militia laws required every physically able male between the ages of sixteen and sixty to serve. There were, however, exceptions to the rule. The clergy, lawmakers, doctors, and teachers were not required to

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[1] Mary K. Geiter and W.A. Speck, *Colonial America: From Jamestown to Yorktown* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 137.
[2] Geiter and Speck, *Colonial America*, 137-138; G.H. Guttridge, *The Colonial Policy of William III in America and the West Indies* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1966), 42-44; James M. Morris, *History of the U.S. Army* (Greenwich, CT: Brompton Books, 1986), 12; and W.J. Eccles, *The French in North America*, 1500-1783 (Ontario, Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1998), 100-101.
[3] Howard H. Peckham, *The Colonial Wars, 1689-1762* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1964), 34; and Guttridge, *Colonial Policy of William III*, 45.

serve. The Pennsylvania colony had no militia laws at all because of Quaker pacifism. Those who did serve received less than a week of actual training per year, and were required to supply themselves. There were no professional soldiers in the English colonies and few officers trained in how to lead. Officers were picked by their men and the governor served as the commander-in-chief. Additionally, of the 205,000 English colonists, about half lived in New England and New York near New France. Those were further spread out among themselves. There were also more families in the English colonies, meaning that a significant number were women and children. Another problem was that the English colonies were not always united, and it was difficult for them to organize their defenses.[4]

The French had several advantages to make up for what they lacked in numbers. New France was also dependent upon citizen soldiers, but they served under a seigniorial system where a tenant provided military service to a landowner, who in turn provided service to the king. New France was comprised of more individual male immigrants than entire families, so the sheer numbers had a larger male to female ratio. New France also contained around thirty-two companies of Regulars, including the La Marine Regiment, which could number anywhere from 500 to 1,200 troops.[5] In total, the French had more trained and experienced men in service. Also, the French were more concentrated than the English. This created a more organized force with which to attack or defend. Though both sides had Native American allies, the French had more and better coordinated

[4] Guttridge, *Colonial Policy of William III*, 45; Geiter and Speck, *Colonial America*, 139; and Howard H. Peckham, *Colonial Wars*, 4, 26, and 34.
[5] Guttridge, *Colonial Policy of William III*, 45; and Peckham, *Colonial Wars*, 27.

attacks with them. As a result, the forces were much more evenly matched than a first glance at sheer numbers indicates.[6]

The conventional efforts of King William's War must be discussed up front because the desired outcomes and ineffectiveness in action contribute to the use of unconventional efforts. The conventional efforts of King William's War involved the English attacking specific places that they felt would force the French from North America - Montreal, Quebec, and Port Royal. Hostilities had already broken out in frontier settlements because of the use of Native American allies when the English colonists decided for a conventional attack on the French. In May 1690, Sir William Phips led an attack on Port Royal in Acadia. Port Royal was considered to be a staging area for Native American attacks on New Englanders as well as French privateering raids on English ships. Phips was a native New Englander who had gained wealth when he recovered a sunken treasure in the Caribbean. Phips also received a knighthood when he paid a portion of the treasure to England. Phips arrived at Port Royal to find the fort manned by ninety men, of whom forty had serviceable muskets.[7] The French surrendered without much of a fight. The English victory was intended to eliminate Port Royal as a staging area, but the English experienced more problems. The New Englanders raided and looted the town in search of plunder. They did not find enough valuable items to pay for the expedition, much less make it profitable for the men who made the journey. Conventional warfare was expensive, especially for independent colonies. Another setback occurred when the French captured an English settlement near

[6] Guttridge, *Colonial Policy of William III*, 45; Peckham, *Colonial Wars*, 27, 34; Morris, *U.S. Army*, 12; and Eccles, *French in North America*, 86.
[7] Eccles, *French in North America*, 107.

Casco Bay soon after, which was a bigger loss than gaining Port Royal. The English could not maintain an occupation of Port Royal, so they abandoned it to the enemy.[8]

Despite the setbacks of Port Royal, it convinced the English colonists that they could perform a similar attack on Quebec. Eventually, the colonies decided to attempt a two-pronged attack. The plan called for Phips to conduct an attack similar to the one he had made on Port Royal, this time sailing from Boston up the St. Lawrence to Quebec. Once at Quebec, the English ground forces were to be commanded by John Walley. The plan also called for a simultaneous over-land attack on Montreal from New York, consisting of English colonists and Native American allies led by Connecticut Governor Fitz-John Winthrop. The English hoped that the two-pronged attack would divide the French and that the two cities would have a large amount of plunder. Ultimately, the attack shows an English desire to win the war in one swift stroke. The plan combined effort of several colonies, each providing some men and officers. Phips sailed with thirty-two ships and thirteen hundred men to Quebec. There he demanded the surrender from the governor of New France, Louis de Baude de Frontenac. Frontenac refused to surrender, some fighting occurred, and Phips sailed back to Boston. Meanwhile, Winthrop's forces argued among themselves and lacked supplies. He was also undermanned as fewer Native American allies had joined the expedition as anticipated. Around Lake Champlain, the expedition halted. Winthrop sent a small detachment ahead, which met some small skirmishes but never reached Montreal. The majority of

[8] Geiter, *Colonial America*, 140; Guttridge, *Colonial Policy of William III*, 50; and Wesley Frank Craven, *The Colonies in Transition, 1660-1713* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), 238.

Winthrop's forces returned home. Smallpox outbreaks further exacerbated both prongs of the attack.[9]

The failed attack created a lot of debt and blame within the English colonies. There was some talk of reviving the two-pronged attack in 1693 with the help of an English fleet sailing up the coast from the West Indies. Instead, the fleet attacked St. Pierre in Newfoundland. French expeditions against the English took Fort William Henry in Pemaquid, Maine and Port York in Hudson Bay.[10] With the exception of the small, insignificant capture of Port Royal, English efforts at conventional warfare in King William's War were a disaster. While these attempts to destroy the French in one blow constitute the majority of the main effort, the majority of the casualties came from the irregular warfare on the frontier. In many ways, this type of fighting better suited the English colonists. They had learned lessons in the Pequot War and King Philip's War. These guerilla attacks were less expensive and required less coordination and planning because they used smaller forces.[11] For many people living in New England and New York, and even Acadia and New France, King William's War was not a new war but a war that had been raging for nearly a hundred years. It was a war of survival against the attackers that come in the night to kill or carry away their loved ones. One of those people was Benjamin Church.

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[9] Geiter, *Colonial America*, 140; Craven, *Colonies in Transition*, 238-239, and Guttridge, *Colonial Policy of William III*, 50-52.
[10] Geiter, *Colonial America*, 140; and Guttridge, *Colonial Policy of William III*, 51-52.
[11] R. Todd Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians: Masculinity, Religion, and Colonialism in Early New England* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 157; and Guy Chet, *Conquering the American Wilderness: The Triumph of European Warfare in the Colonial Northeast* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 72-73.

Before the attack on Port Royal, raids had already occurred on both sides. Native Americans from the Iroquois Confederacy conducted raids near Montreal, where they killed or captured over one hundred Canadians and destroyed fifty-six farms.[12] The Iroquois Confederacy had formed an alliance with the English in New York known as the Covenant Chain. The English frontier faced similar raids by the Abenaki, who were allied to the French. However, raids conducted by Native Americans may or may not have been instigated by white allies. The problems that led to the Pequot War and King Philip's War were still present in the area. Regardless, sometimes retaliation was carried out against one group for the actions of another, which possibly had no connections. On February 9, 1690, Frontenac led a raid on Schenectady, New York. The gates to the town were open and the guards were either not posted or fell asleep. Two hundred French and Native Americans entered the town, killed sixty English colonists, captured some prisoners, and burned the town.[13] The French and Native Americans then attacked two more settlements, at Newichewarnock and Salmon Falls. The raid itself had no significant value for the French or the English, but is set the standard for how much of the war was to be fought. The French called it "la petite guerre."[14]

This guerrilla campaign included many small raids that almost always consisted of killing some settlers, taking prisoners, killing the livestock, and burning the houses, barns, and food stores. Even if the enemy sustained few casualties, the destruction of food and shelter was a drain on the enemy, physically and mentally. When fighting Native Americans, as Church did, this type of fighting effectively at pushed the enemy

[12] Eccles, *French in North America*, 106.
[13] Guttridge, *Colonial Policy of William III*, 49.
[14] Eccles, *French in North America*, 108.

farther away. What made Church so effective in King Philip's War was not that he killed large numbers of Native Americans, but that he was able to track them to their homes without being ambushed en route. In King William's War, and later Queen Anne's War, many times his Native American enemies learned of his coming and abandoned their forts. When Church arrived, he destroyed their food and homes. This effective tactic pushed the enemy farther and farther away. The farther the enemy was removed from their homes, the less they threatened frontier settlers. It was not about taking land, or even so much killing, as it was harassing the enemy to the point they abandoned the frontier borderlands.[15]

Taking captives was another important element to the guerrilla war, especially for the Native American allies. Captives played an important role in Native American warfare before the Europeans arrived. Taking prisoners had social, cultural, and economic purposes in Native American combat. Prisoners could be adopted into the tribe to physically replace their own dead. Likewise, captives could be ritualistically tortured to allow their death to replace the spiritual loss of their own dead. Captives were also a symbol of a male's prowess in battle. Captives could also be sold or ransomed.[16] The Reverend Stephen Williams recorded Daniel Belding's account of captivity during King William's War. Belding was captured, along with two of his children and two other whites. While taking the prisoners back to New France, his Native American captors captured two more prisoners, these both Native Americans. Belding asked the older of

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[15] Chet, *Conquering the American Wilderness*, 63-64, 68, 90, and 96.
[16] Wayne E. Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge: Patterns of Restraint in Native American Warfare, 1500-1800," *The Journal of Military History* 71, no. 3 (July 2007): 730-731. See also Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, 2nd ed., ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2007), 427-454.

the two Native American prisoners what would happen to them, who replied "that they would not kill the English prisoners, but give some of them to the French, and keep some themselves; but he expected to be burned himself."[17] This account shows three purposes for the captives. The Native American says the English will not be killed but some given to the French, and some kept. This demonstrates that the captives given to the French will likely serve as a form of commodity, meaning the Native Americans will get something in return. The English to be kept are possibly going to be adopted, or ransomed back to the English. The man who will burn in the fires will return the lost spiritual power to the clan. Benjamin Church demonstrated in King Philip's War his ability to both take prisoners and rescue them from enemy hands. Church's raids involved taking prisoners and rescuing captives even more so in King William's War and Queen Anne's War.

