

*Captan Perse
& his coragios Company*

PHILIP WALKER

Edited with an Introduction
by DIANE BORNSTEIN

Introduction

IN THE POSSESSION of the American Antiquarian Society is a manuscript, 'Captan Perse & his coragios Company,' one of the earliest American epic poems. It was inspired by King Philip's War (1675-1676), the second major confrontation between the colonists of New England and the Indians.

The author was Philip Walker, an English immigrant who came to America in his early teens with his mother, who was known as Widow Walker. What part of England they came from is not known. She was one of the first settlers of the town of Rehoboth or Seaconk, her name being on the list of those who in 1643 gave in the value of their estates for a pro rata division of the lands (hers was £50). Philip's name first appears in a deed bearing his signature dated at Rehoboth in 1653. In 1659 his occupation was that of a weaver. He also was a saw-mill owner and came to be the second wealthiest man in Rehoboth. Official positions held by him included those of surveyor, constable, deputy to Plymouth, and deacon of the church led by Samuel and Noah Newman. Walker served as a private soldier in King Philip's War, advanced what was for him a large amount of money to help finance it, and suffered serious personal losses. Right after Captain Pierce's defeat on March 26, 1676, the Indians attacked Rehoboth, burning forty

houses and thirty barns. Since at the time of his death in 1679 Walker left a house unfinished, his home may have been one of those burned by the Indians.¹ Although he did not take part in Pierce's battle, the name of John Walker, who was probably his cousin, appears on the list of the dead compiled by Noah Newman.² Thus, when Walker speaks of 'us that loose our dearest frinds,' he is talking about himself. We can see why the battle moved him to write a poem; it was probably written in 1676, shortly after Pierce's defeat.

Walker's poem survives in a paper manuscript of ten folios measuring about $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width. It is an autograph manuscript containing numerous revisions by the author: some lines are crossed out, others are erased, new material is added, and words or letters are inserted. In some places the edges of the pages are torn or trimmed, and words, letters, or lines are missing. The manuscript was once part of a bound volume of pamphlets that belonged to George, John, and Samuel Curwin. It may have passed from Walker, to Noah Newman, to Newman's brother, Antipas Newman, to Antipas' brother-in-law, John Curwin of Salem.³ An unpublished transcription was made by Worthington C. Ford in 1928, and was partly corrected by Marjorie A. Bennett in 1943; another one was included by Richard Le Baron Bowen in his study of early Rehoboth.⁴ I have made a new transcription for this edition, which differs from Bowen's in a number of details and supplies readings for damaged lines. I have also examined the linguistic and literary contexts of the poem,

¹James B. R. Walker, *Memorial of the Walkers of the Old Plymouth Colony* (Northampton, Mass.: Metcalf and Company, 1861), pp. 1-3, 117-121.

²George Madison Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War* (Boston: The Rockwell and Churchill Press, 1906), pp. 349-350.

³Harold S. Jantz, *The First Century of New England Verse* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1962), p. 270.

⁴Richard Le Baron Bowen, *Early Rehoboth, Documented Historical Studies of Families and Events in this Plymouth Colony Township* (Rehoboth: Rumford Press of Concord, N.H., 1948), III, 34-50.

which has never been done. In his Introduction and notes, Bowen focuses on its historical content. But its linguistic and literary aspects are at least as important as the historical. Since it is written very phonetically, it is a valuable example of the language that a seventeenth-century colonist brought to America. Furthermore, it contains an interesting mixture of English and American literary influences and is an unusual combination of the epic and the broadside ballad.

Walker's poem was one of several inspired by King Philip's War. Peter Folger (a missionary to the Indians on Nantucket who was to become Benjamin Franklin's grandfather) discussed the causes of the war in 'A Looking Glasse for the Times.'⁵ Wait Winthrop, son of Governor John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut and commander of the Connecticut troops, celebrated the victory of the Great Swamp Fight in *Some Meditations Concerning our Honourable Gentlemen and Fellow-Souldiers, in Pursuit of Those Barbarous Natives in the Narragansit Country*. This poem was first published on December 28, 1675, and is the first American news ballad to survive in a broadside sheet.⁶

Benjamin Tompson, an American-born Harvard graduate who taught school in Boston, came forth with the most elaborate poetic treatment of the war. His *New Englands Crisis* is a sequence of poems with many epic elements. It was published in Boston in 1676, the first collection of American poems to be published in the American colonies. Later in the year, he came out with two London editions, *Sad and Deplorable Newes from New England*, which contained the first two parts, and *New Englands Tears for Her Present Miseries*, which contained the

⁵Peter Folger, 'A Looking Glasse for the Times,' in Florence Bennett Anderson, *A Grandfather for Benjamin Franklin* (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1940). The poem exists in an autograph manuscript dated April 23, 1676.

⁶No copy of the 1675 imprint has yet been discovered. The copy that survives is from the New London issue of 1721. The poem was reprinted at that time because the Indian problem had again become serious. Ola Elizabeth Winslow, ed., *American Broadside Verse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), p. 112.

remaining parts together with a few new poems.⁷ Since Tompson's poems probably served as a direct source for Walker, I will discuss them in some detail.

New Englands Crisis opens with a Prologue that compares the holiness and virtue of the early settlers with the worldliness and corruption of Tompson's generation:

Deep-skirted doublets, puritanick capes
Which now would render men like upright Apes,
Was comlier wear our wiser Fathers thought
Than the cast fashions from all Europe brought.
Twas in those dayes an honest Grace would hold
Till an hot puddin grew at heart a cold.
And men had better stomachs to religion
Than I to capon, turkey-cock or pigeon.
When honest Sisters met to pray not prate
About their own and not their neighbours state.⁸

'New Englands Crisis,' the longest section, begins with a council at which Philip preaches war to his Indians:

My friends, our Fathers were not half so wise
As we our selves who see with younger eyes.
They sel our land to english man who teach
Our nation all so fast to pray and preach:
Of all our countrey they enjoy the best,
And quickly they intend to have the rest.
This no wunnegin, so big matchit law, [wunnegin-good]
Which our old fathers fathers never saw.⁹

Tompson describes the atrocities committed by the Indians, their burning and looting of towns, and their use of ambushes and guerilla warfare:

A ragged regiment, a naked swarm,
Whome hopes of booty doth with courage arm,
Set forthwith bloody hearts, the first they meet
Of men or beasts they butcher at their feet.

⁷ *Benjamin Tompson, His Poems*, ed. Howard Judson Hall (Boston and New York: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1924), pp. 13, 32. Jantz. *First Century of New England Verse*, pp. 265-266.

⁸ *Benjamin Tompson, His Poems*, pp. 49-50.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

They round our skirts, they pare, they fleece they kil,
And to our bordering towns do what they will.
Poor Hovills (better far then Caesars court
In the experience of the meaner sort)
Receive from them their doom next execution,
By flames reduc'd to horror and confusion:
Here might be seen the smoking funeral piles
Of wildred towns pitchd distant many miles.
Here might be seen the infant from the breast
Snatcht by a pagan hand to lasting rest:
The mother Rachel-like shrieks out my child
She wrings her hands and raves as she were wild.¹⁰

The reference to Rachel is a biblical allusion to 'Rachel weeping for her children' (Jer. 31:15), but it probably also points to the death of Rachel Mann of Swansea, which occurred on June 24, 1675, the date of the outbreak of King Philip's War. Besides describing the losses of the colonists, this section celebrates their victory at the Great Swamp Fight on December 19, 1675.

In 'A Supplement,' Tompson rebukes the 'silence of Harvardine quilts' and states at page 63, 'If these essayes shall raise some quainter pens/Twil to the Writer make a rich amends.' Attacks on various towns are described in 'Marlburyes Fate,' 'The Town called Providence its Fate,' 'Seaconk or Rehoboths Fate,' and 'Chelmsfords Fate.' The valor of some Boston ladies is celebrated in 'On a Fortification at Boston begun by Women.' 'Seaconk Plain Engagement' commemorates Captain Michael Pierce and his company and describes their defeat.

