

Map from William Wood's *New England's Prospect*, published in 1635 in London. The map identifies thirteen English towns but only three Native American villages (see triangles in upper left corner). They are identified as Pennacooke, Sagamore, and Mattacomman [sic].

# Beyond the New England Frontier: Native American Historiography Since 1965

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**Introduction:** *In this article, historian Ethan A. Schmidt reviews over fifty years of changing interpretations and scholarship on Puritan and Native American history in New England. This historiographical perspective (referring to the history of the writing of history) offers readers a critical evaluation of nearly two dozen major historians and their works, from Alden Vaughan's *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675* (first edition published in 1965) to Kathleen Bragdon's two-volume history of coastal Algonquians, *Native People of Southern New England, 1650-1775* (second volume published in 2009). Along the way he reviews shifting interpretations of the Puritans, the Pequot War (1637), King Philip's War (1676), and the Salem Witch Trials (1692).*

*This ambitious and sweeping article begins with a discussion of the field of ethnohistory, which emerged in the 1970s. Ethnohistorians use both written sources (of which Native Americans left very few, but European observers left many) along with non-written sources favored by disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics. Key to modern ethnohistory is an emphasis on the interaction of Native and non-Native cultures in which both are seen as equally vital to the creation of a shared colonial history. Dr. Schmidt has presented his research at*

*numerous conferences and has published extensively in the field of Native American history.*

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In his 1989 article, “Some Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians,” ethnohistorian James Merrell outlined what he saw as the ultimate goal of the subdiscipline. According to Merrell, ethnohistorians set out not only to provide a more accurate picture of Native American history but also to infuse the larger field of American history with their findings.<sup>1</sup> Merrell looked forward to a future in which ethnohistory existed not simply as a narrow subfield but as a tool required for crafting a more exact and useful history of colonial America. “Without the leap of imagination needed to include those Boston [Native American] church-goers or that Princeton Indian in our vision of early America, we have not really understood—have not really *begun* to understand—the colonial experience,” he argued. Merrell also lamented that many colonial American historians had not made use of ethnohistory as well as the fact that many ethnohistorians seemed uninterested in presenting their findings for a wider historical audience.<sup>2</sup>

Although progress toward these goals may not have been as rapid as Merrell would have liked in 1989, when one takes into account the work produced over the past half century, one finds many examples of the growing integration of Native people into the overarching narrative of colonial America. From the works of early ethnohistorians like Anthony F. C. Wallace and Nancy Oestreich Lurie, to monographs with a broader focus by Gary Nash, Edmund S. Morgan, and T. H. Breen, to more recent scholarship by ethnohistorians and colonial historians alike, such as Daniel Richter, Gregory Dowd, Theda Perdue, Woody Holton, and Alan Taylor, one can detect considerable evidence of the growing incorporation of Native Americans into our overall understanding of colonial America.<sup>3</sup> We can detect this development throughout the various regions of colonial America, and colonial New England is no exception. In fact, the New England colonies provide an especially revealing lens through which to view this continuing integration of Native Americans into the mainstream of colonial American history.

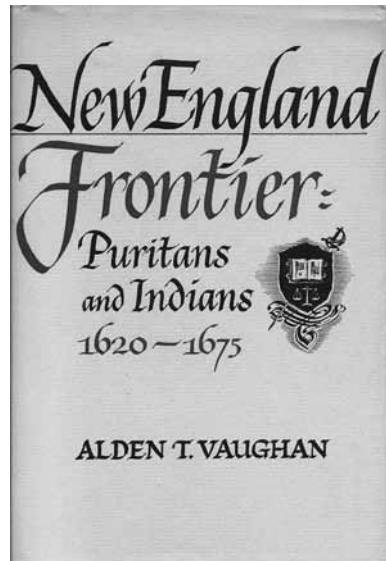
Before examining New England ethnohistorical scholarship over the past fifty years, we must first arrive at a suitable definition of just what exactly constitutes ethnohistory. According to James Axtell, ethnohistory is “essentially the use of historical and ethnological methods and materials to gain knowledge of the nature and causes of change in a culture defined

by ethnological concepts and categories.<sup>74</sup> In the words of W. S. Simmons, ethnohistory represents “a form of cultural biography that draws upon as many kinds of testimony as possible over as long a time period as the sources allow.”<sup>75</sup> More simply put, ethnohistorians seek to place indigenous peoples (Native Americans or otherwise) within their proper historical context and restore them to their proper place as agents of historical change via a reliance on both written sources (of which they left very few, but European observers left many) and non-written sources favored by disciplines other than history, such as anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics. Key to modern ethnohistory is an emphasis on the interaction of Native and non-Native cultures in which both are seen as equally vital to the creation of a shared history. While many of the components of ethnohistory have existed for much of the twentieth century, most ethnohistorians see the post-World War II era as the period in which those components came into partnership to form the methodology we know today.