Benjamin Church first became involved in King William's War in response to Abenaki raids on the frontier. Though it had been nearly ten years since the war with Metacom, Church felt he was the most qualified to take the offensive. Church's primary targets during the war was the Abenakis and the Micmacs, though when these enemies were scarce, Church attacked the French settlers. Church's motives were, after all, based in revenge and retaliation for the attacks on the frontier, and the English believed all of the French attacks were connected. Unlike the Pequot War and King Philip's War, King William's War saw the first allowance for scalp bounties, offered by both the English and French governments. Scalp bounties paid rewards for Native American scalps, regardless

[17] Stephen Williams, "Daniel Belding's 1696 Captivity" in *Captive Histories: English, French, and Native Histories of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*, ed. Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 58.

if they belonged to women or children. Historians argue as to the value the scalp bounties had on Church's motivation to fight again. Regardless, Church led four expeditions into Maine and Acadia during King William's War, in 1689, 1690, 1692, and 1696.[18]

Benjamin Church, who had been a captain in King Philip's War, was promoted to the rank of major prior to his first expedition. Church was about fifty years old, and had gained some weight. Still, men were eager to fight for a man with such a reputation. Church had two hundred and fifty men, some of whom were Native Americans from Cape Cod and Saconnet.[19] Some of these men had fought with Church before, especially the Saconnet, who were Church's friends and neighbors who taught him much of their ways. Church arrived in Casco Bay in late September, 1689. Church received intelligence that a large Native American enemy force was coming to attack an English settlement of Falmouth. Church always preferred to act at night, if possible, and this time was no different. Under cover of darkness, Church landed his force behind the enemy to cut off their exit, another strategy he employed in King Philip's War. Church then divided his forces and sent some to attack the enemy. Then things went wrong. Church's attacking force had to cross a shallow cove at low tide. During the fight, it was realized that some of the musket balls they had been issued were too large, causing precious time in having to pound the ball into a cylinder shaped slug to fit the bore of their firearms. Church tried to cross the cove to reunite his force, but the rising water did not allow them

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[18] Geoffrey Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 33; Grenier, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier, 1607-1814* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), 36; Charles M. Segal and David C. Stineback, *Puritans Indians, and Manifest Destiny* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), 218; and John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from their American Homeland* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 99.
[19] Samuel Adams Drake, *The Border Wars of New England: Commonly Called King William's and Queen Anne's Wars* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897), 38.

to cross. Church ordered some men to provide suppressive fire from his side of the cove, while he and some men went wide around the cove and flanked the enemy. The enemy retreated into the forest, and the village was saved. Technically, Church was the victor, but at the cost of twenty-one of his men.[20] However, now Church had the opportunity to pursue the Native Americans into the wilderness, which was more his style of fighting. Church and his men found two forts, at Kennebec and Androscoggin, but they were abandoned.[21]

During the fight, Church displayed some of the tactics he had developed in King Philip's War. Church ordered the men to "scatter" and "run very thin" so that his men "might not be all shot down together."[22] Church always ordered his men to spread out according to the terrain to limit the effects of an ambush. Church also "left six Indians for an ambuscade on the other side of the river, that if an enemy come over, they should fire at them, which would give him notice."[23] Church always wanted the element of surprise. Church's men had dumped out their crates of musket balls onto the field when they realized some were the wrong size. Now the men were out in the open, sorting and cleaning up the loose ammunition. By placing the ambush, Church accomplished several things. First, he provided security for his men while they sorted out the logistical issue. Second, he maintained the element of surprise, as the ambushing party would hit any approaching enemy unsuspected. Last, Church insured that the enemy did not surprise

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[20] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 41.
[21] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 39-42; and Robert W. Black, *Ranger Dawn: The American Ranger from the Colonial Era to the Mexican War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2009), 21.
[22] Thomas Church, *The History of the Great Indian War of 1675 and 1676, Commonly Called King Philip's War. Also, the Old French and Indian Wars, from 1689 to 1704* (1716; repr., New York: H. Dayton, Publisher, 1860), 168-169.
[23] Thomas Church, *History of the Great Indian War*, 168.

him. The fact that Church used six men for the ambush demonstrates another fact of this style of warfare. When the ambush fired, Church would be alerted to respond. However, it was also possible that six men, just by the element of surprise, could repel an enemy force with one volley, due to the hit and run nature of guerilla warfare. It was not about winning battles and taking ground. This style of warfare was about striking quickly and moving on.

The second expedition occurred during the attempted two-pronged attack on Quebec and Montreal. Church reasoned that the French would be occupied with the attacks, and he could move to attack their Native American allies directly in their villages. Church also hoped to kill or capture the Abenaki war chief, Moxus. The company landed in Casco Bay in September and began a movement towards an enemy village. Upon arriving at the palisade, some men tried to flee, but the rangers fired and killed some of them. Inside the fort, Church found some English captives. He ordered the execution of some of the Native Americans inside the fort to serve as an example. Church took the rest captive, but left two elderly women at the fort to give a message to the rest of their clan when they reunited. Church's message was for the Abenaki to return all captives to the English within fourteen days, and he would return his prisoners. The major also received intelligence that more Native Americans were at the Saco River, planning a raid. He then burned their corn and village. Church recruited Anthony Brackett, a local man who knew the terrain, and marched to the Saco River. There, the company killed a few of the enemy and rescued another English captive, who disclosed the location of more enemy. Church followed up on the intelligence and, though he found no enemy, he found and confiscated their stockpile of beaver furs. On the way

home, some of his men were attacked while encamped. Church arrived with more men and drove the attackers off. The rangers attempted a pursuit but did not find any significant force.[24]

Church's methods in this expedition may seem brutal, but no more than any other raid. In fact, Church was known for showing compassion to surrendering Native Americans in King Philip's War. At the fort, Church's men questioned a Native American. Church says that "the soldiers were being very rude, would hardly spare the Indian's life, while in examination; intending when he had done, that he should be executed."[25] However, the rescued English captives vouched for the man's kindness, and Church allowed him to live. Church did not capture Moxus, but his expedition did achieve some success. In October, several sachems came to the English colonial government with the desire to make peace. The Native American diplomats brought ten English captives with them as a sign of good faith. The Abenakis and the New Englanders made a temporary peace, with the intention of creating a formal, permanent treaty in the spring, along with the return of the rest of the captives. Unfortunately for the New Englanders, word soon spread of the failed conventional two-pronged attack, and the Abenakis never returned in the spring to renew the treaty.[26]

Church's third operation was in support of a conventional mission. Sir William Phips was appointed as the governor of Massachusetts, but was facing political trouble because of witchcraft scandals plaguing New England at that time. Orders came from England demanding the New Englanders to reassert their claim in Maine by rebuilding

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[24] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 66-68, and Peckham, *Colonial Wars*, 41-42.
[25] Thomas Church, *History of the Great Indian War*, 188.
[26] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 69-70; and Peckham, *Colonial Wars*, 42.

the settlement and fort at Pemaquid. The colonists did not approve because of its distance from the rest of them would make it difficult to protect, but Phips, obeying orders and seeing an opportunity to escape the witchcraft scandal decided to personally lead the expedition. Phips made Church the second-in-command of the expedition and commander of the Maine militia. En route to Pemaquid, the expedition stopped at Falmouth in Casco Bay, the settlement where Church had fought earlier with the wrong caliber musket balls. Since Church's victory there, it had been attacked by the French and their Native American allies. There, they buried the dead and salvaged some cannons and sailed for Pemaquid.[27]

It was a two part plan, with conventional and unconventional sides. Phips rebuilt the fort while Church conducted raids in the surrounding area to rid the vicinity of enemy and to draw attention away from the men building the fort, thus preventing an attack. The fort, which Phips named Fort William Henry, was well built and was armed with eighteen pound guns, which were the largest available at that time.[28] Cotton Mather described the fort as "the finest thing that has been seen in these parts of America" and claimed that it took two thousand cartloads of stone and that sixty men could defend it against twelve hundred.[29] Mather also mentions the guerilla campaign, recording that Church raided Penobscot and killed "five Indians; and afterwords, to Taconet, where the Indians discovering his approach, set their own fort on fire themselves, and flying from it, left only their corn to be destroy'd by him."[30] It is interesting that Mather says the Native

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[27] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 82-84; Peckham, *Colonial Wars*, 43-44; and Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 21.
[28] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 85.
[29] Cotton Mather, "Decennium Luctuosum. 1699" in *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675-1699*, ed. Charles H. Lincoln (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 240-241.
[30] Cotton Mather, "Decennium Luctuosum, 1699," 241-242.

Americans set the fort on fire themselves, but does not specify whether or not it was intentional. Either way, it is evident that Church's attacks were successful in allowing the fort to be built unhindered. It is also evident that Church made sure to destroy the corn along with the fort so the enemy could not return to it.

