

Document A: John Easton's Account (Excerpted from Original)

In the Winter in the Year 1674, an Indian was found dead, and by a Coroner's Inquest of Plimouth Colony judged murdered. He was found dead in a Hole thro Ice broken in a Pond with his Gun and sum Foulis by him. Sum English suposed him thrown in, sum Indians that I judged intelegabell and impartiall in the Case did think he fell in and was so drowned, and that the les did hurt his Throat, as the English said it was cut; but acnolodge that sumetimes naty Indians wold kill others but not as euer they herd to obscuere as if the dead Indian was not murdered. The dead Indian was caled Sansimun and a Christian that could read and write. Report was he was a bad Man, that King Philip got him to write his Will, and he made the Writing for a great Part of the Land to be his, but read as if it had bin as Philip wrote; But it came to be known, and then he run away from him.

Now one Indian informed that three Indians had murdered him, and sheued a Coate that he said thay have him to conseall them. The Indians report that the Informer had playd away his Coate, and these Men sent him the Coate, and after demanded Pay, and he not to pay, so acused them, and knoing that it wold pleas the English so to think him a beter Christian, and the Reporte came that the three Indians had consesed and acused Philip so to imploy them, and that the English wold hang Philip; so the Indians wear afraid, and reported that the English had flatred them (or by threats) to bely Philip that thay might kill him to have his Land, and that if Philip had dun it, it was ther Law so to execute home ther Kings judged deserved it, that he had no Case to hide it.

So Philip kept his Men in Armes. Plimoth Governer required him to disband his Men, and informed him his Jealousy was falce. Philip answered he would do no Harm, and thanked the Governer for his Information.

The three Indians were hunge, to the last denied the Fact; but one broke the Halter as it is reported, then desired to be fayed, and so was a littell while, then confessed they three had dun the Fact; and then he was hanged. And it was reported Sausimun before his death had informed of the Indian Plot, and that if the Indians knew it they wold kill him, and that the Hethen might destroy the English for their Wickedness, as God had permitted the Heathen to destroy the Israellites of olde. So the English were afraid and Philip was afraid, and both increased in Armes. But for four Yeares Time, Reports and Jealosys of War had bin veri frequent, that we did not think that now a War was breaking forth; but about a Week before it did, we had Case to think it wold. Then to indever to prevent it, we sent a Man to Philip, that if he wold cum to the Fery we wold cum over to speke with him. About four Miles we had to cum; thither our Messenger cum to them; they not aware of it behaved themselves as furious, but sudingly appeased when they understood who he was and what he came for, he called his Counsell and agreed to come to us; came himself unarmed, and about 40 of his Men armed. Then 5 of us went over, 3 wear Magistrates. We sate veri friendly together. We told him our bisnes was to indever that they might not reseve or do Rong. They said that was well; they had dun no Rong, the English ronged them. We said we knew the English said the Indians ronged them, but our Desier was the Quarrell might rightly be desided, in the best Way, and not as Dogs desided their Quarrells. The Indians owned that fighting was the worst Way; then they propounded how Right might take Place. We

said, by Arbitration. They said that all English agreed against them, and so by Arbitration they had had much Rong; mani Miles square of Land so taken from them, for English wold have English Arbitrators; and once they were persuaded to give in their Armes, that thereby Jealousy might be removed, and the English having their Arms wold not deliver them as they had promised, until they consented to pay a 100L, and now they had not so much Sum or Muny; that thay wear as good be killed as leave all ther Livelyhode.