Tompson did indeed inspire a 'quainter pen' to write about the war. His poem probably served as a source for Peter Walker's 'Captan Perse & his coragios Company.' It seems likely that Walker came to know *New Englands Crisis* through Noah Newman, whose dead father Samuel is the focus of 'Seaconk or Rehoboths Fate':

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

I once conjectur'd that those tygers hard
 To reverend Newmans bones would have regard,
 But were all SAINTS they met twere all one case,
 They have no rev'rence to an Angels face:
 But where they fix their griping lions paws
 They rend without remorse or heed to laws.
 Rehoboth here in common english, Rest
 They ransack, Newmans Relicts to molest.¹¹

Tompson must have known the Newmans and possibly gave Noah a copy of his book. If so, Peter Walker, who was also a friend of the Newmans and a deacon in their church, would have had access to it.

The resemblances between Walker's poem and Tompson's are too close to be coincidental. Walker divides his work into three sections. The first deals with the defeat of Captain Pierce and the policy that should be followed in regard to the Indians. The discussion of the battle parallels 'Seaconk Plain Engagement' and that of the Indian problem, parts of *New Englands Crisis*. Both Tompson and Walker use the Narragansitt Indian word 'wunnegin' (meaning 'well' or 'good'), and 'greasy lout' as an insulting epithet (Tompson applies it to King Philip, and Walker to Miontonimo or Canonchet). Their hostile attitudes toward the Indians are revealed by terms such as devils, serpents, wolves, beasts, and murderers. Both refer to the death of Rachel Mann as an example of an atrocity.

The second section of Walker's work is written in prose and is entitled '[The] Stragamen [stratagem] off the Indians.' It compares the activities of the Indians to those of infamous persecutors and murderers of the past such as Nero, Diocletian, and Domitian, a comparison also made by Tompson. Walker ends the section by having Satan grant a charter to the Indians at a conference; this parallels Philip's council with his Indians in *New Englands Crisis*. The charter is a nice ironic

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 69

inversion of the Puritans' belief in themselves as holders of a covenant with God.

Walker's third and last section, 'The ffirst Smils of god in this land,' deals with the founding of America and the early ideals of the Pilgrims; here, his poem parallels the Prologue of Tompson's *New Englands Crisis*. Both authors see Divine Providence as the force behind historical events and believe that the war was caused by a falling away from early ideals, an abandoning of truth and religion for hypocrisy and wealth. Both end with a prayer to God.

Walker also may have been familiar with *New Englands Tears for Her Present Miseries*, one of the London editions of Tompson's work. It contains a poem on 'M. J. Antonomies the Grand Sachem's Death,' which resembles Walker's treatment of this event. Both authors paint a clownish picture of Canonchet or Miontonimo, ridicule his fancy dress and aristocratic pretensions, and mock him for the loss of his head.

Apart from Tompson's poems, Walker's most important source is the Bible, which he knew very well.¹² One of his favorite comparisons is that of the Puritans to the people of Israel, and the Indians to the 'hethen Cananit.' He specifically mentions John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* as a source. He may have used Ann Bradstreet's 'The Foure Monarchies' (based on Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*) since both authors often refer to Greek and Persian history for their exempla.

Walker appears to have been attempting to write an American epic. As in other epics, the poem begins 'in medias res' with the defeat of Captain Pierce; the setting ranges from Rehoboth, to Satan's realm 'at the senter of the earth,' to the 'Iermain Banks & Nether Lands' from which the Pilgrims em-

¹²Reverend Samuel Newman had been compiling a Concordance to the Bible, and it is likely that his deacon had been helping him with this project. In fact, Newman's library, which he bequeathed to his son Noah, was probably Walker's source for books. Unfortunately, the only book mentioned in Newman's will by name is his Concordance. Bowen, *Early Rehoboth*, III, 30.

barked; the theme is the founding and trials of a new nation; there is a council of supernatural powers (Satan, his 'rablment of Divels,' the Indians, and their Powwa or medicine man); there are references to the Christian God, various pagan gods (such as Neptune, Mars, Diana), and famous military heroes (such as Hector, Joshua, Xerxes, and Alexander). Homer is mentioned a number of times. If Walker knew Homer's work directly, it was probably through George Chapman's translation, *The Iliads of Homer, Prince of Poets, Never Before in Any Language Truly Translated* (London, 1611). But he could have gotten the epic elements of his work, as well as the idea of writing a poem with epic qualities, from Tompson.

Nevertheless, the epic model and Tompson's poem only account for certain features of Walker's 'Captan Perse.' It does not have the elevated style characteristic of the epic. Although Tompson's work may have suggested the use of pentameter couplets, Walker breaks them down into four-line stanzas; this form and his popular tone give his poem the quality of a ballad. Moreover, it contains a great deal of practical political advice. Walker's editorializing, poetic form, and style probably came from the tradition of the broadside ballad.

The term 'ballad' is usually associated with a popular form of anonymous verse that tells a legendary or local tale and is set to some well-known tune. But broadside ballads have little in common with these. They are a form of journalistic verse that flourished in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among the ballads that were printed in England, journalistic ballads outnumbered all other types.¹³ Popular subjects included elegies, prodigious events such as the appearance of comets, admonitions, official proclamations,

¹³ Herbert L. Collman, ed., *Ballads and Broad-sides Chiefly of the Elizabethan Period and Printed in Black Letter* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1971; reprint of 1912 edition), p. i. Hyder E. Rollins, ed., *A Pepysian Garland, Black Letter Broad-side Ballads of the Years 1595-1639* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1922; reprinted 1971), pp. xi-xiii. Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan: Ballads and Broad-sides Illustrating the Period of the Great Rebellion, 1640-1660* (New York: New York University Press, 1923), pp. 3-74. Rollins, 'The Black Letter Broad-side Ballad,' *PMLA*, XXXIV (1919), 258-339.

moral and religious themes, crimes, disasters, and battles. Among the verse forms used were couplets, four-line stanzas with all the lines rhyming or with alternate rhyme, and longer stanzas. Prose was sometimes mingled with verse. Poems on moral or political themes were often quite long.

Broadsides began to be printed in America at an early date. The subjects were similar: official proclamations, admonitions, advertisements, events of the day, battles, and elegies.¹⁴ The earliest broadsides printed in Massachusetts were in prose and were official regulations of the government or announcements published by Harvard. The first one recorded by Worthington C. Ford in *Broadsides, Ballads, etc. Printed in Massachusetts* is the Freeman's Oath dated 1639.¹⁵ Verse is first used in elegies. The earliest extant poem on a political matter is Wait Winthrop's *Some Meditations Concerning our Honourable Gentlemen and Fellow-Souldiers, in Pursuit of Those Barbarous Natives in the Narragansit Country*, which Walker may have known. Both authors use a four-line stanza, write in a colloquial style, and combine narrative with admonition and advice. Other such works could have existed, since many early issues of broadsides have totally disappeared. Tompson speaks of the broadside as an important news medium during King Philip's War in 'Marlburyes Fate':

When Londons fatal bills were blown abroad
And few but Specters travel'd on the road,
Not towns but men in the black bill enrol'd
Were in Gazetts by Typographers sold:
But our Gazetts without Errataes must
Report the plague of towns reduct to dust:¹⁶

'Gazetts' such as Winthrop's 'Meditations' were probably an important source of inspiration to Walker. In fact, he could

¹⁴ Winslow, *American Broadside Verse*, pp. xvii-xviii.

¹⁵ Worthington C. Ford, *Broadsides, Ballads, etc. Printed in Massachusetts 1639-1800* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1922), p. vi.

¹⁶ Benjamin Tompson, *His Poems*, p. 63.

have become familiar with broadside ballads when he was still a boy in England.

Language of the Poet

Walker's phonetic writing provides a good example of his dialect. His spellings, some of his grammatical forms, and some of the words in his vocabulary suggest that he came from the northern part of England. Of course, he had lived in America for about thirty years, and his dialect would have been modified. Since Rehoboth was founded by English, Irish, Welsh, and Scottish settlers, the northern features in Walker's writing could point to such elements in the dialect of early Rehoboth.