#### ALDEN VAUGHAN’S *NEW ENGLAND FRONTIER* (1965)

Alden Vaughan’s *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675* represents the most logical starting point for an examination of the Native American history of New England over the past fifty years. First published in 1965, Vaughan argued that “the New England Puritans followed a relatively humane, considerate, and just policy in their dealings with the Indians.”<sup>76</sup> This interpretation flew directly in the face of much of the prevailing scholarship of the time that tended to portray New England colonists as predisposed to violence against Native Americans from the very beginning of their relationship with one another.<sup>77</sup> By Vaughan’s own claim, he and his generation of New Englanders had been raised on the idea that New England colonists “fell first on their knees and then on the aborigines.”<sup>78</sup> In such a climate, *New England Frontier* quickly became a highly contested work of revisionist history.

According to Vaughan, while the results were still disastrous for Native



Americans, both they and the Puritans had acted with only the best of intentions toward one another, but their overall lack of cultural compatibility ultimately doomed their relationship. Vaughan was widely praised for including Native Americans as equal players in the creation of the Anglo-Indian relationship in New England. At least one scholar, however, accused Vaughan of penning a work that presented “only one side of the story,” while simply omitting evidence that did not support his conclusions.<sup>9</sup>

Vaughan, to his credit, took these criticisms to heart and addressed them in the introductions to subsequent editions of *New England Frontier* published in 1979 and 1995. In the 1979 introduction, Vaughan freely admitted that he had overcorrected the historical narrative of Puritan-Native American interaction in New England. “The book that emerged from my research exhibited the pendulum effect . . . I magnified—unintentionally, but persistently—the Puritans’ benign aims and mitigated their less admirable accomplishments.”<sup>10</sup> More importantly for the purposes of this investigation, however, he ended the introduction to the second edition by extolling the virtues of the then-rapidly developing field of ethnohistory as a way out of the “polemical versus apologist dialectic” he felt had ruled the field for much of the twentieth century:

More promising are interdisciplinary analyses of the interplay of diverse cultures, European and Indian, and their numerous subcultures . . . the best hope for a comprehensive and sophisticated understanding of interracial or intercultural contact lies in a wide-ranging ethnohistorical approach. Stimulated by anthropological concepts and methods, especially as they relate to Indian culture, yet firmly rooted in the historian’s view of the past as an ever-changing tapestry, Ethnohistory sees culture contact from both sides of the frontier. Ethnohistorians have already made important contributions to our understanding of early race relations; more are in progress.<sup>11</sup>

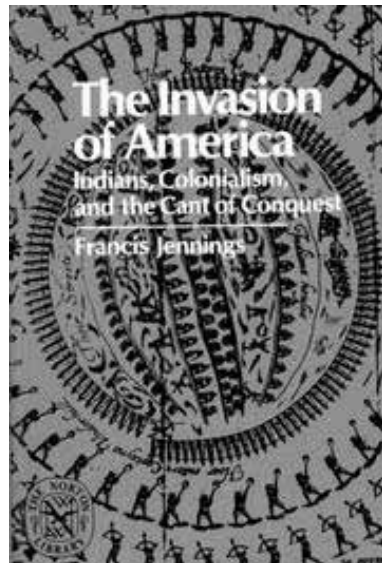
By the time *New England Frontier* reached its third printing in 1995, ethnohistory was no longer in its infancy as a field. In fact, Vaughan’s summation of the field in relation to New England historiography powerfully demonstrates that, by the mid-1990s, ethnohistory and ethnohistorians were exerting considerable influence on the writing of colonial New England history. By 1995, Alden Vaughan was a very different historian from the one who set out to revive the reputation of the Puritans over thirty years before. And it was the work of both those with whom he held longstanding

disagreements, such as Francis Jennings and Neal Salisbury, and those scholars with whom he generally agreed, such as James Axtell, that brought him to revise his conclusions about Puritan New England in 1979 and 1995. Therefore, a survey of the historians and the works that influenced Vaughan's journey over these years, as well as the new areas of scholarship they spawned, provide a very vivid picture of the way in which ethnohistory has inserted itself into the conversation regarding colonial New England.<sup>12</sup>