We said they might chuse a Indian King and the English might chuse the Governor of New Yorke, that nether had Case to say either wear Parties in the Diferance. They said they had not heard of that Way, and said we onestly spoke, so we wear perswaded if that Way had bine tendered they would have acsepted. We did endeavor not to hear their Complaints, said it was not convenient for us now to consider of, but to indever to prevent War; said to them when in War against English, Blood was spilt, that ingaged all Englishmen, for we wear to be all under one King; we knew what their Complaints wold be, and in our Colony had removed some of them in fending for Indian Rulers in what the Crime concerned Indian Lives, which thay veri lovingly acsepted, and agreed with us to their Execution, and said so they were abell to satisfie their Subjects when they knew an Indian sufered duly, but said in what was only between their Indians and not in Townshipes, that we had purchased, they would not have us prosecute, and that they had a great Fear to have ani of their Indians should be caled or forced to be Christian Indians. Thay said that such wer in everi thing more mischievous, only Disemblers, and then the English made them not subject to their Kings, and by their lying ot rong ther Kings. We knew it to be true, and we promising them that however in Government to Indians all should be alike, and that we knew it was our King's will it should be so, that altho we wear weaker than other Colonies, they having submitted to our King to protect them, others dared not otherwise to molest them; expressed thay took that to be well, that we had littell Case to doute, but that to us under the King thay would have yielded to our Determinations in what ani should have complained to us against them.

But Philip charged it to be dionestly in us to put of the Hering in just Complaints, therefore we consented to hear them. Thay said thay had bine the first in doing Good to the English, and the English in the first in doing Rong; said when they English first came, their King's Father was as a great Man, and the English as a littell Child; he constrained other Indians from ronging the English, and gave them Corn and shewed them how to plant, and was free to do them ani Good, and had let them have a 100 Times more Land than now the King had for his own Peopell. But their King's Brother, when he was King, came miserably to dy by being forced to Court, as they judge poysoned. And another Greavance was, if 20 of there onest Indians testified that a Englishman had dun them Rong, it was as nothing; and if but one of their worst Indians testified against any Indian or ther King, when it pleased the English it was sufittant. Another Grievance was, when their King sold land, the English wold say, it was more than they agreed to, and a Writing must be prove against all them, and sum of their Kings had dun Rong to sell so much. He left his Peopell none, and sum being given to Drunknes the English made them drunk and then cheated them in Bargains, but now ther Kings wear forwarned not for to part with Land, for nothing in Cumparison to the Value thereof. Now home the English had owned for King or Queen, they wold

disinheret, and make another King that wold give or fell them these Lands; that now, they had no Hopes left to kepe ani Land. Another Grievance, the English Catell and Horses still increased; that when thay removed 30 Mill from where English had ani thing to do, thay could not kepe ther Corn from being spoyled, thay never being iused to fence, and thoft when the English boft Land of them thay wold have kept their Catell upon ther owne Land. Another Grievance, the English were so eager to sell the Indians Lickers, that most of the Indians spent all in Drynknes, and then raveved upon the sober Indians, and thay did believe often did hurt the English Catell, and ther King could not prevent it.

We knew before, these were their grand Complaints, but then we only indevered to persuade that all Cumplaints might be righted without War, but could have no other Answer but that thay had not heard of that Way for the Governor of Yorke and an Indian King to have the Hearing of it. We had Case to think in that had bine tendered it wold have bine acsepted. We indevered that however thay should lay downe the War, for the English wear to strong for them; thay said, then the English should do to them as they did when thay were to strong for the English.

Source: John Easton, *"True Relation of what I know and of Reports and My Understanding Concerning the Beginning and Progress of the War now Between the English and the Indians,"* 1675.

Document B: Edward Randolph's Report (Excerpted from Original)

The Causes and Results of King Philip's War (1675) BY EDWARD RANDOLPH

EIGHTH Enquiry. What hath been the original cause of the present warre with the natives. What are the advantages or disadvantages arising thereby and will probably be the End?

Various are the reports and conjectures of the causes of the present Indian warre. Some impute it to an imprudent zeal in the magistrates of Boston to christianize those heathen before they were civilized and injoyning them the strict observation of their lawes, which, to a people so rude and licentious, hath proved even intollerable, and that the more, for that while the magistrates, for their profit, put the lawes severely in execution against the Indians, the people, on the other side, for lucre and gain, intice and provoke the Indians to the breach thereof, especially to drunkennesse, to which those people are so generally addicted that they will strip themselves to their skin to have their fill of rum and brandy, the Massachusets having made a law that every Indian drunke should pay 10s. or be whipped, according to the discretion of the magistrate. Many of these poor people willingly offered their backs to the lash to save their money; whereupon, the magistrates finding much trouble and no profit to arise to the government by whipping, did change that punishment into 10 days worke for such as could not or would not pay the fine of 10s. which did highly incense the Indians.