His individualistic spelling and style are those of a self-educated man. His style is very colloquial, close to the spoken language. Most of the sentences are simple, short clauses. Repetition and parallel structure are effectively used in passages of exhortation, but his rhetoric is that of a good speaker rather than that of a formally trained writer. Although the poem contains many epic elements, there are no sustained epic similes. Nevertheless, Walker uses a great deal of animal and devil imagery in describing the Indians, calling them beasts, wolves, hellish satyrs, swinish brutes, devils, monsters, and serpents. He becomes particularly colloquial in discussing the Indians, as in the following piece of cynical advice: 'ffor thers a prouerb not beyond belefe/Imploy a wily Roag—to cach a thefe.' Throughout the poem, he uses a large number of contractions, such as 'twas, thay'l, 'tis, wee'r, ther's, here's, wee'l, 'twer, wee'f, won't, he'l, t'ent (it ain't), ha'nt (haven't).

Most of Walker's grammatical forms are the usual ones of early Modern English. The verb 'do' often appears as a tense carrier in affirmative declarative sentences, as in: 'prodiggious planits Il Efectts doe giue'; 'thay that offended are when thay doea make'; 'to practis what god did reveale'; 'that do predominat in thes our times.' Although a 'th' ending for the

third person singular of the verb appears in 'doth' and 'hath,' the usual ending is 's': 'orders,' 'knows,' 'portends,' 'serches,' 'brings,' 'lays,' 'makes,' 'equales,' 'ses.' A form that appears in Walker's work but not in the standard written English of the time is an 's' ending for the plural: 'Ther daring aspectts more afrights'; 'sinc sivel laws has drawn a grand Protest'; 'ther's many aspects bears a fface devine'; 'such ods has mad the rooges er since mor shy.' Both 'is' and 'are' appear for the plural in 'for som ther is that ar mor capitall.' The second person singular verbal ending of 'st' or 's' occurs in 'lackst,' 'hast,' 'gives,' 'Layds,' 'gaves.' The particle 'a' is used to mean 'by' in 'a nights,' and as a prefix for the present participle in 'a spoyling.' Unusual forms for the past participle include 'spoke,' 'hered' (for 'hear'), and 'went.'

The second person singular pronouns are used regularly, 'thou' for nominative, 'thee' for accusative, and 'thi' or 'thine' for genitive. In the plural, 'ye' appears for the nominative and 'you' for the accusative. An uninflected genitive occurs in 'unsheltered may heaven Canope behold.' Although 'which' is used as a relative pronoun referring to persons in 'which are a rugged cru of hunting rovers,' 'who' is used in all other lines. The old form of the superlative appears in 'most derist frinds,' where 'most' accompanies the 'ist' inflection.

Although Walker's grammar generally conforms to the usages of his time, his spelling is most unusual. Since a written standard had not yet developed, spelling tended to be individualistic; but Walker's is particularly idiosyncratic and phonetic. Spellings that look strange but are perfectly logical in terms of pronunciation include 'curig,' 'cru,' 'sutl,' 'ower' (hour), 'dun,' 'randevos,' 'yous' (use), 'exited' (excited), 'cach.' His spelling of names is quite unconventional: 'Urope,' 'Ginay' (Guinea), 'Zurksses' (Xerxes), 'Elikssander,' 'Sinthia.' He often omits final 'e': 'servis,' 'advis,' 'contin,' 'savag,' 'insatiabl,' 'experianc,' 'mad,' 'ar,' 'ther,' 'contrivanc,' 'princ,' 'ador.' A double consonant is used to indicate a short

vowel in 'lett,' 'sett,' 'profit,' 'fitt,' 'witt,' 'evill,' 'itt,' 'sinn,' 'hudd,' 'nott,' 'sotts.' On the other hand, the second consonant is dropped in 'suggested,' 'holines,' 'darknes,' 'hevinnes.' A 'c' is used for 'k' in 'cept,' 'scy,' 'cind,' and an 's' for 'c' in 'senter,' 'conseld,' 'trase'; 'c' appears as a silent letter in 'trisce,' 'sceas' (sieve), 'scerpant,' 'scly,' 'inscorted.' This goes along with Walker's tendency to use occasionally hyper-correct forms, as in 'efittiant,' 'otion,' 'infinight,' 'magniphiset,' 'philisity,' 'sught' (suit), 'mettiphiskall.'

Walker's spelling often throws light on his pronunciation. Consonants are dropped in 'worly' (worldly), 'thousan,' and syllables in 'contry' (contrary), 'lingring,' 'murthres,' 'murthring' (with 'th' substituted for 'd'), 'intres,' 'skape,' 'gaynst,' 'mongst,' 'Indins.' The vowel in unaccented syllables is often 'i': 'planits,' 'incorig,' 'honist,' 'ingage,' 'imploy,' 'savig,' 'musis,' 'ofendid,' 'enimis,' 'dungin,' 'indevor,' 'injoy,' 'indur,' 'adid,' 'instid,' 'imbrace,' 'greatnis,' 'pirade,' 'artiliris,' 'hostigis'; an 'e' appears in 'marters,' 'tarters,' 'devine,' 'suters,' 'saters,' 'honer,' 'darknes'; and an 'a' in 'regant,' 'presant.'

Many of Walker's spellings suggest pronunciations that were common in the northern dialects of England.¹⁷ Among them are the diphthongization of the vowel in 'whoea,' 'dooea,' 'goea,' 'boath,' 'hoapes,' 'roag,' 'ould,' 'bould,' 'behold,' 'hear' (here), 'wear' (were), 'whear,' 'whearby'; the change of 'au' or 'aw' to 'a' in 'case,' 'becase,' 'jase'; the use of 'i' for 'e' in 'frind,' 'divel,' 'gitt,' 'yit'; 'e' for 'i' in 'sperit'; 'a' for 'o' in 'sari'; 'u' for 'o' in 'blud'; and 'ar' for 'er' in 'arant' (errand). The use of 'i' in unaccented syllables, which often occurs in Walker's spellings, was also characteristic of the north.

Walker's grammatical forms reveal a number of features typical of the north. Chief among them is the use of 's' as a plural verbal ending. Another important one is the uninflected genitive in 'unsheltered may heaven Canope behold.' The

¹⁷See Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Grammar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905; reprinted 1968).

sign of the genitive was often omitted when one noun qualified another in all the north country dialects and occasionally in the north Midlands.¹⁸

Walker uses a number of words or meanings that appeared mainly in the north. Among them are 'bang' (to defeat), 'be-hoove' (to be under obligation), 'wake' (to watch), 'gawk' (to stare stupidly), 'sup' (to drink up or consume). We have an early appearance of 'varment,' a dialect term found mainly in the north, which came to be popular in America. Employing 'be' for 'by,' as in the line 'no (none) blessed be god,' was a northern usage. In the north and in Scotland, the expression 'ne'er' was a euphemism for 'deil' or 'devil'; Walker applies it to Miontonimo or Canonchet. All of these features of Walker's language suggest that he came from one of the northern counties of England. They also might point to a northern influence in the dialect of early Rehoboth.

Editorial Method

In editing the manuscript, I have followed the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation of the author. He often uses capital letters for emphasis and decoration, particularly favoring capital 'C' and the double 'ff' for capital 'F.' The manuscript contains very little punctuation. In the verse sections, this is not a problem since clauses tend to end with the verse line. In the prose, the lack of punctuation sometimes makes the text difficult to read; therefore, I have added a few commas and periods. Superior letters in contractions have been brought down to the line. The following abbreviations have been expanded: yt = that; ye = the; sō = some; wth = with; ȳ = them. Missing letters or words that have been supplied have been placed within brackets. Glosses and comments about the manuscript have been placed in brackets in the margins. Longer annotations follow the text.

¹⁸ Wright, *English Dialect Grammar*, p. 265.