### FRANCIS JENNINGS' *THE INVASION OF AMERICA*

Perhaps no work during this period created more of a splash than Francis Jennings' *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest*. Published in 1975, *The Invasion of America* sought to view the colonial era through the eyes of Native Americans. Given that viewpoint, Jennings argued that the European colonization of America represented an invasion rather than a discovery. Further, he maintained that the propaganda by which Europeans justified that invasion created an enduring myth that formed the basis of an exceptionalist version of early American history. Jennings dedicated much of his career to challenging that exceptionalist narrative.

Specifically, Jennings chose colonial New England as the most illustrative example of the European invasion. By refusing to take Puritan accounts of both the Pequot War in 1637 and King Philip's War (also known as Metacom's Rebellion) in the 1670s at face value, Jennings argued that, beginning with the settlement of Connecticut in the 1630s, Puritans had absolutely no desire to coexist with Native Americans and sought every opportunity to either destroy or displace them. Jennings contended that New England colonists fully understood the inherent hypocrisy in claiming to establish a godly commonwealth via the violent expropriation of land from its original inhabitants. Therefore, according to Jennings, Puritans willfully manipulated historical evidence and distorted the historical record to justify their claims to New England and to



place the blame for the resulting violence on the savagery of Native Americans rather than Puritan avarice. Because the historical profession was for a long time dominated by writers either raised and/or trained in New England, he argued these distorted Puritan “cover stories” became, over time, accepted historical fact—the “cant of conquest” to use Jennings’ own words.<sup>13</sup>

What was needed, according to Jennings, to overcome centuries of myopia by scholars who had portrayed New England colonists as heroes and Native Americans as villains in an American exceptionalist morality play, was a new perspective on early American history in which historians took the Native American view into account and thus regarded Puritan claims with a healthy dose of skepticism. This represented the essence of ethnohistory for Jennings. Much more a frame of mind rather than a set of methodological tools, ethnohistory for Jennings constituted simply an attempt to reinterpret history from a Native American perspective. Specifically, he believed that “when ‘natives’ are regarded as rational human beings . . . their actions and reactions do not seem so difficult to infer from both circumstances and the available documentary evidence.”<sup>14</sup> Alternatively, Jennings’ ethnohistory relied more on imagining a Native American worldview based upon the already available evidence as well as our own assumptions about general human behavior rather than on non-written sources aimed at uncovering a very separate and concrete Native American reality such as those utilized by anthropologists, archaeologists, and others not tied to the documentary record.

By the standards of most ethnohistorians today, *The Invasion of America* does not measure up as a work reflective of the ethnohistorical method defined earlier in this essay. Jennings used the same Eurocentric sources for his history as the writers he was reacting against (for example, Francis Parkman). He simply used them to condemn European colonists rather than to celebrate them. Additionally, Jennings’ work most certainly crossed the line from critical to polemical. He admitted as much himself in the text: “In performing that necessary task, it seems fair to say, I have recognized in myself a strong aversion toward the Puritan gentry . . . I have tried to practice restraint but not concealment of my distaste.” Many reviewers at the time and subsequent authors (as well as students) in the years since its publication have remarked upon Jennings’ lack of objectivity and selective use of sources as serious and even ethically questionable deficiencies of the book. In one review, Alden Vaughan referred to Jennings’ argument regarding New England thusly: “In his frantic effort to right the record, Jennings has created a wrong-headed (and sometimes simply wrong) version of New England.” Later in the same review, Vaughan accused Jennings of “combining an

almost paranoid view of Europeans with a comparably uncritical assessment of Indian society,” to produce “a morality play instead of history.”<sup>15</sup>

Other reviewers, while less vehement in their criticism, nonetheless called into account the validity of Jennings’ portrayal of New England colonists. In the view of this author, these critics were correct. Yet, *The Invasion of America* did not fade into the woodwork as polemical texts with little historical value often do. Other reviewers praised it. Subsequent New England scholars built their own works upon many of its premises. Finally, the University of North Carolina Press reissued it in February of 2010. So why is the book still important now some fifty years later? The answer lies not in Jennings’ conclusions, which were simplistic at best and downright biased at worst. Instead, Jennings’ willingness, as an historian, to place the Native American viewpoint at the center of such a controversial and widely read book opened up doors through which succeeding generations of historians have managed to provide us with a much more complex and realistic portrayal of all sides involved in the collision of cultures that took place in colonial America in general and in New England specifically. As we have seen, Jennings was not the first author to attempt to place Native Americans at the center of the story of colonial New England, but *The Invasion of America* drew so much attention both from inside and outside the academy that later scholars were forced to grapple with it—if only to explain why they did not agree.