Unfortunately for the English, the Fort William Henry did not last. Cotton Mather explains that "the expense of maintaining it, when we were so much impoverished otherwise, made it continually complained of, as one of the Countryes grievances."[31] The English did not provide the fort with enough men or supplies, and in 1696 it fell to the French by way of a short siege. When news of the fort's fall reached back to Boston, the colonial government sent Benjamin Church on his fourth and final expedition of King William's War. However, the colonial government also released some Native American captives who had knowledge of Church's forthcoming expedition. Those freed captives went ahead to warn others while Church prepared his operation.[32]

Church decided to use whale boats to move to transport his men in his fourth expedition. Many of his men were Native Americans, some of whom excelled at piloting whale boats.[33] Church's decision to use whale boats was the result of his third expedition. Church had placed an ambush where the enemy was landing their canoes. Church's men successfully captured two Native Americans, who were so surprised "that they could not give any notice to the others" but when more enemy discovered the abandoned canoe, they fled on their canoes, leaving Church's forces unable to pursue.[34]

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[31] Cotton Mather, "Decennium Luctuosum, 1699," 241.
[32] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 111-112.
[33] For information about Native American whalers, see Daniel Vickers, "The First Whalemen of Nantucket," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, 2nd ed., ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2007), 314-335.
[34] Thomas Church, *History of the Great Indian War*, 212-213.

Church swore to "never go out again without a sufficient number of whale boats, the want of which was the ruin of that action."[35] Church and his men, under cover of darkness, landed at Pemaquid, but found it deserted. Church then sailed to Acadia, and landed at Beaubassin on the Isthmus of Chignecto. The tide prevented Church from landing immediately, and gave the Acadians time to evacuate. When Church landed, a local man named Germain Bourgeois, the son of the founder of the settlement, brought Church a paper declaring the town's neutrality. Church then inquired as to the location of the Micmac, who were allies to the French. Bourgeois refused to tell Church, claiming fear of Micmac retaliation. Church then accused the town of supporting Micmac raids against the English settlers. Church ordered the destruction of the houses, barns, and crops. Church also ordered the livestock to be killed and mutilated with tomahawks. [36] The settlers looked with horror at the livestock, to which Church responded "it was nothing to what our poor English, in our frontier towns, were forced to look upon. For men, women, and children were hacked so, and left half dead, with their scalps taken off."[37] Church then warned the villagers that if the frontier is attacked again, he would return with "hundreds of savages, and let them loose amongst them, who would kill, scalp, and carry away every French in all those parts."[38]

After Beaubassin, Church's forces continued to the mouth of the St. John River where the French were building a fort. Church's group killed one Frenchman and captured another, who disclosed to Church the location of the cannons intended for the fort. Church captured the cannons and held a council with his men on whether to attack

[35] Thomas Church, *History of the Great Indian War*, 213.
[36] Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 100; and Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 113.
[37]Thomas Church, *History of the Great Indian War*, 232.
[38]Thomas Church, *History of the Great Indian War*, 232-233.

the French at Fort Nashwaak, commanded by Joseph Robineau de Villebon. The men decided that attacking the fort would be too difficult due to the water level. Church decided to end the expedition and return home.[39] It may have actually been that such an act would have been more conventional in terms of combat and therefore not Church's style. Church hated forts, regardless of whether he was defending or besieging the structure. Church's hatred of forts caused some problems with his commanders early in King Philip's War.

En route back to Boston, Church crossed paths with Lieutenant Colonel John Hathorne, the son of another veteran of King Philip's War and prominent member of Massachusetts society. Hathorne was on his way to attack Fort Nashwaak. Hathorne ordered Church and his men to join their expedition, to which Church angrily complied. The combined force arrived and started siege operations, but after only a few days, the English attackers were driven from the area by the French and their Native American allies. The defeat marked the end of New England's offensive operations in King William's War. In 1697, the war officially ended *status quo ante bellum* under the Treaty of Ryswick.[40]

In 1702, war broke out again, known as Queen Anne's War. Queen Anne was the English monarch after the death of William III. Queen Anne's War was the American theater of the War of Spanish Succession. The Hapsburg King of Spain, Carlos II, died without an heir and left his throne to Philip, the grandson of Louis XIV. Several European rulers disputed this claim, as it essentially meant that the Louis XIV would rule

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[39] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 114.
[40] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 114-115; and David Horowitz, *The First Frontier: The Indian Wars and America's Origins, 1607-1776* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 154.

France, Spain, and the colonies of both kingdoms.[41] In North America, Queen Anne's War was really more of a continuation of King William's War. The war in the northern part of North America contained conventional warfare marked by attempts at taking major cities, and unconventional warfare marked by bloody raids on the frontier. There were some differences from King William's War. Because of the Spanish issues, the southern theater of North America became more prominent. Also, during the war, England and Scotland united to form Great Britain, which created a greater sense of empire and connectedness to the colonies. As a result, the war effort in New England received more royal assistance than it previously had since the colonies' foundation. Additionally, the Iroquois Confederacy made a separate peace with New France between the wars, meaning they would be neutral and the colonies could not rely on them. As a result, much of New York also sought to remain neutral, leaving New England to carry the majority of the northern war effort.[42]

The conventional efforts at making war were similar to attempts in the previous war. The English made a few attempts to recapture Port Royal, but those attempts failed. Samuel Vetch, a Scotsman who fought in the European theater of King William's War, started trying to revive the two-pronged attack on Montreal and Quebec. Vetch strongly argued to the royal authorities that the best course of action was to remove the French completely from the continent, and the two-pronged attack was the best way to accomplish that task. The Queen agreed and offered to send ships and troops to New England. In America, Francis Nicholson, the Deputy Governor of New York,

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[41] Geiter and Speck, *Colonial America*, 141; and Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 108.
[42] Horowitz, *The First Frontier*, 154; Geiter and Speck, *Colonial America*, 141-143; and Craven, *The Colonies in Transition*, 306.

volunteered to lead the overland attack on Montreal. However, the promised British assistance was canceled twice as it was determined they were more needed in the European theater. Nicholson traveled to England accompanied by four Native American sachems in an attempt to gain royal support. A small amount of support was given, but the English colonists were not prepared for an attack when Nicholson arrived back in the Americas, as they were expecting yet another delay. Instead, not wanting to waste the British support, Nicholson took the force and attacked Port Royal. The attack was successful, and Port Royal was renamed Annapolis, after the queen. Finally, in 1711, the two-pronged attack was revived yet again, with definite British support. Sixty-four ships carrying six thousand seamen and five thousand soldiers left England, commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker.[43] The ground troops were commanded by Brigadier General John Hull. These forces would attack Quebec by sea while Nicholson attacked Montreal by land. It was the largest force ever assembled in the colonies at the time. However, that led to a problem. The British expected quarter in Boston, but the town could not accommodate their numbers. As a result, the attack began hastily and unprepared. Walker was unable to find pilots who knew the waters. Walker's ships entered a fog, and some ships ran aground, losing 850 men.[44] Walker abandoned the assault and sailed for England. Nicholson received word of Walker's retreat, and also turned and went home.[45] That was the end of conventional warfare in Queen Anne's War. The two-pronged attack had failed, even with some British assistance. Port Royal, or Annapolis, was taken and held, however, until the end of the war.

[43] Craven, *The Colonies in Transition*, 316.
[44] Geiter and Speck, *Colonial America*, 144.
[45] Geiter and Speck, *Colonial America*, 143-144; and Craven, *The Colonies in Transition*, 311-316.

The guerilla warfare also continued in much the same fashion as the previous war. The war started with a series of French-supported Abenaki raids on New England in 1703. In February 1704, the French and Abenakis raided the settlement of Deerfield, Massachusetts, killing or capturing more than half the town. At the time, it was the most destructive raid in New England's history.[46] The Deerfield settlement was only a few years old, but it was built on the ruins of a settlement that was evacuated during King Philip's War. In King William's War, after the French and Native American attack on Schenectady, New York, the Deerfield community erected a palisade around the town. Later in King William's War, in September 1694, there was an attack on Deerfield, but the town defended itself, having none killed and two wounded.[47] By Queen Anne's War, the palisade had rotted, but the settlers repaired it. Settlers living outside the fortifications moved inside.[48] It was as if they had learned their lessons from the previous wars.

Perhaps it was the preparations and experiences of past conflicts that make the effectiveness of the raid so puzzling. Heavy snows had fallen, and by February 29, the snow was almost as high as the walls. There had been no attacks in the area since the beginning of the war, and the settlers had grown complacent. Just before dawn, a mixed force of French and Native Americans entered the town and killed or captured over one hundred settlers. Accounts vary as to how the attack came so surprisingly. John Williams, the town's minister, who was captured in the raid, along with several of his family, blamed the surprise attack on the town watch. Williams, believing the town

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[46] Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 109.
[47] Edward W. Clark, introduction to *The Redeemed Captive*, by John Williams (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), 7.
[48] Clark, introduction to *The Redeemed Captive*, 8.

watch had fallen asleep, wrote after his release that "the enemy came in like a flood upon us, our watch being unfaithful: an evil, whose effects in a surprisal of our fort, should bespeak all watch unto avoid, as they would not bring the charge of blood upon themselves."[49] Samuel Partridge, an officer in the Massachusetts militia claimed that "the watch shot of a gun and cried "arm," which very few heard."[50] It is possible that Partridge is correct because even though the French and Native American raiders acted mostly at will, they met strong resistance in one corner of the town. For one home to mount such a defense, it seems likely that they had heard a shot or warning and had time to quickly prepare.