Captan Perse & his coragios Company

folio 1v

It fell vnlucky that thi march was soner
then thi apoynted time to that meroner¹ [*marooner—buccaneer*]
in thy picaring thou Lackst thos muskitters [*pickeering—scouting*]
and his Experianc gaynd mongst Buckanners

Which are a Rugged Cru of hunting rouers [*crew*]
much Like thes sauag sneking brutish grouers [*hunters in the woods*]
(*glossed by Walker*)

But man Euentz cannot at all fforse [*foresee*]
It is the eternall gods propritee
ffor t twas decreed by that Eternal power [*it was*]
that gaue them being to fixe that fatal ower [*hour*]

That orders men & times & ends & all
Efittiant Cases Epidemicall [*causes*]
not as the ould Philosiphers beleue [*old*]
prodiggious planits Il Efectts doe giue

Thay did Like Hectters whoea well deserue that name
Now ly Intered in the bed of ffame
Whoea lost there Blud not much vnlike to marters
by disadvantage with these helish Tarters

In ffighting for ther Cuntry & ther ffrinds
haue dun ther dooea mad hear ther final Ends [*due—obligation*]
meethinks ther vallour should owr harts prouoke
To take reueng ffor such a dredfull stroke

Stought hartts stood too t till Last disdaynd to [fly]
such ods has mad the Rooges er since mor shy
who haue no cas to brag of victory [*cause*]

But giue it out thay neuer so wear bangd [*were defeated*]
I hoape in time thayl all be shot or hangd

folio 2

Tis sed at york there is a scarlet dyer² [*dyer—one who is liable to suffer*]
If t bee a ridl antiant ffams a lyer [*fame is*]

Itt may bee fferd weer hudwinkt in a trance
as wos owr vergin queene by Imps from france [Queen Elizabeth]

ffor maters ffrane as if that Dragon beste [frown]
were hither flone to make his helish nest
with opn jase Intending to deuour [jaws]
that child of grace Lord god upone him shour [shower]

The vials of thy wrath appear for thine
Lett all the pours of heuen & earth Combin[e] [powers]
Let hell know it is Curbd by pours deuine

Show now thi self Lord in owr habitations
who hast so scatterdly disposd owr stations
& giues vs Corig sperit vs from thee
for thers no other help or place to flee

Lett shops & crops & men of all Estates
sett hartt & hand to fight without debats
ffor non thers now can thinke ther safe securd
how er suplyd within owr owne Imurd
Improue the vtmost depending creturs can
Leue the suckses to him that ruls Each man [success]

Though what hers spoke is but a singl notion
& Like a drop lett ffall into the otion [ocean]
Yit my aduice If I might hered bee [heard]
Tis t to make a uertu of nesesitee

Arme & Incorig owr Indins whot wee Can
a theef reuers may proue an honist man:
the Boston Ilanders Capcod Monhegon [Mohegan]
ffor honer profit smal thayl fight winnegon³ [winnegon—well]

folio 2v

If with ther help god giue to vs suckses
wee may to them Ingage & not transgres
Thay shall bee regant of ther nation here
weel them defend If any Els apere

ffor thers a prouerb not beyond belefe
 Imploy a wily Roag—to cach a thefe
 The Cas becas in good & bad thers simpathee [cause, because]
 as Contry Cases Case Antipothee [contrary causes cause]

Iff this bee dun thay mixt with great discretion
 that the Comand & staf be in owr nation
 by such a prudent politick Contriuancc
 wee may Expectt the varments ferst Coniuanc [expect—anticipate]

Call fforth owr Burgers: Lett them now goea out
 such as ar manly wise discrette & stout
 [four lines crossed out, two in
 this stanza and two in following]

for tis a shame the hethen Cananit⁴
 should know sum peopl are in such a fright

That Law nor reson neither Curig Can [courage]
 preuail to fface a hethen bruttish man

[two lines crossed out]
 wods good Turn ought as thay
 by throat to hals vs [wod—hood, hals—embrace]

ffor dayly news & euery voyce doth call vs
 Whear garisons are mand leaue two or three ['ner toun' written
 below three]

Lett all the rest goea fight the Enemee

for prudent surgons spread ther self quit r[ound] [salve]
 acording to the greatnis of the wound:
 god only knows to what this wor Portends [war]
 ffelt most by vs that Loose owr dearest ffrinds

Thes murthres Rooges like wild Arabians thay
 Lurk heare & there of euery thing make p[rey]
 all Liues Estates in Cruill wise thay take
 throuout the Cuntry dredfull hauok make

So by degres a Lingring death wee dy
 If wee dont study how to bee as sly
 in owr surprisals to find them in ther ne[st]
 ffor all Aduantages with enimis is best

Doughtles twer best ffor all owr soulderee
that hunt thes wolues to march a nights to s[ee]
Wheare thay Pirado in ther Randeuos [*parada—muster, rendezvous*]
And so salught them with owr pouder new [*salute*]

In som new ffiguer Artiliris neuer shou[r] [*artillery—branch of an
army that managed the cannons*]

That way is best that bangs them with
most p[ower]
& all the Indians Liuing neare Improud
wee are Concernd & mightily beehoued

Ther wifs & Childern as Hostigis retayn
that men may faithfull be the Case remai[n] [*cause*]
ffor tis ther Alys giue to vs this trobl
Therfor ther obligations more then dubl

Who cant but Iudg what ffancy melancoly
Wont deale to ffools acording to ther ffoly
no stone vnturnd no strattagem thay leaue
Like helish saters boath vs & owrs bereu [*satyrs, bereave*]

folio 8v

off all owr Cumforts in this presant world
to ffyer & sword owr Carkases are hurld
affter a busd to sauig bests a pray [*abused*]
thay doea and will doea thus from day to day

Tis very Iust to doea the best wee Can
to yous all mens by sword or poysned dram [*use, dram—liquor*]
to send such souls to ther own place mor fitt
If god sucksd & say amen to It: [*succeed*]

ffor thers no sister of the musis nine
with Ovids pen nether Tertulas witt⁵
no Homer in hes Tragan warr define⁶
a Cruil actt so as thes Rooges actt it

The inosent will ner ofendid bee
to her reprof for the Indulgancee

so much declald to bruuts so like the diuel [declald—declared]
 which chariti it self would count an Euill

And thos that haue had pure & zelos ends
 must rest Content with labor for ther payns
 Where ends were reall to cas blind souls to see [cause]
 Ther benefacters shall rewarded bee

By him that knows & serches harts & trisce [tries]
 The hole Creatione & Its Secricys

folio 4r

[The] Stragamen [stratagem] [top line partially trimmed off]
 off the Indians:

As a corupt tre brings forth Euill frugh[ts] & a corupt ffountayne
 corupt & noysom stre[ams] So doath ovr hethen Enimis being Cor-
 rupt in th[e] ffountayne & rote of the mater streme forth Poysned
 waters of death as Cayne the first Murtherer, as Nero,⁷ Diocle-
 tian,⁸ & Domitio,⁹ Thos Hethen murthring Emperours that wear
 su[ch] Monsters of nature whos mad rage agaynst the Christians
 as out of Hell fofd out ther veno[m] so that som of them Com-
 manding themselues to be worshipt as gods misrably tormenting
 the Chri[stians] with new deuised various torments dayly that som
 of them put a hundred to death Euery day [of] The weeke throuout
 the year Exept ther own bearth days which t[hey] Cept & Com-
 anded the peopl so to doea to ador ther I[nfernal] gods & to Ioak
 ffrolik & satisfy ther Insatiabl [lust]. By the Comand of thes Mon-
 ster wear most of the ap[ostles] & antiant Champions ffor fayth
 zeal & holines put [to] death: as you may read in the history of the
 Church Book of marters, ffolio: 46 Section .70.¹⁰ & .1 bok t[imo-
 thy].¹¹ Like thes monsterus beasts are ovr presant Enem[ies] who
 atend only an euil speritt sugested by satan The princ that ruls in
 this world whos regiment is Children of disobedienc: him thay only
 adore & ser[ve] & he by ther powas¹² as bals¹³ prests prescribs t[o
 them] his Law will & plesur declaring to them he [is] The princ of
 darknes & profound heuines: but l[ike] a sutl serpant in a sophistik
 way so bewitc[hes] Them that he perswads them darknes is Light
 & [evil] is good: as he did the woman: bewiching them with what
 great things he can doea for them: That he is sol Emperour of the