Additionally, Jennings’ insistence that his methods were ethnohistorical (whether or not he was correct) pushed other ethnohistorians to see New England as a fertile field for the employment of their method. It would not be long before a flowering of New England ethnohistory was underway. After the publication of *The Invasion of America*, one could not examine the colonial period of New England’s history without at least attempting to account for the Native American side of the equation in a way that presented them as dynamic participants in their own history as well as that of the New England colonists. So, although I would argue that Jennings’ critics were largely correct in their assessment of his conclusions, *The Invasion of America* represents one of those instances in which failure seeded future success. His insistence upon including the Native point of view in the history of colonial New England continues to influence scholarship today.<sup>16</sup>

## ETHNOHISTORY GAINS GREATER PROFESSIONAL ACCEPTANCE

In the decade following the publication of *The Invasion of America*, ethnohistory gained greater acceptance within the historical profession.



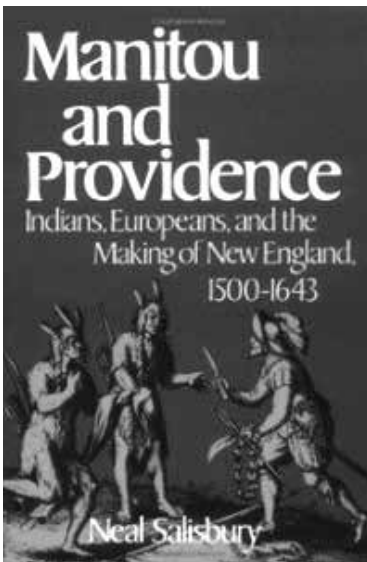
First embraced primarily by anthropologists, the work of prominent colonial historians such as James P. Ronda, James Axtell, and Karen Ordahl Kupperman succeeded in bringing the methodology into at least the outer reaches of mainstream academic history. Written with more emphasis on interdisciplinary methods and with less of a polemical axe to grind than Jennings, works such as *Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography*, coauthored by Axtell and Ronda; Axtell's *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes*; and *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*, as well as Kupperman's *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640*, provided the analytical and methodological frameworks for scholars of New England to include a Native perspective in a more complex fashion than previous historiography.<sup>17</sup>

### NEAL SALISBURY'S *MANITOU AND PROVIDENCE*

Neal Salisbury's *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans and the Making of New England, 1500-1643* followed *The Invasion of America* in 1982 and largely adopted much of Jennings' assumptions about New England colonists, a choice not left unmentioned by the book's critics. Whereas much of Jennings' assertions regarding Native Americans in New England were based on speculation and his own rereading of European documents, Salisbury sought to employ the vast interdisciplinary methods of ethnohistory in a

much more concerted fashion. While those scholars who continued to resist the idea that Native Americans deserved an equal place in the story of colonial American history saw Salisbury's book as simply a more delicately phrased retelling of Jennings' book, *Manitou and Providence* represented much more.

Salisbury refused to adopt the simplistic formulation of diabolical and hegemonic New England colonists versus unsuspecting and powerless Native Americans that permeated *The Invasion of America*. Instead, Salisbury argued that initially New England colonists were very much at the mercy of local Native American populations



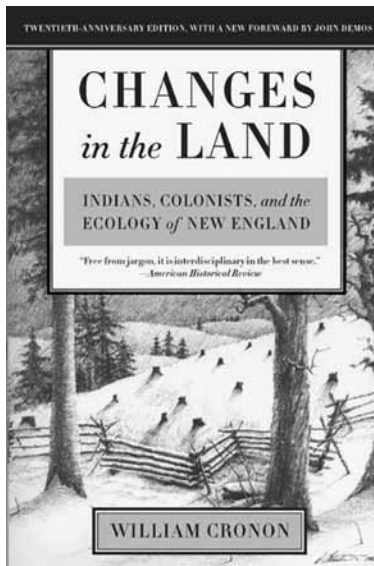
who could very well have wiped them out at first sight. By the middle of the seventeenth century, however, Southern New England Indians *did* find themselves dependent upon New England colonists for survival. Explaining why this occurred represents the real purpose of Salisbury's inquiry. In his estimation, several factors—in addition to the land-hunger and assumed superiority of New England colonists—contributed to this outcome. The disease epidemics that wracked coastal Algonquians in Southern New England immediately preceding the arrival of the colonists led those that greeted the Pilgrims to decide that alliance rather than conflict was the best way to secure their borders against their enemies (particularly the Narragansetts) who had not been devastated by disease.<sup>18</sup>