Some beleeeve there have been vagrant and jesuiticall priests, who have made it their businesse, for some yeares past, to goe from Sachim to Sachim, to exasperate the Indians against the English and to bring them into a confederacy, and that they were promised supplies from France and other parts to extirpate the English nation out of the continent of America. Others impute the cause to some injuries offered to the Sachim Philip; for he being possessed of a tract of land called Mount Hope, a very fertile, pleasant and rich soyle, some English had a mind to dispossesse him thereof, who never wanting one pretence or other to attain their end, complained of injuries done by Philip and his Indians to their stock and cattle, whereupon Philip was often summoned before the magistrate, sometimes imprisoned, and never released but upon parting with a considerable part of his land.

But the government of the Massachusets (to give it in their own words) do declare these are the great evils for which God hath given the heathen commission to rise against them: The wofull breach of the 5th commandment, in contempt for their authority, which is a sin highly provoking to the Lord: For men wearing long hayre and perewigs made of womens hayre; for women wearing borders of hayre and for cutting, curling and laying out the hayre, and disguising themselves by following strange fashions in their apparel: For profaneness in the people not frequenting their meetings, and others going away before the blessing be pronounced: For suffering the Quakers to live amongst them and to set up their thresholds by Gods thresholds, contrary to their old lawes and resolutions. With many such reasons, but whatever be the cause, the English have contributed much to their misfortunes, for they first taught the Indians the use of armes, and admitted them to be present at all their musters and trainings, and shewed them how to handle, mend and fix their muskets, and have been furnished with

all sorts of armes by permission of the government, so that the Indians are become excellent firemen. And at Natick there was a gathered church of praying Indians, who were exercised as trained bands, under officers to their owne; these have been the most barbarous and cruel enemies to the English of any others. Capt. Tom, their leader, being lately taken and hanged at Boston, with one other of their chiefs. . . .

No advantage but many disadvantages have arisen to the English by the warre, for about 600 men have been slaine, and 12 captains, most of them brave and stout persons and of loyal principles, whilst the church members had liberty to stay at home and not hazard their persons in the wilderness.

The losse to the English in the severall colonies, in their habitations and stock, is reckoned to amount to 150,000/. [pounds sterling] there having been about 1200 houses burned, 8000 head of cattle, great and small, killed, and many thousand bushels of wheat, pease and other grain burned . . . and upward of 3000 Indians men women and children destroyed, who if well managed would have been very serviceable to the English, which makes all manner of labour dear.

Source: *Edward Randolph, "The Causes and Results of King Philip's War," 1675.*

Document C: William Apess's Speech (Excerpted from Original)

When [Philip] came into office it appears that he knew there was great responsibility resting upon himself and country; that it was likely to be ruined by those rude intruders around him; though he appears friendly, and is willing to sell them lands for almost nothing. . . .

Here Philip meets with a most bitter insult, in 1673, from one Peter Talmon, of Rhode Island, who complained to the Plymouth Court against Philip, . . . the Court gave verdict in favor of Talmon, the young Pilgrim; for which Philip had to make good to the said Talmon a large tract of land at Sapamet and other places adjacent; . . . Their object was to cheat . . . This course of proceedings caused the Chief and his people to entertain strong jealousies of the whites.

In the year 1668 Philip made a complaint against one Weston, who had wronged one of his men of a gun and some swine; and we have no account that he got any justice for his injured brethren. . . .