kingdom of Aron¹⁴ & Mist[er] Captayn of the great dungin
Eurebos¹⁵ King of hell & Controuler of the Infernall ffer, Teling
them his Cortis being without suters begins to howle & that ther
Captayn Ienerall no Longer indure, therfor ses he wee now ma[ke]
to you owr suplicatione that ye Comit all cind Cruilty as it is o[wr]
[w]ill you should doea

folio 4v

& that your multituds fflock dayly at the gates of owr dungin ffor
owr Insatiabl Chayos ses hee with hir thousand rauinous laws is
abl to Entertayne an Infinight Number of such soules seing owr
Intres & Magniphiset Kingdom is by you soported & vpheld wher-
for Wee Comend you & giue you hartly thanks ffor your former
seruis & aduis you to Continu, goea on as you haue begon & doea
your Indeuor [t]o haue & purchas the Place which wee haue Pre-
pared for you vnder the most wiked foundatione off owr dwelling
Place: far ye well. Wishing you such Philisity which wee desyer &
[i]ntend ffinally to reward & recompenc you with This Charter.

Giuen at the Senter of the earth in that owr darksom Place
wheare all the rablment off Diuels for This purpos was Caled into
owr most Doloros Court & Consistory vnder the Carector off owr
Terabl Seale ffor the Confermatione of the promisis: ffar weell owr
ffrind Powwa:

The ffirst smils of god
in this land

[a]s Sinthias Beuty in Aurora bright
[f]rom Estern orison bursts forth hir light
[w]hen sabl darknes had Conseld hir hed [concealed]
washing hir tresses in hir Liquid bed

[e]xpels the dark outwise the twinkling tapors
[w]hos scorching beames exhayls vnholsom vapors
[f]rom Earth corupted from the watri scy [sky]
[f]or want of heat naturs great Enimy

[so] has owr Light ffrom Sixtene hundrd twenty
[th]rou gods permitanc shind gloriosly & plenty
[wha]tser er the cas shes now [eclip]st we see [ever the cause]

[page torn—third line mutilated
and fourth missing]

The souls that first from Urope Came
to trase ould Neptuns Thetes¹⁶ streme
ffrom Iermain Banks & Nether Lands
to gitt out of the Prelats hands

Playnly declard thay Came for zeale
to practis whot god did reueale
by grace & sprit from holy writ
Not as Sir Iohn Comandid it

[*spirit*]

A great atempt to seeke strang Lands
in peopl pore twas heauens hands
that sperited ther minds & hartts
& Led them safe to desartt parts:

It wos not hoapes of presant worly tresur
off Ginays Gould plus Canans Ease & plesur
of India silks Erabias spsis Inuited
no, no the hasard shows that grace Exited

[*worldly*][*spices*][*excited*]

Wee Came to wild America
whos natiue brood to diuels pray
a sauig race for blud that thirst
off all the nations most acurst

ffrom ffamin, scurui, feare thay past
and yit for all god did at last
as he in wisdom most deuine
purg ther dros from purer Coyne

Knowing an aduers state is best
to bring Elected souls to rest
god hee of each man made a Hectter
his grace & sperit ther directer

Ther daring aspectts more afrights
then Ioshua did the Canonits¹⁷
owr newfound neibours of the land
twos not in them twas heuens hand

folio 5v

To thee bee prayd o god Eternall
Though Hell thay raysd the sprits Infernall
thou Layds them all gaues vs Sucksetion
But sinc weef made a great degretione

[*succession*]

There is som secritt way unknowne
[t]hat maks owr land & peopl grone
[s]om Arons sin¹⁸ or som transgretione
[i]n the levits ministratiōne¹⁹

[s]om Iudas or som Ananias²⁰
[t]he hand of heuen now will try vs
[s]om Like Iahasa waking for²¹
[t]hat which pur Iustis doth abhor

[*waking—watching*]

[t]hes things Examain Now whil weef Lesur
[w]hil thayre a spoyling of owr tresur
Los thats great owr goods & Lands
[&] many liues by Cruil hands:

[i]n this owr great Aduercitee
[le]t vs Consider what may bee
[th]e Case owr glorious angry god
[so] heui on vs Lays his rod

[*adversity*]
[*cause*]

[s]hure wee owr Arant haue forgott
[that] makes vs ffeelee the hethens shot
[fo]r not a scurg gods raysd to bee
[thu]s equalis owr Cruiltee:

[*sure, errand*]

Considr
[w]hat was owr Arant heare & what was not
[w]hat wee atendid haue & whot weef fforgot
[Iu]stis & mercy doea & fear owr god
[in] hartt not word alon to skape his rod:

[*errand*]

folio 6

Not to bee proud nor yit the world atend
that to to much is Each mans hiest End

Which to atayne vnder a pious Cloke
has Casd owr god in this most dredfull stroke

[*caused*]

To shew if wee of godlines make gayne
hel punish sinn with sinn & wont mayntayn
Profesing peopel in a way not good
thou maskt within a pharasaik Hudd:

To streme the deepes so many thousan Mills
to haue such ffauours & Inioy such smiles
off heuens bounty in owr hemisphere
To rays such stocks & fflocks & haue such chere

[*cheer—comfort*]

To Inioy such oracls vnder a mercy Seate²²
& giue his holy things to dogs o monstros Cheat
which holy Iustis cant Indur to see
& nott reueng such greate Hipocrice

If wee *[line neither completed nor crossed out]*
Intend to rays Estats & glory *[apparently continuation of above line]*
In such a hudwinkt hipocrittik story
god will Consum us & owr Eys shall see
no mor such heuens bounty giuen thee

Has not a ffilthy Auerritious mind
Crept & debucht thi beutious virgin hew
Like Crawling Iui euer more Inclind:
to metamorphis statly tres in vew:

[*avaricious*][*debauched*][*ivy*]

As many sums being adid vp together
as many Clouds Combining mak foul wether
So many sinns the productts Punishment
Yit som ther are that are mor Eminent

folio 6v

And cry to heuen with a louder Call
ffor som ther is that ar mor Capitall

Sinc siuel Laws has drawn a grand Protest
a gaynst Each sinn in open vew to man

That he that hath agaynst the Law transgrest
shall sufer then who rationally Cann

But Iudg thay are som secritt hidn Crimes
Handed a Long by great or small or all
That doea predominat in thes owr tims
that doea for Iustis at Bar of Iudgment Call

When ould Roomes teachers ffelt the smak of riches [old Rome's]
non ther could stand but of ther dabing Creaturs [dabing—deceiving]
& still the substanc of the world bewitches
Lik blasting Comitits or prodigious meturs [meteors]

all such as Leafe religion pure for welth [leave]
or any other bace or by regard [base]
how euer here in great Estate & helth
shall by ther maker haue ther Iust reward

Lett vs not slight owr felow neibours then
that doea desent from vs in Aprihention [dissent, apprehension—
opinion]

who cary singuler Like honest men
seem not to make like vs so great declention [declention—
inclination, bowing in reverence]

If thay in som things Ear we Er in others [err]
The proudist hartts the wildest hart Im schure [sure]
Lett prating pharisie deny ther brothers
Tent whot wee say but whot god ses is pure [tent—it ain't]

Hant wee had charity loue & respectt [haven't]
To thes abominabl swinish Bruts
Letts now upon such willy frams reflectt [wily, frames—dispositions]
Beefor to Late with shame make owr recruts

Letts not Iustifi the wiked & Condem
[. . .] tis dredful [bottom of page torn, most of
line missing]

folio 7

Thers many aspects bears a fface deuine
beloud of god & pretious in his sight

haue we adord dianos horid schrine
To prop owr Caling or owr Crafty slight

Ther was an actt to all owr Land prodigious
tent to bee thought the ffounder was Perfidious
wittingly in that for he is Iudgd to bee
on ffearing god & Indeuring good yit hee