Salisbury marshaled the tremendous anthropological and archaeological literature at his disposal to revise pre-contact population estimates upward considerably. This revision likewise affected the estimates of the epidemics in the region. The extent to which epidemics from diseases such as smallpox and yellow fever not only ravaged southern New England but also facilitated the imposition of European settlement there represents one of Salisbury's very important contributions to New England Indian historiography.<sup>19</sup>

Additionally, Salisbury represents one of the first historians to account for the role of the neighboring French in the development of New England. He argued that the presence of French fur trappers and traders further emboldened groups like the Narragansetts to the extent that the southern New England groups were further driven into close contact with the English newcomers. As the New England colonies grew stronger, however, colonists no longer needed the Native Americans. Instead they came to desire the Natives' land to the point that it became the primary object of value that the southern New England Indians could offer. Conversely, at this very same time, the need of southern New England Indians for alliance and protection from the colonists was at its greatest. When this occurred, New England colonists took swift action, illustrated by the Pequot War in Salisbury's case, to remove all obstacles, especially the Native people, from the land they desired. While not perfect (Salisbury's presentation of pre-contact Native American society reads like a Utopian paradise free from conflict), *Manitou and Providence* remains a critical element of New England Indian historiography to this day. It has earned for its author a place among the leading practitioners in the ethnohistorical field.<sup>20</sup>

## ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY COMES OF AGE

Environmental history came of age at roughly the same time as ethnohistory. William Cronon's *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* constitutes a successful marriage of the two by one of environmental history's leading proponents. Published in 1983, less than a year after Salisbury's *Manitou and Providence*, *Changes in the Land* remains a classic text of not only environmental history but also the fields of ethnohistory and colonial history. Cronon set out to write a history of New England that extended "its bounds beyond human institutions—economies, class and gender systems, political organizations, cultural rituals—to the natural ecosystems which provide the context for those institutions."<sup>21</sup>



Cronon argued that in the case of New England the process by which Europeans came to take over possession of the land from Native Americans caused drastic changes in the region's natural landscape and organization. Furthermore, he argued that these changes in the ecological make-up of New England wrought by the introduction of colonialism were intimately tied to the more familiar cultural effects of colonialism. For Cronon, Native Americans in pre-contact New England conceptualized land, wealth, status, and ownership in ways completely foreign to European invaders. Whereas Native Americans viewed land as a communally owned resource to be shared for the overall

benefit of the group, Puritan settlers saw it as a private commodity to be exploited for personal gain and status.

Of course, this part of the story was well known at the time Cronon wrote *Changes in the Land*. Cronon went further, however, to argue that these differences also brought tremendous ecological transformation to New England. Both Native Americans and colonists exerted agency in this transformation as they engaged in various economic activities either with one another or in response to one another. In Cronon's own words, "by integrating New England ecosystems into an ultimately global capitalist

economy, colonists and Indians together began a dynamic and unstable process of ecological change which had in no way ended by 1800. We live with their legacy today."<sup>22</sup>

As original and insightful as *Changes in the Land* was, it still engendered criticism. Some of the most pertinent criticism rings familiar. In a review of the book in *Agricultural History*, Donald Worster, one of environmental history's other leading figures, referred to Cronon's depiction of pre-contact Native society as idealized and simplistic. In that respect, *Changes in the Land* had much in common with *The Invasion of America* and *Manitou and Providence*.<sup>23</sup>