The home that fought back was occupied by seven men, four to five women, and a number of children.[51] Men defending the home included Benoni Stebbins, a sergeant in the militia, David Hoyt, Jr., and Joseph Catlin. Interestingly, another man in the home was Benjamin Church, a twenty-four-year old member of the militia. Given the age of this Church in relation to King Philip's War, it is possible he was named after the aged guerilla fighter. The men, women, and children occupying the house fought off the French and Native American attackers for almost three hours. The house walls were filled with raw bricks intended to insulate the home. In this case, the walls protected the people inside from bullets. The attackers kept trying to enter the house, only to be driven back or killed, including an Abenaki war chief and a French officer. Some attackers tried

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[49] John Williams, *The Redeemed Captive* (1707; repr., Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), 44.
[50] Samuel Partridge, "An Account of the Destruction of Deerfield, 1704," in *Captive Histories: English, French, and Native Histories of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*, ed. Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 64.
[51] Evan Haefeli and Kevin Seeney, *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 118.

to set fire to the house but were killed. Others tried to negotiate with the defenders, but the English settlers would not give up the home. Eventually, the attackers left with their captives, setting fire to much of the village. Stebbins was killed in the home's defense, but the attackers never entered the home.[52]

Despite the heroic efforts of the defensive stand at Stebbins's house, it was nothing new. For nearly a hundred years, the English colonists had relied on fortified homes and blockhouses as a means of defense. These tactics were effective because the Native Americans did not typically besiege the villagers, but hit them swiftly, caused a lot of damage, and left. The colonists, with the exception of Church in King Philip's War, were not efficient at pursuing their attackers into the woods. Usually efforts to pursue Native American attackers ended in ambush, with the colonists fleeing back to their towns. In King Philip's War, Church excelled at pursuing the enemy and avoiding ambush, while using ambush tactics himself. After the attack on Deerfield, some English militiamen attempted to pursue their attackers, but met with the fate of so many others. Some of the attackers ambushed the pursuing New Englanders to protect the rest of their force making off with the captives. According to William Whiting, a Connecticut militia officer, about thirty men pursued the attackers, and "though they killed five, yet venturing too far lost nine."[53] Partridge says the ambush "caused our men to give back, though too late, being a mile from the fort."[54] The ambush was typical of what had been occurring since the Pequot War. The distance of a mile made any support from the town

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[52] Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captors and Captives*, 117-118.
[53] William Whiting, "Letter from William Whiting to Governor Fitz-John Winthrop, 1704," in *Captive Histories: English, French, and Native Histories of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*, ed. Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 68.
[54] Partridge, An Account of the Destruction of Deerfield, 1704," 65.

impossible, be it artillery or reinforcements. At the time of the Deerfield raid, Benjamin Church still had the best reputation for dealing with such circumstances. Samuel Penhallow, a militiaman in Queen Anne's War, wrote that "under all those cruel sufferings from a cruel Enemy little or no impression could ever be made by us upon them, by reason of their retiring into unaccessible Swamps, and Mountains" to which Penhallow claims "it was determined that, Major Church, who was so eminently Serviceable in the former War," that they would need his services again.[55]

At the time of the raid, Church was sixty-five years old and fat for a man of the period. Still, upon receiving news of Deerfield, Church did not wait to be contacted. Church began raising troops immediately. Church mounted his horse and rode seventy miles to Boston to offer his services to the governor, Joseph Dudley. Church urged Dudley to allow him to take the offensive, starting with pursuing the Deerfield attackers. Instead, Dudley ordered Church to attack the French and Native Americans in Acadia. The two men also discussed an attack on Port Royal.[56]

Church's final expedition began on April 1, 1704. Given that the Deerfield raid happened on February 29, Church's expedition took less than a month to prepare. Church had a reputation for mobilizing quickly during King Philip's War. A month may seem long, but considering that Church had no command when word reached him of the raid speaks volumes. Church also raised his own troops, numbering five hundred and fifty men, including Anglo-Americans and Native Americans.[57] Church decided to use

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[55] Samuel Penhallow, *The History of the Wars of New England, with the Eastern Indians* (1726; repr., Boston, 1924), 16.
[56]Peckham, *Colonial Wars*, 64; Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest*, 37; and Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 193.
[57] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 194.

whale boats, similar to what he had done in King William's War. Church also had two British navy ships and one colonial vessel, and his men were issued some of the first Queen Anne's Muskets, which were a new and improved version of the flintlock musket.[58] Church also requested "four or five hundred pairs of good Indian shoes be made ready, fit for the service for the English and the Indians."[59] Church had long since adopted Native American moccasins and snowshoes for his expeditions. It is interesting to note that he charged the colonies with supplying moccasins for his Native American troops. Church must have considered his Native American soldiers as equals, or at least recognized the necessity of them being as well equipped as his Anglo-American soldiers.

For the first time, Church decided against attacking Native American forts. Church felt that because it was early spring, there would be little to no food stored for his men to destroy, and it would therefore be a wasted effort against his Native American enemies. Instead, Church decided to attack the French posts. Church used the whale boats to maneuver and the larger boats as his supply train and support. Church captured a few French and Native Americans, whom he interrogated under threat of torture as to the numbers and locations of more enemy. Church attacked settlements in Penobscot Bay, where his forces killed or captured everyone they encountered, including the capture of the daughter of Baron de St. Castin, a French officer responsible for the attacks on Falmouth and Pemaquid in King William's War.[60]

Church patrolled the coasts during the day and sent out night patrols on land. Church patrolled Mount Desert Island and Machias Bay, but people were scarce. Church

[58] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 194.
[59] Thomas Church, *History of the Great Indian War*, 246.
[60] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 195-197; and Peckham, *Colonial Wars*, 64.

received intelligence that there was a significant enemy force at Passamaquaddy Bay, but he only found a French family, who told him that there were enemy Native Americans in the nearby woods. Church divided his forces and sent out expeditions to find the enemy. Church found a French settlement, which he raided. One of Church's standing orders was for his men to never stand or move in a tight group. This was one way Church limited the effects of an ambush. After the raid, Church noticed a group of his men standing in a cluster. Church angrily ordered them to disperse, but the men complained that some of the captives would not exit their home. Church ordered the men to break into the house and tomahawk them, "never asking whether they were French or Indians; they being all enemies alike" in his eyes.[61] Upon reuniting with his forces, Church sent the larger ships to blockade Port Royal, while he took his forces to Grand Pré in the Bay of Fundy.[62]

The Grand Pré settlement was built on such low ground near the coast that a system of dykes was necessary to the survival of the town. When Church's forces arrived, the tide would not allow him to land. When the tide rose the next morning, the French began attacking Church's boats. Church countered and most of the French fled the town. Church's forces spent the rest of the day destroying the houses and barns and killing the livestock. Church also destroyed the dykes, which flooded their crop fields. At night, Church set an ambush for the returning settlers. The ambush worked, and Church captured over one hundred prisoners, including about thirty women.[63] Church

[61] Thomas Church, *History of the Great Indian War*, 265.
[62] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 199-201.
[63] Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 110-111.

sent two of the prisoners to Jacques-Francois de Monbeton de Brouillan, the governor of Acadia, to warn him of further raids if there were another attack like Deerfield.[64]

Church conducted similar raids at Pisiquid and Cobequid before sailing to Beaubassin at the Isthmus of Chignecto, where he made the threat to return in King William's War. A number of French militia were waiting and attacked Church's forces when he arrived. Church, despite being old and fat, led the charge himself, and his fighters pushed the attack back. Church then sacked the town for the second time. Meanwhile, Church's forces at Port Royal had forced the French militia commander, Pierre Leblanc, to offer to surrender. Leblanc was overruled by Brouillan, who sent a force of soldiers and Micmac to attack the English, which kept Church's forces from landing. When Church and his forces reunited, they considered making another attempt on Port Royal, but considering the state of his men and the amount of prisoners they had taken, Church returned home, stopping and patrolling a few places he had already visited, but found nothing significant.[65]

Queen Anne's War ended in 1713 with the Treaty of Utrecht. Philip became the King of Spain with the condition that he could not ever also rule as the King of France. Austria gained some Spanish territory in Europe, primarily Italy. Great Britain gained Gibraltar and Minorca in the Mediterranean; Acadia, renamed Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Hudson Bay in North America; and St. Kitts in the Caribbean. The people of Acadia were forced to move or live as British subjects. Despite the fact that

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[64] N.E.S. Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 208; and John Frederic Herbin; *The History of Grand Pré: The Home of Longfellow's "Evangeline"* (St. John, NB; Barnes and Co., Limited, n.d.), 31.
[65] Samuel Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, 202-203; and Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 111-112.

Benjamin Church never replicated his success from King Philip's War, his style of fighting had a lasting impact on those he trained. The New Englanders realized they could perform offensive operations in the wilderness. During Queen Anne's War, the colonists constructed a two hundred mile chain of forts and stockades from Deerfield, Massachusetts to Wells, Maine.[66] From these forts, patrols were sent out between the villages and into the frontier to scout out Native American enemies. The patrols not only denied their enemies freedom of movement for attacks, but it disrupted their hunting, fishing, and agricultural patterns. Some of the men Church trained went on to form their own ranger units, like John Gorham, whom Church was ordered to "advise… and is to take your command in case of [Church's] death."[67] Those orders show that the authorities valued Church's methods so much that they did not want them lost in the event of his death. Those trained by Church trained others in Church's tactics and innovated their own methods of guerilla warfare, which saw action King George's War, the French and Indian War, and the American War for Independence.[68]

Church's methods of guerilla warfare would likely never win a war against a European army like it did against Metacom. Church's methods were effective when used to harass the enemy. Even when Church could not find the enemy, it was because his raids kept them moving. By forcing the enemy to withdraw, it could not attack the people on the frontier. Church's methods also attacked the enemy's livelihood through

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[66] Craven, *The Colonies in Transition*, 310.
[67] William Stoughton, "Instructions for Major Benjamin Church, Commander of the Forces Raised for His Majesty's Service, against the French and Indian Enemy and Rebels," in Thomas Church, *History of the Great Indian War*, 219.
[68] Geiter and Speck, *Colonial America*, 145; Morris, *U.S. Army*, 13; Craven, *The Colonies in Transition*, 310; Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 21; Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 37-39; and Brian D. Carroll, ""Savages" in the Service of Empire: Native American Soldiers in Gorham's Rangers, 1744-1762," *The New England Quarterly* 85, no. 3, (September, 2012): 384-388.

other means. With the enemy on the move, they could not grow crops, hunt, or fish. That combined with the destruction of their food and shelter has the potential to quickly wear an enemy down. Those were the same tactics ordered by General George Washington in the Sullivan Expedition against the Iroquois in the American War for Independence. Destruction of food and shelter was not new to the New Englanders. They used that method to nearly eradicate the Pequot in the 1630s. The difference in the Pequot War was that the colonists were completely dependent upon Native American allies to bring them to the Pequot. In King Philip's War, Benjamin Church lessened the dependence on Native American allies by adopting and adapting some of their methods of combat. King William's War saw the use of Church's tactics against both Native Americans and European settlers. By Queen Anne's War, there were more practitioners of Church's style of warfare, and they were willing to carry it into the eighteenth century.