& many others are to bould & Laarg [large—generous]
To giue proud Ignorant sotts such serious Charge

To send a ffellow of so low degre
that woss subseruil as wee know wos hee [subservile—subservient]
put ffrom his master upon Ielose
To prate & preach giue lawes & teach
to men aboue his spher & reach²³

That he had giuen ofenc vnto
befor now sent to such a Cru
this dirful Commet Clerly schous [shows]
ffrom whenc wee see a Torent flows:

Thou god by Iust & righteous hand
shoud pour wos bound to clear the land [power]
of gilty blud confest by hee
that hanged last wos of the three

That Sasaman has & may sari bee [sorry]
it had bin well his Patron & hee
had gon to Roome or other partts had went
when hee a preest to Asawome²⁴ wos sent

ffor by relation thou hes layd in graue
wos Litl better then a sutl knaue
or els wos wrongd by Coman fams reportting [fame's]
as much as any with his truls wos sportting [trulls—concubines]

folio 7v

But in the mode demur with his Confessor
much Like a sutl secrit fols transgreser [false]

so wos his master Philip²⁵ found in print
now drawing s own reportt in blud not Ink [s—his]

Hee that has hops to chang such bruts is out
he hangs but Iuils in a swinish snout²⁶ [jewels]

Encarnat diuels sent from thinfernall Lake
Like helish monsters maks ovr harts to ake [ache]
Thes are the satirs make Ieneral deuistation
with such like rooges mayntaynd by Corporation:

But
If the incom of the profit went
not mor to priuat Intrest & intent
to gayn a proffit by such Larg donations²⁷
Specttators sone would see great olterations

When thes donations first promoted were
Charity & reson woud ovr greatest Care [woed—solicited]
ffor ovr own christian ffamilyys & race
to bred them up in knowlidg parts & grace

[A]nd it were well If it conuerted weare
to such a way Comitted to the Care
[o]f sum by oath that thay might ffaithful bee
Not only fframd ffor good by Charitee
as other plases wher wee find thay bee
giue oath & bond ffor ther ffidelittee

ffor as t has bin tas dun no good to none [it has]
but to ovr enimys & to ther ffrinds alone
Pamperd them up with arts & parts & pour [power]
To rayn on us this dredffull bludy shouer

folio 8

But blud ffor blud shal bee ther portion Iust
If by Indulganc som dont betray ovr trust
by keping rogs & serpants in ovr brest
& so betray & ruin all the rest

which if thay doea I wish & hartly pray
 thay may goea goake with them
 the self same way

[*gawk—stare stupidly*]

ffame has reported news now goeas
 thers ffalen many of owr ffoose
 tis sayd the sothern forses stout
 mongst many hau Kild a rogea with rout
 Miontonimo²⁸ that gresi lout

[*foes*]

with Life hes Lost his Apish Coate
 & by a hack thay cut his throate
 his buffol head on powl thay raysd
 ffor all such news the lord bee praysd

[*buffol—foolish*]

Hast Lost thy hed & pibald Coate
 thou now shalt sing a nother noate
 weel pack the up & wee will make
 thees gay as any ratl snake

[*thees—thee as*]

Thou now mongst rablment of diuels
 that hast bin cas of many Euils
 must yell & cry & ly ner²⁹ dy
 gnash know & ffry Eternaly

[*cause*]

[*neer—devil*]

The Impious actts off thes Infernal bests
 acted abroad & in ther helish nests
 would swell a volum to a magnitud
 one hidious actt ner vs I hear Includ

A serious modist well disposid woman³⁰
 well spok of all & Ile bespok of no man
 that oft releud a sordid Cruil brute
 that like a beger to hir oft mad sight
 that m

[*suit*]

[*line not completed—begun again on next page*]

folio 8v

That many years had kept this Roage aliue
 & in a siknes had the best Contriud

to doea what in hir lay the best & all
ffor ffoode & maters mettiphisckall

Yit when surprisd upon the saboth day
with strechtout hands did supplicate & pray
This Impious best to stay his fatall stroke
a Littl time that she might god Inuoke

Tis lik ffor pardon ffor sinn in Christ hir sauour
this Cruil Roage dispacht & would not haue hir
dasht out hir brayns as he had dun befor
hir sucking Infant tumbling in its gore
firing the houce & killing s seuen moore

Thay glide a way Like serpants on a rock
or ship in thetes watry segrene bed [*sea green*]
before perssuers sceas a gun or knock [*sieze*]
upon ther vgly scerpant wrethen hed [*serpant*]

wich scly departur after such a stroke [*sly*]
without reueng doeath Equally prouoke
owr Bleding harts for owr most derist ffrinds
To think what god in such a scurg Intends:

Wee rang may in owr northern Climats Could [*range, cold*]
vnshelterd may heauen Canope behold
& rays som stars that in owr hemispher [*raise—cause to appear*
Which in owr Latitude wee see not here [*by incantation*]

Whearby wee Lern Astroligi mor like
Then artt of mars or stratigams to fight
owr best bred souldiars & Artilires [*artillery—the branch that*
in stid of drilling regiments may trees [*managed the cannon*]

folio 9

Rang in Battalia & sound a charg to them
Beat a retreat & som Cum home agen
Tent artts of disiplin acomplish can [*tent—it ain't*]
Surpris ther rear ther wing or van

No figur fform or batlment
 ther Amboscados sly preuent [ambuscade—ambush]
 a bace sly Ill contriued rout [base]
 that art nor manhud cant find out

If Zurksses³¹ with his great Armad [Xerxes]
 or Scanderbag³² that Castriot princ [Skanderbeg]
 or Ziscos³³ troopt might hear pirado [Zizka, parada—muster]
 but Like the ffranks might son goea henc

If warlik greeks that rangd batalias first
 or hardy germans of the froson zone
 the faythles turks would wish themselues acurst
 great tamnerlin³⁴ might fight himself alone [Tamerlane]

& Elikssander³⁵ thou to mars trew born [Alexander]
 whos multituds soupt Meedyanders dry [supped—consumed, Medes]
 thayd shak ther tressis turn tany in scorn [tany—to any—following
 word crossed out]
 quockwish say thay & so away thay fly [Quakerish—like a pacifist]

Lets search & try let vs not bee begild
 ffor presant Iudgment shous owr Camps defild
 Lett no man plead Im ffreer then another
 to such Id say a pharicys thy Brother

Lets search the Cort the Cuntri toun & sitty
 the tribe the houce the person find tis pity
 to mis the knowledg of the thing or things
 ffor which gods angry & his Iudgment brings

Lets serch owr selues Each man his secret hart
 And search the templ in Each priuat part

folio 9v

Thay that offended are when thay doea make
 du aplicatione & in dugin take [dudgeon—anger]
 At what is sayd in thes asertions trew
 That he may see thats half an Ey to vew [thats—that has]

Let him fforbeare to mind such things that Can
 ffor my Inditers no State Religion man [inditer—writer, himself]
 no no his genos runs a nother way [genius—sentiment]
 Whille hee has hartt to think or mouth to pray

To his most glorious all hartt scerching god [searching]
 to mind his dispensations ffearre his rod:

So Let it bee thou Independant being [*'Eternal' crossed out*
under 'thou']

great god allmighty Infinight all seing
 behoulding all things nought is hid from thee
 no sly deuce can hear conceled bee

Lett no man swell or kik or wins at whot [wince]
 is her incertid oमिते or forgott
 or like the Comons of the Rushians³⁶ say [Russians]
 non should but kings & prest & prelats pray

that is a Rudimentt thats termd to bee
 by Lerner Pall³⁷ but Begerlle [pall—pallium]