Published just three years after Cronon's *Changes in the Land*, Yasuhide Kawashima's *Puritan Justice and the Indian: White Man's Law in Massachusetts, 1630-1763* examined Puritan/Native American relationships via the lenses of legal history. While the growing prominence of ethnohistory has brought with it a significant amount of scholarship that characterizes Native American-settler relationships as one of exchange in which both cultures are transformed by the other, Kawashima argues that, in the area of law, change remained a one-sided affair. He states, "No significant changes took place in the English legal tradition due to Indian-white relations. It soon became apparent that Puritan cultural imperialism was incompatible with the survival of tribal societies, and white man's law expanded into Indian country without being modified by Indian law."<sup>24</sup>

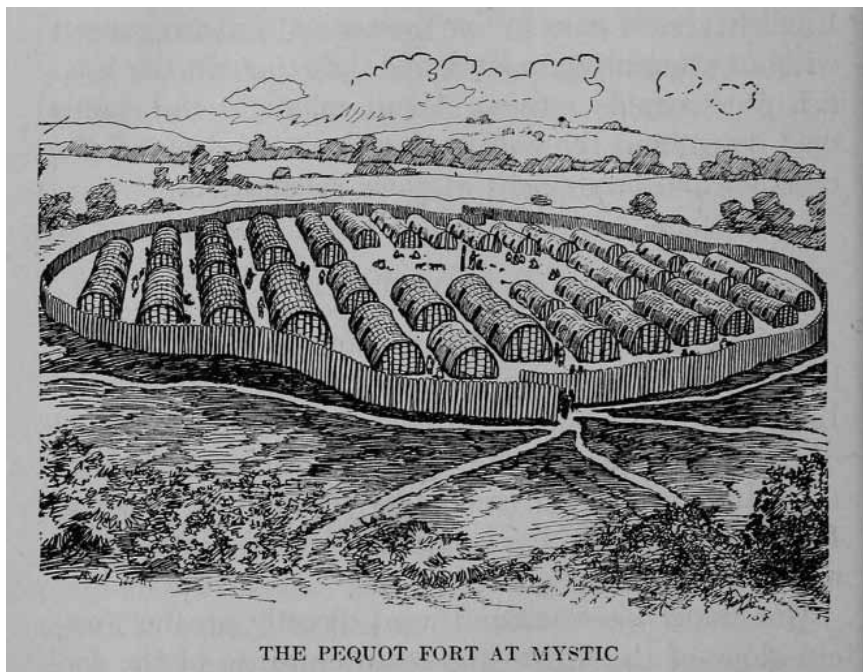
*Puritan Justice and the Indian* stands as a very useful examination of the Puritan legal system as it related to Native Americans. The work suffers, however, from a contradiction that at times is hard to reconcile. On the one hand, Kawashima offered numerous examples of the ways in which the Puritan legal system was rigged against Native American participants, yet he maintains that its ultimate goal was fairness and racial harmony. Additionally, from an ethnohistorical standpoint, *Puritan Justice and the Indian* provided precious little in terms of the Native perspective on the New England legal system. Instead, Kawashima presented New England Indians as acted upon by the law, but rarely as actors within it. Finally, many of Kawashima's characterizations of New England Indians failed to take into account much of the literature already mentioned above, but instead it relied upon vague generalizations. Useful as a primer on the legal frameworks within which Puritans viewed Native Americans, *Puritan Justice and the Indian* did little to advance our understanding of New England Indians themselves.

## ETHNOHISTORY IN THE 1990s

By contrast, Colin Calloway's work on the Abenakis, appearing in the early 1990s, represents some of the best ethnohistorical writing available on New England Indians. Both his monograph *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People*, as well as a collection of primary sources that grew out of that research, which was titled *Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England*, not only utilized the latest interdisciplinary research to examine a people largely considered irrelevant to the history of colonial New England but also presented a story of survival and coexistence despite the onslaught of English colonialism. Whereas so much of the scholarship on Native American-European encounters in North America throughout the twentieth century recounted a story of inevitable Native American defeat and disappearance wrought by unremitting conflict, these two volumes, published in 1990 and 1991 respectively, told a very different story.