Chapter VI

BENJAMIN CHURCH'S LEGACY: GORHAM, ROGERS, AND THE CONTINUED USE OF AMERICAN GUERLLIA FIGHTERS IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND

When Benjamin Church and his rangers tracked down and killed Metacom in 1676, he proved to New England that a new style of fighting which combined elements of European and Native American warfare was more effective in the North American wilderness that traditional European tactics alone. During King William's War and Queen Anne's War, Church demonstrated how that style of fighting could work in conjunction with more conventional European forces. Two more imperial wars threatened the New England frontier in the eighteenth century. King George's War, known in Europe as the War of Austrian Succession, was fought from 1744 to 1748. The French and Indian War, known in Europe as the Seven Years War, was fought from 1754 to 1763. Both wars pitted the French and English, their colonists, and their Native American allies against one another. The wars were also bridged by small colonial wars that stemmed from the tension between the French and English settlers. In what ways did Church's legacy impact the colonial wars of the eighteenth century? Though Benjamin Church was dead by the start of these wars, his tactics were embraced more than ever. The colonial political powers who were familiar with his methods encouraged others to follow in his footsteps. More importantly, the British crown itself also endorsed the creation of units who could fight as Church did. This resulted in the creation of several independent units of rangers who could replace Native American allies as scouts and raiders. Not surprisingly, men like Church or directly connected to him commanded

these new ranger companies. Church's legacy was the permanent addition of irregular forces to act in support of regular forces in the wars of colonial New England.

Trouble was already brewing in North America when war was declared between France and Great Britain in 1748. When Queen Anne's War ended in 1713 with the Treaty of Utrecht, the French North American province of Acadia was ceded to the British. The British renamed the province Nova Scotia and changed the name of the capital from Port Royal to Annapolis Royal, after the queen. Despite becoming British territory, there was little change to Nova Scotia's population demographics. After Queen Anne's War, the British allowed the Acadians to remain in Nova Scotia, with the condition they "were to become British subjects, and enjoy their religion so far as the laws of Great Britain would admit."[1] In addition to the Acadians, the majority of peoples living in Nova Scotia were Micmacs, Maliseets, and mixed-bloods of French and Native American descent known as métis.[2] The only true British presence in the province was a "garrison… kept at Port Royal, and another small one at Canso; but still no government was established, nor any suitable encouragement given" for Anglo-Americans "to settle there."[3] Great Britain appointed Jean Paul Mascarene as governor of Nova Scotia. Mascarene was a French born British military officer, and it was hoped that he could soothe the tensions between the Acadians and New England.[4]

The tensions between New England and the Acadians were not unwarranted. Many times during King William's War and Queen Anne's War, the New England

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[1] Robert Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America* (1765; repr., London: S.R. Publishers, 1966), 16.
[2] John Grenier, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 66.
[3] Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 16.
[4] John Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire: War in Nova Scotia, 1710-1760* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 112; and Geoffrey Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 79.

frontier was attacked by French and Native American raiders from Acadia. Likewise, Acadia was often a target for British aggression. Benjamin Church led five expeditions into Acadia during the two wars, which included many brutal raids against combatants and noncombatants. After the European treaties were signed, raids by Native Americans, especially the Micmacs, continued.[5] The Micmacs were staunch allies of the French. The Anglo-Americans of New England considered the Micmacs their worst enemies and described them as bearing "the greatest resemblance of wild beasts of any savages that we are acquainted with."[6] Though the New Englanders knew the Micmacs were responsible for at least some of the raids against them, they often blamed the Acadians for the attacks. After Queen Anne's War, the new acquired British subjects "continued to commit hostilities themselves, at least secretly, and to supply and encourage the eastern Indians to perpetrate the most horrid acts of cruelty and barbarity on the English on the frontiers of New England, whose scalps or persons were carried to market to Louisburg, Quebec."[7] Despite the New Englanders' strong convictions to blame the Acadians, it is likely that at least some of the motivation came from French Canada. Canada was a martial society in comparison to the agrarian Acadia, and many Acadians did not consider themselves to be countrymen to the Canadian Frenchmen. Regardless, the French government in North America desired to take back Nova Scotia, and the result was a bloody frontier similar to that of the previous imperial wars.[8]

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[5] Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 16-17.
[6] Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 188-189.
[7] Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 16-17.
[8] Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire*, 113; and John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from Their American Homeland* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 214.

France declared war on Great Britain on March 15, 1744. News of the declaration arrived in the French colony of Île-Royale on May 3, 1744. From Louisbourg, the capital of Île-Royale, French governor Jean Baptiste Louis Le Prévost Duquesnel began planning an attack on the British garrisons in Nova Scotia. The French force was commanded by Captain François Dupont Duvivier and his brother Joseph and consisted of fifty *troupes de la marine*, seventy Maliseet warriors, and one hundred Micmac warriors.[9] The British in North America did not receive word of the declaration until late April. When the French and Native American attackers arrived, the British were caught off guard. The French attacked Canso on May 24, 1744. The unsuspecting garrison put up little resistance before surrendering to the French force. Canso was looted and burned. The French force then turned its efforts towards Annapolis Royal.[10]

Annapolis Royal was protected by Fort Anne. The British force there was commanded by Governor Mascarene. In July, a guerilla force led by French priest Jean Louis Le Loutre attacked Annapolis Royal. Le Loutre's force consisted of some Acadians and Micmac and Maliseet warriors. The soldiers defending Annapolis Royal were able to repel the attack, and Le Loutre retreated until the larger French force arrived. On September 6, 1744, the French force under Duvivier arrived at Annapolis Royal. The French lacked artillery to fully attack the fort. Instead, Duvivier besieged the city and sent small groups to probe the defenses, which led to skirmishing between the British defenders and the French attackers. Duvivier asked Mascarene to surrender, suggesting

[9] Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire*, 113.
[10] Guy Chet, *Conquering the American Wilderness: The Triumph of European Warfare in the Colonial Northeast* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 102; and Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 214.

that resistance was futile. If Mascarene surrendered peacefully, they would be treated well by French captors. If they were taken by force, he would turn the captives over to his Native American allies.[11] The thought of Native American captors surely worried the defenders of Annapolis Royal. The Native American practice of taking captives was well known in the region, and was a major threat on the frontier during King William's War and Queen Anne's War. As the siege continued, the dissention began to grow behind Fort Anne's walls. The probing and skirmishing continued, and Duvivier asked Mascarene to surrender again on September 15. Mascarene refused and the siege continued, with both sides hoping for reinforcements to arrive and finish the siege.[12] Luckily for Mascarene and Annapolis Royal, reinforcements did arrive in late September to break the siege. Annapolis Royal's saviors were not the British Navy or Royal Marines, but rangers from New England led by John Gorham III.

Though John Gorham was not related to Benjamin Church, it can be argued that Gorham's Rangers[13] were descended from Benjamin Church's units. John Gorham's great-grandfather, John Gorham I, was a military officer from the Plymouth Colony during King Philip's War, the same as Church. Gorham I was killed in that war fighting on the frontier. Gorham I would have recognized the unique nature of North American fighting during his service. Gorham's grandfather, John Gorham II served under Benjamin Church in King William's War. Eventually, Gorham II was appointed as

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[11] Chet, *Conquering the American Wilderness*, 102; Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire*, 116; and Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 70.
[12] Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire*, 117.
[13] John Gorham, his brother Joseph, and Robert Rogers all received commissions in the British Army. Their respective units were officially referred to as "Rangers." Therefore, in this essay, Gorham's Rangers and Rogers's Rangers are capitalized. Church's forces were never officially called rangers, and therefore this essay will refer to them as Church's rangers.

Church's second in command. Church was ordered to "advise" Gorham so that he could "take… command in case of [Church's] death."[14] Church's rangers were comprised of both Anglo-American and Native American troops. When Gorham founded his first company of rangers in King George's War, he could only recruit twenty Anglo-Americans into service.[15] The remainder of Gorham's ranks was filled by Native Americans. Most of Gorham's Native American troops were Nausets and Wampanoags. Gorham's force also included a small group of Pigwackets. The Pigwackets were members of the Wabanaki Confederacy that also included the Abenakis, the Maliseets, the Micmacs, and the Passamaquoddies. The Wabanakis were traditional French allies, and provided much of the frontier threat that Church faced in King William's War and Queen Anne's War. The Pigwackets who joined Gorham were from farther south and chose to ally with Massachusetts. Their perceived treachery left their families exposed to possible retaliation, and Gorham helped his Pickwacket soldiers relocate their people to safer territory. This paralleled actions taken by Church in King Philip's War when he befriended certain Wampanoag groups who aided him rather than Metacom.[16]

Gorham paralleled Church in another aspect in regards to his Native American troops. After King Philip's War, many of New England's Native Americans were economically forced into occupations where they performed services to English employers. A significant example was the whaling business. Unlike Church, Gorham

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[14] William Stoughton, "Instructions for Major Benjamin Church, Commander of the Forces Raised for His Majesty's Service, against the French and Indian Enemy and Rebels," in Thomas Church, *The History of the Great Indian War of 1675 and 1676, Commonly Called King Philip's War. Also, the Old French and Indian Wars, from 1689 to 1704* (1716; repr., New York: H. Dayton, Publisher, 1860), 219.
[15] Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 68.
[16] Brian D. Carroll, "'Savages' in the Service of Empire': Native American Soldiers in Gorham's Rangers, 1744-1762," *The New England Quarterly* 85, no. 3 (September, 2012): 388, and 390-392.

did not come from the frontier, but the coast of Cape Cod. Gorham began whaling at a young age, and developed skills in seamanship, navigation, logistics and leadership.[17] Gorham also developed a relationship with the Native Americans who worked as whalers, just as Church formed relationships with his Native American neighbors at his frontier home. More importantly, Gorham and his Native American sailors were experts at adapting whaling into a combat technique. Church himself adopted the use of whaleboats in his fourth expedition to Acadia during King William's War. Some of Church's Native American soldiers were also experienced whalers. During Church's third expedition, his party encountered a small enemy force equipped with canoes. Church's soldiers attempted to kill or capture the force, but many escaped in their canoes. After the event, Church swore to "never go out again without a sufficient number of whale boats, the want of which was the ruin of that action."[18] Church was known for his mobility in frontier fighting, but his use of whale boats made him an amphibious threat as well. Gorham's Rangers excelled at amphibious operations.