No blest be god & all the heuenly host [no—none, be—by]
 Sinc Christs asention that the holy ghost
 has reposest his own regenerat harts
 Lightnd by grace Expeld the thickest darks:
 Casd by that vale that sinn & sathan Cast [caused, veil]
 & yit thers much that through Coruptions last

doging & Cloging all ovr sinful natur [dogging—pursuing]
 both good & bad all though refined Creturs
 but bering witnis gaynst ovr selues Adoring
 ovr god of grace in humbl wise Imploring

In Christ that hee by Imputation may
 by his ffree grace ovr darling souls Convey
 to that Eletiam Paradise³⁸ may rayse [Elysium]
 [last line of stanza torn off]

folio 10

To serue the times or Clos with a traditione
 is horid sin & wors then superstitione

but gospel truths in gospel tims to Imbrace
it renders men how Ere Estemd has grace

Not say as other men becas thay say it
it may vndo thee & thi soul betray it
that is a Euil termd in wright to bee
by Lernid Palle blind zeal Hipocrisee

[*pall—pallium*]

Such Chriistians made by sathans act not grace
Shall haue ther portions with the hethens race
Lord god of sperits trew grace of thee wee beg
therfor from thee the only ffountain hed
wee haue all good returning back agen

[*'back' written twice and
crossed out once*]

Boath glory honer prays to the Amen:

ffinis
by a frind to his Cuntry & ffrinds
P. Walker

Notes to Text

1. At the end of March 1676, a company of Plymouth Colony men, together with about twenty friendly Indians, had begun to march south in search of the enemy. They were under the command of Captain Michael Pierce of Scituate. On the night of March 25, they quartered in Rehoboth, the town in which Peter Walker lived. The next morning Pierce assembled his men to search for a band of Indians said to be located near the Pawtucket River. He also sent a messenger to Providence with a request for help. The messenger arrived there at the time of public worship and waited until the service was over before delivering Pierce's request. Meanwhile, Pierce's company was ambushed by a strong force of Narragansett Indians. Pierce formed his men into a ring, and they fought back-to-back against overwhelming numbers, but their situation was hopeless. Only a few survived to stagger into the town of Woodcock's to announce the disaster. One of the men who died was John Walker of Eastham, who was probably Peter Walker's cousin.

The 'marooner' or buccaneer mentioned by Walker is probably Captain Samuel Mosely, a sea captain who had organized an independent company of volunteers, some of whom had recently been captured by Mosely and charged with piracy. They were freed in consideration of their enlisting for

military service. Walker's reference suggests that Pierce had arranged to join forces with Mosely. In a contemporary prose account, Mosely is identified as 'an old Privateer at Jamaica, an excellent Souldier, and of an undaunted Spirit, one whose Memory will be Honourable in New-England, for his many eminent Services he hath done the Publick.' See 'The Present State of New England, with respect to the Indian War' by N. S. (presumably Nathaniel Saltonstall, a merchant of Boston), in *King Philip's War Narratives* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1966), sig. B-lv. The same author describes Pierce's battle, 'A New and Further Narrative of the State of New England, Being a Continued Account of the Bloody Indian War,' *King Philip's War Narratives*, sigs. B2-B2v. Also see George Madison Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War* (Boston: The Rockwell and Churchill Press, 1906), pp. 59-63, 348-350. Douglas Edward Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958), pp. 167-168.

2. The 'scarlet dyer' is probably Edmund Andros, Royal Governor of New York, who had been making trouble for the Puritans. A large area between the Hudson and Connecticut rivers was claimed by both New York and Connecticut. When Andros became Governor of the Duke of York's territory in 1674, he demanded that Connecticut surrender its control of the disputed territory. Connecticut refused to do so. On July 8, 1675, Andros and a party of soldiers sailed up the Connecticut River to enforce New York's claim. When they appeared at Saybrook, the local militia manned the fort and prepared for a battle. After four or five days of waiting, Andros departed. See Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, pp. 59-60.

3. The word 'wunegin' meant 'well' or 'good' in the Narragansett Indian language. Roger Williams defines it in his *Key into the Language of America* (1643). Benjamin Tompson uses it in *New Englands Crisis* in the speech of King Philip, where he mocks Philip's broken English (see the Introduction to this edition for the quotation).

When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth in 1620, the area in which they settled was claimed by the Wampanoag chief Massasoit, Philip's father or uncle. His territory included Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and part of the area around Narragansett Bay. Central Massachusetts was occupied by the Nipmuks, the area around Boston Bay by the Massachusetts tribe, the western shore of Narragansett Bay by the Narragansetts, the valley of the Mystic River by the Pequots, and the area around Norwich by the Mohegans. The colonists tried to enlist friendly Indians as allies and have them fight against hostile tribes. When troubles began with Philip in the 1670s, the colonists tried to make his subject tribes sign treaties with them. On June 7, 1671, a large group of Cape Indians signed an agreement declaring their fidelity to Plymouth, submitting themselves and lands, agreeing to reveal any plot against the English and to assist them against other Indians, 'and do confess we poor Indians in our lives were captives under Satan and our Sachems, but now we know the way to God that it is better to trust in the Great God.' The Cape Indians remained faithful allies to Plymouth Colony throughout the war. The 'Boston Ilanders' were the Christian praying Indians around Boston. See Charles

T. Burke, *Puritans at Bay* (New York: Exposition Press, 1967), pp. 13-14, 71-72, 170-181.

4. The Canaanites were the original inhabitants of Canaan or the Promised Land, who were driven out by Joshua and the Israelites. The Puritans identified themselves with the Israelites and often referred to America as Canaan. This attitude is typified in Increase Mather's *Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England* (London, 1676): 'That the Heathen People amongst whom we live, and whose Land the Lord God of our Fathers hath given to us for a rightful Possession, have at sundry times been Plotting mischievous Devices against that part of the English Israel, which is seated in these goings down of the Sun, no man that is an Inhabitant of any considerable standing, can be ignorant' (sig. A1).

5. Tertullian (160-230 A.D.)—Latin church father who was born in Carthage.

6. Benjamin Tompson also refers to Homer and the Trojan War in *New Englands Crisis*. Walker probably got some of his classical allusions and epic elements from Tompson's poem:

Methinks I see the Trojan-horse burst ope,
And such rush forth as might with giants cope:

Six of our Leaders in the first assault
Crave readmission to their Mothers Vault
Who had they fell in antient Homers dayes
Had been enrol'd with Hecatombs of praise.

Benjamin Tompson, His Poems, pp. 56, 61.

7. Nero—Roman emperor from 54 to 68 A.D., noted for his extravagance, lust, cruelty, and persecution of the Christians.

8. Diocletian—Roman emperor from 284 to 305 A.D., who ordered the last great persecution of the Christians. His edict of 303 ordered that all copies of the Scriptures be burned, all churches closed, and all meetings of Christians banned.

9. Domitio (Domitian)—Roman emperor from 81 to 96 A.D., chiefly remembered for the reign of terror under which prominent members of the Senate lived during his last years. Between 93 and 96 A.D., he ordered many executions of senators accused of treason.

Benjamin Tompson also alludes to the murderous cruelty of Nero and Domitian in *New Englands Crisis*:

Posts daily on their Pegasean Steeds
Bring sad reports of worse than Nero's deeds,
Such brutish Murthers as would paper stain
Not to be heard in a Domitians Reign.

Benjamin Tompson, His Poems, p. 58.

10. Walker is referring to John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments of These Latter and Perilous Days*, also known as the *Book of Martyrs*, first published in 1563. He was probably using the three volume edition published in 1641 entitled *Acts and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable, Happening in the Church with an Universall Historie of the Same* (eighth

edition). Pages 45 and 46 of Volume I contain a discussion of Nero's persecution of Paul, and page 46, an account of the second persecution under Domitian.

11. Page 45 of the above edition of the *Acts and Monuments* contains a reference to Paul's epistles to Timothy. In the first epistle, Paul speaks of his conversion and suffering, and of the need to 'war a good warfare' for the Christian faith (1 Timothy 1:18).

12. The 'powas' were medicine men. They claimed to be able to consult the spirits and propitiate hostile ones. To the Puritans, the religion of the Indians was devil worship.