[The Pilgrims] appeared to be suspicious of [Philip] in 1671; and the Pilgrims sent for him. . . . Philip, not liking to trust the Pilgrims, left some of the whites in his stead, to warrant his safe return. When Philip and his men had come near the place, some of the Plymouth people were ready to attack him; this rashness was, however, prevented by the Commissioner of Massachusetts, who met there with the Governor, to treat with Philip; and it was agreed upon to meet in the meetinghouse. Philip's complaint was, that the Pilgrims had injured the planting grounds of his people. The Pilgrims acting as umpires say the charges against them were not sustained; and because it was not, to their satisfaction, the whites wanted that Philip should order all his men to bring in his arms and ammunition; and the Court was to dispose of them as they pleased. . . .

It appears that Philip did not wish to make war with them, but compromised with them; and in order to appease the Pilgrims he actually did order his men, . . . to deliver them up; but his own men withheld, with the exception of very few. . . .

It does appear that [the Pilgrims] courted war instead of peace, as it appears from a second council that was held by order of the Governor, at Plymouth, September 13, 1671. It appears that they sent again for Philip; but he did not attend, but went himself and made complaint to the governor, which made him write to the council, and ordered them to desist, to be more mild, and not to take such rash measures. But it appears that on the 24th, the scene changed; that they held another council; and the disturbers of the peace, the intruders upon a peaceable people, say they find Philip guilty of the following charges:

1. That he had neglected to bring in his arms

2. That he had carried insolently and proudly towards us on several occasions, in refusing to come down to our courts, (when sent for), to procure a right understanding betwixt us.

What an insult this was to his Majesty, and independent Chief of a powerful nation, should come at the beck and call of his neighbors whenever they pleased to have him do it. . . .

The third charge was, harboring divers Indians not his own men; but vagabond Indians.

Now what a charge this was to bring against a King, calling his company vagabonds, because it did not happen to please them; and what right had they to find fault with his company. . . .

The fourth charge is, that he went to Massachusetts with his council, and complained against them, and turned their brethren against them. . . .

5. That he had not been quite so civil as they wished him to be. . . .

However, this council ended much as the other did, in regard to disarming the Indians, which they never were able to do. . . .

But it appears that the Pilgrims could not be contented with what they had done, but they must send an Indian, and a traitor, to preach to Philip and his men, in order to convert him and his people to Christianity. The preacher's name was Sassamon. . . . What could have been more insulting than to send a man to them who was . . . a traitor. . . . It was the laws of the Indians, that such a man must die. . . . In March, 1674, one of Philip's men killed him, and placed him beneath the ice in a certain pond near Plymouth; doubtless by the order of Philip. . . . Tobias [was] apprehended and tried. Tobias was one of Philip's counsellors. . . . June having arrived, three instead of one are arraigned. There was no one but Tobias suspected at the previous Court. Now two others are arraigned, tried, condemned and executed, (making three in all,) in June the 8th, 1675, by hanging and shooting. It does not appear that any more than one was guilty, and it was said that he was known to acknowledge it; but the other two persisted in their innocence to the last.

This murder of the preacher brought on the war a year sooner than it was anticipated by Philip. But this so exasperated King Philip, that from that day he studied to be revenged of the pilgrims; judging that his white intruders had nothing to do in punishing his people for any crime, and that it was in violation of treaties of ancient date. . . . When the Governor finds that his Majesty was displeased, he then sends messengers to him, and wishes to know why he would make war upon him, (as if he had done all right,) and wished to enter into a new treaty with him. The King answered them thus: Your Governor is but a subject of King Charles of England, I shall not treat with a subject; I shall treat of peace only with a King, my brother; when he comes, I am ready. . . .

Never could a prince answer with more dignity in regard to his official authority than he did; disdaining the idea of placing himself upon a par of the minor subjects of a King; letting them know at the same time, that he felt his independence more than they thought he did. . . .

Until the execution of these three Indians, supposed to be the murderers of Sassmon, no hostility was committed by Philip or his warriors. About the time of their trial, he was said to be marching his men up and down the country in arms; but when it was known, he could no longer restrain his young men, who, upon the 24th of June, provoked the people of Swansey, by killing their cattle and other injuries, which was a signal to commence the war.

Source: *“Eulogy on King Philip,” delivered on January 8, 1836 at the Odeon, an auditorium in Boston, Massachusetts.*