Gorham arrived at Annapolis Royal on September 26 with a force that included about seventy Pigwacket rangers.[19] Despite having been besieged for twenty days, many of the British garrison at Fort Anne did not welcome the rangers because of underlying hatred towards all Native Americans. Instead, the rangers occupied a building in Annapolis Royal to serve as a barracks and base of operations. From there, the rangers used their boats to conduct military movements up and down the waterways. The rangers

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[17] Daniel Vickers, "The First Whalemen of Nantucket," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, 2nd ed., ed. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2007), 314-335; and Carroll, "'Savages' in the Service of Empire," 385-386, and 382-393.
[18] Thomas Church, *History of the Great Indian War*, 213.
[19] Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 219.

brought supplies to the men defending the fort, which lessened the effects of the siege. The rangers could not attack the French head on, but they were able to get behind them and harass their movements and support elements. On October 4, the rangers raided a Micmac camp. In true frontier fashion, men, women, and children were killed and their corpses mutilated. Gruesome as it was, the raid was effective. The Micmacs withdrew from Annapolis Royal. The French followed the Micmacs' example and withdrew to Louisbourg on October 5. The siege was broken and the city was liberated. The French naval force Duvivier was expecting did arrive, complete with the artillery needed to attack the fort. Finding Duvivier's force gone, however, the French vessels sailed away. Gorham's force of Anglo-American and Native American irregulars changed the balance of power and secured the British hold on Nova Scotia.[20]

After the siege was broken, the British began to plan an offensive campaign against the French. In King William's War and Queen Anne's War, the English and later British forces had experienced some success by combining regular tactics with Church's irregular tactics. Massachusetts governor William Shirley felt the best plan of action was a conventional attack on the French at Louisbourg with support of the British navy. Gorham believed that the biggest threat to Nova Scotia were the Acadians and unfriendly Native Americans in the colony. Thus began the conventional planning for an attack on Louisbourg while Gorham's Rangers began a guerilla campaign against the people of Acadia. Mascarene gave Gorham permission to raid his Acadian subjects, and contributed supplies to the rangers. The Massachusetts General Court offered one

[20] Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 219-220; Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire*, 118-119; and Robert W. Black, *Ranger Dawn: The American Ranger from the Colonial Era to the Mexican War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2009), 34.

hundred provincial pounds for Micmac adult male scalps and fifty for the scalps of Micmac women and children. Of course, there was no real way to tell to whom a scalp belonged once it was taken, and the bounty created a rise in recruitment. Later, the British government increased the bounty to ten pounds sterling. The French government also encouraged scalping with monetary reward. The frontier once again became a place that was safe for no one.[21]

Gorham's Rangers contributed to the defense of the frontier. Both John Gorham and his brother Joseph, who had his own ranger company, used their resources to build blockhouses. Blockhouses were not particularly effective at winning wars, but they provided some safety for the noncombatants of frontier villages if they had men to defend them. More importantly, the rangers raided Acadian and Micmac villages and disrupted enemy movements. Constant small scale patrolling kept the Acadian guerillas and Micmac allies on the defensive, and forced many Native American allies to abandon the French cause. The rangers were also beneficial to the overall British strategy by gathering intelligence. Joseph's company raided Cobequid, where they interrogated villagers who claimed that Le Loutre had forced their allegiance at the threat of death. Joseph's rangers searched the homes and seized the weapons they found. They took four Cobequid deputies and a parish priest captive. Gorham's Rangers also used an unconventional tactic of dressing as Frenchmen to deceive their enemies, thus capturing and interrogating them. The rangers were famous to the British and notorious to the

[21] Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 35; Chet, *Conquering the American Wilderness*, 102; Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 71; Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire*, 122-123; and Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest*, 107, 110-111, and 127-129.

French. When the time came to attack Louisbourg, the rangers were considered valuable assets.[22]

Louisbourg contained a stone fort that defended entry into the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and the river which led to the interior of Canada. Shirley appointed William Pepperell, an American born officer, to lead the expedition. Pepperell commanded 4,300 men from Massachusetts, Maine, New York, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island.[23] The British naval vessels were commanded by Commodore Peter Warren, who sailed up from Antigua in April of 1745. Shirley appointed Gorham as commander of whaleboat operations at Louisbourg, which included amphibious assaults. Shirley believed that the rangers were best suited for attacking any enemy force attempting to enter or leave the area based on their highly efficient mobility. Shubael Gorham, father to John and Joseph, commanded the 7th Massachusetts Regiment.[24] The combined Anglo-American and British force was much better prepared to launch an attack than the initial French attack on Annapolis Royal.

On April 30, 1745, Gorham conducted an amphibious landing at Gabarus Bay. The Anglo-American troops marched overland while the British fleet established a naval blockade around Louisbourg and provided artillery support for the land forces. The Americans were also able to capture a French cannon and turn it against the French. Despite being bombarded by both sides, the French sustained a resistance for some time. On May 23, Gorham conducted another amphibious landing, this time under heavy fire.

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[22] Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 263-264, and 266; Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 74; and Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire*, 197.
[23] Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 35.
[24] Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 35; Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire*, 125, 129, 135; and Chet, *Conquering the American Wilderness,* 102-103.

French naval forces attempted to break the blockade and rescue Louisbourg, but to no success. Only one French ship made it through the blockade, and its provisions were not enough to sustain the fort. The other French ships were captured by the British naval forces under Warren, and their provisions were used to sustain the British. On June 16, 1745, the French surrendered Louisbourg. They would not, however, surrender it to the American land forces, and Warren had to come ashore to accept the surrender. Louisbourg's treasures were divided between the British navy and the British crown, scorning the Americans who had fought to take it. When the war ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle on October 18, 1748, Louisbourg was returned to the French in exchange for the British colony of Madras in India.[25]

Before the end of the war, in 1747, Gorham went to England to gain royal support to recruit more rangers. Gorham had hoped to get enough money to recruit and train two thousand rangers. However, the Royal Court was so impressed with Gorham's actions in Nova Scotia that they awarded him a commission as a captain in the British army, in addition to his rank as a lieutenant colonel in the Massachusetts militia. His company also received royal status as His Majesty's First Independent Company of American Rangers. Gorham was the first American ranger to receive a commission in the British army. Such commissions were typically reserved for high ranking officials acting as governors.[26] Gorham's commission proves that American guerilla fighting had become highly respected since the days of Church's first company. Church was initially met with apprehension. After his success in King Philip's War, Church gained support for his

[25]Chet, *Conquering the American Wilderness*, 103-104; and Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 35.
[26] Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 76; Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 36; and Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire*, 135-136.

style of fighting. The colonial governments supported his actions in King William's War and Queen Anne's War. In King George's War, the British monarch himself was willing to endorse American guerilla fighting.

When Gorham returned home, the war was over. The fighting, however, was not. The French priest Jean Louis Le Loutre was still determined to force the British out of Acadia. Likewise, the Anglo-Americans had lost all patience with their Acadian neighbors and wanted them gone as well. The result was a long and bloody guerrilla war on the frontier. Gorham raised his ranger company and conducted many amphibious raids and woodland patrols over the next few years. When Gorham died from smallpox in 1751, his brother Joseph assumed his command. Joseph also received a commission in the British army and continued to fight the Acadians and their Native American allies until the next imperial war broke out on the continent. In the French and Indian War, Joseph was present at the recapture of Louisbourg and commanded one of the six ranger companies present at the capture of Quebec. Like Church's tactics in earlier wars, the rangers were often used to support larger groups of regulars by patrolling their flanks during movements. Their notorious reputation made them valuable targets to the enemy. When rangers were captured, they were brutally tortured. The brutality of the guerilla war only fueled the demand for more ranger companies.[27]

In fact, John Gorham and his brother Joseph were not the only commanders of rangers in King George's War. Massachusetts born Benoni Danks led an independent ranger company that fought alongside Gorham's Rangers and were also skilled at

[27] Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 36-37; Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire*, 136, 138-141, 152, and 159; Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 76; and Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 112.

tracking and capturing Acadian guerillas and their Native American allies. William Clapham and Francis Bartelo also commanded ranger companies and were regarded highly by British officers. John Goeffe led his ranger company on a one hundred and six day scouting mission in the dead of winter. Winter soldiering was primarily a ranger skill, especially for an expedition that lasted three months. Another significant ranger commander was David Ladd, an experienced woodsman whose company patrolled the New Hampshire frontier. Among the soldiers who served under Ladd was a fifteen year old boy whose family home had been raided and burned at the hands of Abenaki warriors. The boy's name was Robert Rogers, and he would eventually become the third American ranger to receive a commission in the British army, and arguably the most famous American ranger of all time.[28]

Robert Rogers was born in 1731 in New England and raised on the frontier. It was 1745, during King George's War, when Rogers's family home was attacked by Abenakis. Rogers's family fled east to the more fortified town of Rumford. In the spring of 1746, eight men from the town were ambushed by an Abenaki war party. Five of the men were killed, stripped naked, scalped, and disemboweled. The Abenakis cut out their hearts and their genitals, and finally removed their limbs. When the local militia commander asked for volunteers, young Robert Rogers raised his hand. The militia conducted several patrols, but were not able to locate any enemy. By October, the militia disbanded to harvest crops for the winter.[29] Military campaigns for militia soldiers commonly came to a halt in colonial times as winter approached so the soldiers could

[28] Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 36, and 53; Grenier, *The Far Reaches of Empire*, 152, and 198; and Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 76.
[29] John R. Cuneo, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 4-9.

return home to work the fields, but winter usually halted regular forces as well. Only specialized soldiers like Rogers usually operated through the winter.