13. Baal—Among some ancient Semitic peoples, Baal originally was any one of a number of local fertility gods; later, the term came to be used for a false god or idol.

14. Aaron was the older brother of Moses and first priest of the Hebrews. He represented a privileged priestly class and was guilty of having the Israelites worship the golden calf. See Exodus, 32.

15. Erebus—In Greek mythology, this was the dark place under the earth through which the dead passed before entering Hades.

16. Thetes (Thetis)—Achilles' mother and one of the sea nymphs or Nereids.

17. Joshua was the successor of Moses, the conqueror of Canaan, and leader of the Israelites into the Promised Land. See Joshua, 1-12.

18. Aaron's sin—idolatry. See note 14 on Aaron.

19. Levite—Any member of the tribe of Levi, chosen to assist the priests in the Temple.

20. Ananias—A man who fell dead when Peter rebuked him for withholding from the apostles a part of the proceeds from a sale of his land. See Acts, 5: 1-10.

21. Jahasa—Jehoash, a righteous king of Judah who tried to make the priests 'repair the breaches of the house of the Lord.' His servants conspired against him and killed him. See 2 Kings, 12.

22. Mercy seat—the golden covering placed upon the Ark of the Covenant and regarded as the resting place of God. The term was applied to the throne of God in Heaven, and to Christ as the propitiation for man's sins.

23. The 'prodigious act' was the killing of John Sassamon, a Christian Indian, which was the immediate cause for hostilities between the colonists and the Indians. The 'founder' was Reverend John Eliot, his patron. Sassamon was the son of Christian Indians who lived at Dorchester. He was taught by Eliot, attended the Indian School at Harvard, and became a teacher of the Christian Indians at Natick. When Philip requested teachers and books to help him learn English, Eliot sent Sassamon to him. According to some accounts, Sassamon fled to Philip after committing some misdemeanor. In any event, he returned to Natick, where he became a minister and preached to the Indians.

In 1674-1675, Sassamon informed the governor of Plymouth that Philip was organizing a conspiracy among the Indians. Philip was summoned to

answer the charge and learned that Sassamon had betrayed him. In February, Sassamon's body was found under the ice in Assowomset Pond. Three Indians, Tobias, his son Wampapaquan, and Matashunannamo, were charged with murder. They were tried and found guilty. Tobias and Matashunannamo were hanged on June 8, 1675. The rope broke and Wampapaquan was being hanged, and he accused the others of murder but claimed to be an innocent bystander; nevertheless, he was executed a month later. See Burke, *Puritans at Bay*, pp. 79-87.

24. Asawome (Annawon) was Philip's chief counselor.

25. Philip, whose Indian name was Metacomet, was the son or nephew of Massasoit, ruler of the Wampanoags when the Pilgrims first established a settlement at Plymouth. Massasoit had maintained a firm friendship with the colonists. But when Philip became ruler of the tribe in 1662, he began to follow a more independent policy. His independence aroused the suspicions of the authorities, who believed that he was organizing a conspiracy among the Indians; their questioning and forced agreements further aroused his resentment. The Sassamon trial raised the anger of Philip and his warriors to the boiling point. It was followed by an attack on Swansea, which heralded the outbreak of the war. See Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, pp. 23-37.

26. The phrase comes from Proverbs, 11:22: 'As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman which is without discretion.'

27. The donations referred to are probably those that were made for missionary work. The Indian mission of John Eliot and the Indian School at Harvard received most of their support from a missionary society in London rather than from the New England settlers. See Burke, *Puritans at Bay*, p. 58.

28. Miontonimo (Miantonomoh) was a sachem or leader of the Narragansett Indians who was captured by the Mohegans, condemned to death by the Puritans, and given back to the Mohegans to be tomahawked. This event occurred in 1643 during the Pequod War. Walker is actually referring to the death of Miontonimo's son Canonchet, who led the Narragansetts in King Philip's War and suffered a similar fate. In 1676, he was captured by a group of colonists and Indians and was killed by the Indians. His head was sent to the Council at Hartford as evidence of the victory. See Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk*, pp. 171-172.

Canonchet is also referred to as Miantonomoh in Benjamin Tompson's 'M. J. Antonomies the Grand Sachems Death,' which appeared in *New Englands Tears for Her Present Miseries* (London, 1676). Tompson mocks Miontonimo's fancy dress, refers to him as 'Lucifer' or the devil, and taunts him with the loss of his head:

Him they dispatch, and hundreds more are hurl'd,
Him to attend upon in th'other world:
Whose hunting bouts will heavily go on,
His Legs must stay until the Head come on.'

Benjamin Tompson, His Poems, p. 92.

Walker was probably influenced by this account of Miontonimo's or Canonchet's death. Furthermore, he probably got the expression 'gresi lout' from Tompson's description of King Philip in *New Englands Crisis*.

Canonchet is identified as 'that famous but very bloody and cruel Sachem, Quononshot, otherwise called Myantonomy, whom the English formerly presented with a rich Lac't Coat,' in 'A New and Further Narrative of the State of New England, being a Continued Account of the Bloody Indian War,' *King Philip's War Narratives*, sig. C2.

29. ne'er—The expression 'ne'er' was used euphemistically for 'deil' or 'devil.' It was a northern and Scottish form.

30. The murder described is that of Rachel Mann and her infant daughter. It occurred at Swansea on June 24, 1675, the date of the outbreak of King Philip's War. Thomas Mann, her husband, was severely wounded in Pierce's battle and was one of the three English survivors. See Bowen, *Early Rehoboth*, III, 27, 29, 47.

31. Xerxes—king of Persia from 486 to 465 B.C., who reconquered Egypt and Babylonia. Walker's choice of examples may have been influenced by Anne Bradstreet's 'The Foure Monarchies,' which appeared in *The Tenth Muse* (London, 1650). She deals with the kingdoms of Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome. Both Bradstreet and Walker refer to the Medes or Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabians, Babylon, Canaan, Joshua, the heathen god Baal, the Greek goddess Diana, the satyrs as an evil influence, Homer, Ovid, Xerxes, and Alexander the Great. Bradstreet devotes long sections to the careers of Xerxes and Alexander. See Anne Bradstreet, *The Tenth Muse* (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1965), pp. 98-106, 119-150.

32. Skanderbeg, born George Castriota (1405-1468), was an Albanian national hero and crusader. When he was a child, he was given to the Turks as a hostage and brought up as a Moslem. The Sultan sent him to military school, attached him to his personal staff, and gave him the name of 'Iskander' (Alexander) with the rank of 'bey', turned into 'Skanderbeg' by Castriota's countrymen. In 1443, in a battle in Serbia, Skanderbeg proclaimed himself a Christian and helped defeat the Turks. He became commander of the Albanian forces and fought against the Turks in the Balkans for the rest of his life. His story is told by John Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments* (1641), I, 968. This was probably Walker's source.

33. Jan Zizka (1376-1424), a Czech national hero, was a follower of John Huss, the Bohemian religious reformer, and a general who fought against Sigismund, the Holy Roman Emperor. John Foxe tells his story in *Acts and Monuments* (1641), I, 848-851. Once again, this was probably Walker's source.

34. Tamerlane (1336-1405)—Mongol warrior whose conquests extended from the Black Sea to the upper Ganges.

35. Alexander the Great was king of Macedonia from 336 to 323 B.C. His military conquests helped to spread Greek culture from Asia Minor

and Egypt to India. He overthrew the Persian empire of the Medes. Anne Bradstreet gives a detailed account of his career in 'The Four Monarchies,' in *The Tenth Muse*, pp. 119-150.

36. Russians—members of the Russian Orthodox Church, an autonomous branch of the Orthodox Eastern Church.

37. Pall—pallium, a woolen vestment worn by the Pope and conferred by him on certain ecclesiastics, especially archbishops; the office or dignity of archbishop. This statement reveals Walker's contemptuous attitude toward high church officials, which he shared with many Puritans.

38. Eletiam Paradise—Elysium or the Elysian fields. In Greek mythology, this was the dwelling place of the virtuous after death.

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