The events of 1745 and 1746 had an impact of the teenaged Rogers. Rogers developed a hatred for Native Americans. Church was a close friend of his Native American neighbors. Even Gorham relied heavily on Native Americans to fill his ranks, and distinguished friendly Native Americans from enemies. Rogers, on the other hand, preferred to fill his ranks with Anglo-Americans. Despite their different attitudes towards Native Americans, Rogers embodied many of the same tactical traits as Church and Gorham. Like Church, Rogers was a frontiersman, a hunter, and a marksman. In fact, for men like Church and Rogers, hunting, marksmanship, and soldiering were connected. In fact, Rogers used hunting to improve the marksmanship of his men.

> They will next be taught to handle their arms with dexterity; and, without lasting time upon trifles, to load and fire very quick, standing, kneeling, or lying on the ground. They are to fire at a mark without a rest, and not suffered to be too long in taking aim. Hunting and small premiums will soon make them expert marksmen.[30]

Rogers also depended on hunting skills to feed his men. This was important because as a highly mobile force they could not be bothered with long, slow supply trains. The ability to feed themselves while in the field was critical to their success. Rogers wrote in December of 1755 that his men "had the good fortune… to kill two deer with which being refreshed, on the 24th, we returned to Fort William Henry."[31] There is a very

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[30] Robert Rogers, *The Annotated and Illustrated Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, ed. Timothy J. Todish (Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 2002), 260.
[31] Robert Rogers, *Journals of Major Robert Rogers: An Account of the Several Excursions He Made Under the Generals who Commanded Upon the Continent of North America, during the Late War* (1765, repr., New York: Corinth Books, 1961), 7.

noticeable parallel to Church's account from King Philip's War where himself and his men killed and cooked a deer while waiting on the main effort to join them.[32]
Both examples demonstrate that the two rangers saw hunting skill as a significant asset to war. The examples also prove that both parties traveled lightly to increase mobility.

Like Church, Rogers also recruited men familiar with his style of fighting to lead as officers in his company. Church appointed John Gorham II as his second in command. Rogers also recruited his friend, John Stark. Stark was, in many ways, more qualified to command than Rogers, and probably embodied the "white Indian" more than Church himself. Stark was captured by the Abenakis as young man. When the Abenakis forced Stark to run the gauntlet, he attacked the line of captors waiting to attack him. The Abenakis put him to work hoeing the weeds out of their corn, but the defiant Stark used the hoe to cut the corn instead. When his captors demanded to know why he cut the corn instead of the weeds, Stark explained that farming was women's work, and that he was a warrior. Stark was actually correct in regard to Native American gender roles, and his courage impressed his captors. The Abenakis adopted Stark as one of their own. Stark was eventually ransomed back to New England society.[33] Stark proved his worth to Rogers in January 1757 when his rangers were attacked by a much larger force of French soldiers and their Native American allies. It seemed that the enemy party had the rangers trapped when "Lieutenant Stark repulsed them by a brisk fire from the hill, killing a number, and affording us an opportunity to post ourselves to advantage."[34]

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[32] Thomas Church, *The History of Philip's War: Commonly Called the Great Indian War of 1675 and 1676* (Boston: J.H.A. Frost, 1827), 30.
[33] Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 54.
[34] Robert Rogers, *Reminiscences of the French War: with Robert Rogers' Journal and a Memoir of General Stark* (1831, repr., Freedom, NH: The Freedom Historical Society, 1988), 29-30.

Another way in which Rogers emulated Church was in dress. Despite his dislike for Native Americans, Rogers recognized that certain Native American innovations were best adapted for the American frontier. During the winter months, Rogers and the men wore snowshoes to best maneuver across the snow. Rogers and his men also adopted the use of a "tomahock… and scalping knife."[35] Among other items, Rogers required his men to dress in "a strong tanned shirt, short trowsers, leggings, [and] mokawsons."[36] When preparing for an expedition in Queen Anne's War, Church requested the colonies pay for "four or five hundred pairs of good Indian shoes" for himself and his men.[37] It is clear that both men believed a hybrid of European and Native American clothing and equipment were best adapted for warfare on the frontier. Later in the war, as the British regular army became more involved with Rogers's ranging expedition, Rogers's Rangers were outfitted with professional uniforms. However, the uniforms were still suited for Rogers's style of warfare. The cloth was green, which identified them as rangers to the other British soldiers, but also provided some concealment in the eastern woodlands. The uniforms were equipped with leggings and moccasins rather than breeches, stockings, and European shoes. The rangers had originally used seal skin bags to keep their powder and ammunition dry, but those were replaced with regulation cartridge boxes. They were also issued bayonets, but still carried the tomahawks and scalping knives.[38]

Another aspect in which Rogers mirrored Church and Gorham was the use of watercraft in patrolling. Native Americans in eastern North America had long used natural waterways and river systems as highways. As stated, Church adopted the practice

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[35] British officer as quoted in Cuneo, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers*, 53.
[36] Rogers, *The Annotated and Illustrated Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, 259.
[37] Thomas Church, *History of the Great Indian War*, 236.
[38] Cuneo, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers*, 74-75.

in King William's War. Gorham, an experienced whaler, excelled at amphibious warfare and was a highly mobile asset to the British cause in King George's War. Rogers used boats to move in and out of French territory quickly. When the French discovered abandoned boats in their territory, French officer Louis Antoine de Bougainville assumed it "could only be what it was, the advance guard of their army, led by Colonel Bradstreet and Major Rogers."[39] Rogers was able to maneuver his boats through French territory undetected because he moved "by night. This idea is made more likely because several of the oars were bound with cloth," which would have muffled the sound of the oars touching the water.[40]

Like Church, Rogers also used ambush tactics when scouting enemy territory. In January, 1756, Rogers recorded "at night we renewed our march, and, by daybreak… formed an ambush… within gunshot of the path in which the enemy passed from one fort to another."[41] When a small French party passed by, the rangers captured them and confiscated their supplies. This event was typical of many ambushes conducted by Rogers. Church often used an "ambuscade" as part of his strategy, as a method of attack, to cut off fleeing enemies, or to serve as an early warning system of approaching enemy.[42]

Church's rangers primarily served as raiders whereas Rogers's Rangers primarily served as scouts. Rogers was, however, given the opportunity to raid the Abenaki in 1759, the same Native American people who raided his home as a boy. British Major

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[39] Louis Antoine de Bougainville, *Adventure in the Wilderness: The American Journals of Louis Antoine de Bougainville, 1756-1760*, trans. and ed. Edward P. Hamilton (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 225-226.
[40] Bougainville, *Adventure in the Wilderness*, 51.
[41] Robert Rogers, *Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, 8.
[42] Thomas Church, *History of the Great Indian War*, 168.

General Jeffrey Amherst ordered Rogers to attack Abenaki raiders living at Saint Francois in the Saint Lawrence Valley. Rogers's Rangers crossed the 150 mile distance in twenty two days. Rogers's force consisted of 142 rangers. About 1500 yards from the Abenaki village, Rogers and his men dropped all of their extra gear and checked their weapons for functionality. Rogers picked one hundred men for the attack, leaving the rest to cordon the area in order to prevent escape. After dark, the rangers moved in, armed with muskets, tomahawks, and knives. At dawn, the rangers saw scalp poles adorned with the fresh scalps of Anglo-American men, women, and children. The rangers let loose their fury on their Native American enemies, burning huts and tomahawking and scalping Abenaki men, women, and children. Those who tried to escape ran into the awaiting ambush formed by the rest of the rangers.[43] The raid was victorious, although brutal. The raid was also very familiar to the history of New England. The night maneuver, attack at dawn, and surrounding cordon were the exact tactics used by Church when Metacom was killed. The burning of the village and the murder of women and children were indicative of the brutal raid at Mystic during the Pequot War.

Despite Rogers's similarities to Church, it would be wrong to assume that Rogers became the most famous of the colonial American rangers because of any strategic victories or tactical innovations. Church is more deserving of that claim. Church's victories over Metacom and Annawon were the most decisive victories conducted by ranger companies in the colonial period. The reason for Rogers's fame is that he took the methods used by Church, and later Gorham, and put them into writing. In 1757, Rogers

[43] Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 73; and Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 115.

formalized those methods into twenty eight rules which compiled became the first written manual of warfare in North America.[44] By creating a standardized method for training rangers, Rogers negated the need for Native American allies and even rugged frontiersman. Anyone, including British regulars could be trained in the ways of ranging.

In 1753, Rogers and nineteen men surveyed the New Hampshire frontier. By 1754, Great Britain and France were at war, and in 1755, Sir William Johnson was in desperate need of intelligence regarding the French numbers. Johnson was a general and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern region of the British colonies. The British had relied on Mohawk scouts for reconnaissance, but the Mohawk had abandoned the British at the start of the war for diplomatic reasons. Joseph Blanchard, a colonel in the New Hampshire militia suggested that Robert Rogers could conduct a reconnaissance mission for Johnson instead. In September, Rogers led a small ranging party into French territory, where he ambushed a French and Native American party, creating enemy casualties and taking prisoners and gaining information. The raid was successful, if somewhat insignificant, but drew British attention to Rogers and the rangers.[45]

Previously, the British had seen the use of Native American allies as a necessary evil in frontier fighting. Native American allies provided troops for wilderness fighting, gathering intelligence, raiding villages, taking prisoners, and countering similar attacks by the enemy. However, the British also viewed Native American troops as unreliable, as they often showed up for duty ill equipped, drunk, or not at all. [46] The American

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[44]Rogers, *The Annotated and Illustrated Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, 72-79; and Cuneo, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers*, 55.
[45] Cuneo, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers*, 21-24.
[46] Milton W. Hamilton, *Sir William Johnson: Colonial American, 1715-1763* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1976), 233.

leadership had seen the value of rangers since the days of Benjamin Church, but the British leadership began to take note as well after the defeat of General Edward Braddock. The French had long supported the type of irregular warfare conducted by Native Americans and rangers. The British realized that North America was not Europe, and that rangers were a necessary part of American warfare.[47]

Rangers were primarily used to support the British regular army and colonial militia by providing information used to plan operations. The ranger patrols explored routes through French territory to determine the best route of attack for conventional forces. The rangers also gathered information about enemy strength and movements. When possible, the rangers attacked small, isolated enemy units to question. The rangers destroyed or confiscated enemy supplies when the opportunity presented itself. Just as rangers had done in New England for a century, the rangers defended frontier communities by disrupting small raiding parties.[48] Though the ranger's actions did not provide a significant threat to enemy numbers, the expeditions had significant strategic value for planning. Furthermore, on a much smaller scale, the conventional forces began to emulate the rangers.

John Campbell, Fourth Earl of Loudoun, and commander in chief of the British forces in America used American rangers as scouts when Native American allies were unavailable or unwilling to serve British interests. Loudoun also saw the need to engage in winter fighting, but the regulars and even the militia could not field expeditions in the snow. Rogers's Rangers, however, had much experience with winter expeditions.

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[47] Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 118-120.
[48] Hamilton, *Sir William Johnson*, 218; Cuneo, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers*, 32-33; and Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 125-126.

Despite their value, Loudoun did not like using Americans and preferred the use of British officers, over which he felt he had more control. While Loudoun recognized the usefulness of rangers, he disliked their methods of scalping their slain enemies. To remedy his disdain for the American rangers, Loudoun sent junior British officers into the field with the rangers in order to learn their skills. Loudoun believed that he could then use his own newly trained officers to build ranger companies within his own British forces.[49] Loudoun explained that "it is impossible for an Army to Act in this Country, without Rangers; and there ought to be a considerable body of them, and the breeding them up to that, will be a great advantage to the Country, for they will be able to deal with Indians in their own way."[50] When Fort William Henry fell to the French, it left the frontier exposed to raids. Loudoun asked New York, New Jersey, and New England to raise ranger companies to help defend the frontier.[51] Loudoun clearly recognized the need for rangers, but simply wanted them within his own British system.

British general James Abercrombie also recognized the value of rangers, and tried to emulate them with his own British forces. After a failed scouting party where Rogers lost many men and was himself wounded, Abercrombie wrote to Rogers. "I am sorry… for the men you have lost… few persons will believe it, but, upon honour, I should have been glad to have been with you, that I might have learned the manner of fighting in this

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[49] Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 127, 129; *Anderson, Crucible of War*, 181; and Black, *Ranger Dawn*, 56, 58.
[50] John Campbell Loudoun, "Loudoun to Cumberland," (November 22, 1756-December 26, 1756): in *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765: Selected Documents from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle*, ed. Stanley Pargellis (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936): 269.
[51] Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 219.

country."[52] At the Battle of Ticonderoga in July, 1758, also called the Battle of Carillon, Abercrombie used Rogers's Rangers in conjunction with his own regulars. Abercrombie used the rangers as marksmen to target the French defenses while the regular forces attacked in three long parallel lines.[53] The rangers were proficient in the use of firearms and were excellent marksmen. Thomas Brown, a member of Rogers's Rangers who was captured by the French gave an account of his capture after his release. "I… got to the Centre of our Men, and fix'd myself behind a large pine, where I loaded and fir'd every Opportunity… The engagement held, as near as I could guess, five and a half Hours, and as I learnt after I was taken, we killed more of the enemy then we were in Number."[54] Brown was captured during a winter scouting expedition by a much larger French and Native American force. However, Brown's narrative demonstrates how the numerically inferior rangers inflicted significant casualties on the enemy through the use of protective cover and marksmanship. British troops tried to adopt American marksmanship by adopting target practice rather than simply leveling their arms and firing. British officers created a new command for their troops. "Tree all!" was the order shouted when ambushed which told the regulars to find cover rather than standing in the line of fire.[55]

British general George Augustus Howe, Third Viscount Howe also spent time learning from the rangers. The Pennsylvania Gazette reported in 1758 that Howe had

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[52] James Abercrombie to Robert Rogers, Albany, February 6, 1757, in Robert Rogers, *Reminiscences of the French War: with Robert Rogers' Journal and a Memoir of General Stark* (1831, repr., Freedom, NH: The Freedom Historical Society, 1988), 34-35.
[53] Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 243.
[54] Thomas Brown, *A Plain Narrativ of the Uncommon Sufferings and Remarkable Deliverance of Thomas Brown of Charlestown, in New England; who Returned to his Father's House in the Beginning of January 1760, after Having Been Absent Three Years and About Eight Months* (1760, repr., New York, William Abbatt, 1908), 210.
[55] Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 411.

"been forming his regular Troops to the Method of Bush-fighting all Season, so that he has now, it is said, made them as dexterous at it almost as the Rangers."[56] The British regulars adopted more than just tactics. The British troops modified their uniforms as well. Howe "ordered all the coats of his Regiment to be cut short, to make them as light as possible."[57] British soldiers also modified their hats to make them more practical under combat conditions. Many British officers stopped wearing their identifiable gorgets and sashes, which served no practical purpose and drew the attention of enemy marksmen. Some British regulars even adopted the ranger, and initially Native American, practice of carrying tomahawks.[58] Firearms and steel hatchets were European inventions, not Native American. Native Americans, however, adopted their use in their own way. Rangers, specifically beginning with Church, readopted those European items through a Native American filter. While a musket was European, the concept of aiming it was American. The decision to use an iron hatchet, a European tool, as a weapon in the same manner as a Native American war club rather than using a sword or bayonet was also American. Rangers often dressed in a combination of European and Native American dress because it was more tactically proficient on the battlefield. When the British regulars began trying to emulate the rangers, they were copying the same methods as Church nearly a century before.

The French military had taken an active role in North America much earlier and therefore accepted the use of guerilla fighting and Native American raids long before the British army. The French used the term "la petite guerre" to describe the style of fighting

[56] Pennsylvania Gazette, July 6, 1758 in Hamilton, *Sir William Johnson*, 233-234.
[57] Pennsylvania Gazette, July 6, 1758 in Hamilton, *Sir William Johnson*, 233-234.
[58] Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 410.

conducted by Church, Gorham, Rogers, French and Acadian guerrillas, and their Native American allies.[59] Despite their longer exposure to la petite guerre, Rogers and his rangers still made a name for themselves among their enemies. Bougainville remarked that "in Canada everyone is a soldier but every soldier is not equally brave. The English detachment consisted of seventy three men, six of them officers, and ten sergeants, commanded by Robert Rogers, captain of one of the four companies of forest runners that the English call 'Rangers,' whose mission is to go scouting in the woods."[60] Bougainville's comment provides several pieces of evidence. First, rangers, especially those under Rogers, seemed extraordinarily brave to their enemies. Second, they were highly mobile wilderness fighters and scouts, as Bougainville refers to them as forest runners. Last, the popularity of ranger companies was growing. Whereas Church's unit was unique in 1675, Rogers's unit was one of four at the time of Bougainville's remarks nearly a century later.

Not all of the high ranking British officers were fond of the American rangers. Initially unimpressed, Major General James Wolfe referred to the rangers' appearance as "little better than canaille."[61] In preparation for his expedition into Canada, Wolfe raised six ranger companies to support his regulars and militia. However, in May of 1759, Wolfe referred to the "six new-raised companies of North American Rangers" as "the worst soldiers in the universe."[62] Wolfe's description of the rangers may be a bit unfair. After all, these were newly raised rangers, and likely inexperienced. Additionally, any

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[59] W.J. Eccles, *The French in North America, 1500-1783*, 3rd ed. (Markham, ON: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1998), 108, and 130.
[60] Bougainville, *Adventure in the Wilderness*, 80-82.
[61] James Wolfe to Lord George Sackville, May 12, 1758, in *The Life and Letters of James Wolfe*, ed. Beckles Willson (London: William Heinemann, 1909), 363-364.
[62] James Wolfe to Walter Wolfe, May 19, 1759, in *The Life and Letters of James Wolfe*, ed. Beckles Willson (London: William Heinemann, 1909), 427.

unit of Americans, especially those preparing for irregular warfare, would have probably seemed unfit for service to a professional British officer. What is more important is the fact that the British army was raising six new ranger units, which shows that the Anglo-American and British officers had come to see American guerilla fighters as a necessary element of warfare in the New World. However, the war was all but won with a conventional battle. Wolfe became the British hero of the war with a decisive victory over the French at Quebec on the Plains of Abraham. Wolfe died in the battle. Had he lived, he would have seen his victorious British army looking far different from their European selves. Of the victorious force, only sixty percent were actually British.[63] The rest were Anglo-American and Native American. The British regulars who were present had modified their clothing and tactics as well.

The British victory at Quebec marked the beginning of the end for the French in North America. In truth, it marked the beginning of the end for the British as well. With the French gone, the Anglo-Americans soon grew restless with British rule. The year 1763 marked Great Britain's greatest victory over the French, but it also marked the end of the colonial period for the Anglo-Americans. In the hundred years that took place between King Philip's War and the American Revolution, the idea of what it meant to be an American soldier transformed dramatically. Whereas Benjamin Church had to plead with colonial powers to create his specialized military unit, men like John Gorham III and Robert Rogers were lauded for using the same tactics. Whereas the colonial powers resisted Church's methods because they were too Native American, colonial and British powers supported Gorham's and Rogers's methods and even adopted some of the ways

[63]Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 410.

of the American ranger themselves in order to lessen their dependency on Native American allies. Had Church not established himself as a friend to his Native American neighbors and been so receptive of Native American culture, it is unlikely that he would have ever been responsible for Metacom's death. Instead, his success led directly to the expansion of ranger expeditions in King William's War and Queen Anne's War, and eventually King George's War and the French and Indian War after Church's death. Those campaigns established a precedent of violence and guerilla warfare that lasted on the American frontier for centuries.

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