*The Western Abenakis of Vermont* profiles a people who, rather than melt away into obscurity or resist to the point of destruction, utilized a decentralized structure and a cultural reliance on migration to avoid violent encounters while preserving the existence of small family bands unified in their kinship and their Abenaki cultural outlook. *Dawnland Encounters* utilizes an excellent collection of primary sources to demonstrate that cooperation and coexistence occurred much more frequently than often assumed by previous scholars. In this way, Calloway's work from the early 1990s represents a considerable leap forward in the historiography of Native New England. Neither the story of triumphant and Godly Puritans beset by savages presented by early writers nor an adherent to the "first they fell on their knees, then they fell on the Indians" motif of which Alden Vaughan complained, Calloway's two offerings provide a tantalizing glimpse of the complexity of Native-Puritan relationships still waiting to be illuminated by future scholars. Many of the works published since 1991 have continued to deliver upon this promise.<sup>25</sup>

Alfred Cave's *The Pequot War*, published in 1996, also offers a more complex and critical analysis of both Puritan and Native American cultures and the forces that drove the Puritans to the destruction of the Pequots in 1637. In *The Pequot War*, Cave seeks to revise earlier notions that the Pequots were responsible for the conflict that all but destroyed them as an entity. According to Cave, the evidence supports the contrary position that instead of threatening the security of Puritan New England, the Pequots actively sought trade with them. Puritan preconceptions about the devilish



### Pequot Fort at Mystic Before the Pequot War (1636)

At the time of the war, the Pequot resided in what is now southeastern Connecticut. Though the major engagements of the Pequot War took place within a two-year span, the conflict had much earlier roots. After years of confrontations over land, trade, and livestock, the Connecticut Colony formally declared war on the Pequot and their allies on May 1, 1637.

The Pequot War consisted of far more than the single attack by the English and their Native allies on the Pequot's fortified village at Mystic, Connecticut on June 11, 1637. The war lasted for more than two years with major battles in Rhode Island, Connecticut and New York. The conflict drew in numerous Native American groups. Indigenous people, including the Sasqua of Fairfield, the Quinnipiac of New Haven, the Western Niantic, the Mohegan, the Narragansett, the Nipmuck, the Wangunk, the Podunk and the Mohawk of New York fought both with and against the Europeans and the Pequot.

The war culminated with the 1638 Treaty of Hartford, which outlawed the Pequot language and name, seized tribal lands, and disbanded the surviving Pequot, who were given to the victors as spoils of war or sold into slavery. Today, the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation in southeastern Connecticut is a testimony to those who survived.

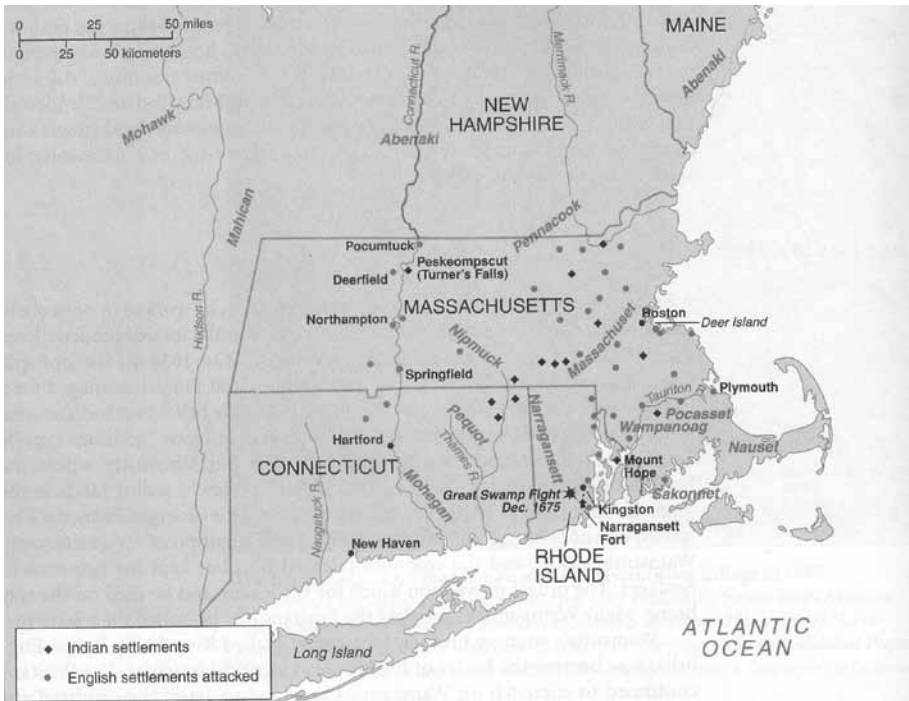
Image from [ConnecticutHistory.org](http://ConnecticutHistory.org). For more information, see [www.connecticuthistory.org/topics-page/pequot-war](http://www.connecticuthistory.org/topics-page/pequot-war) and [www.pequotwar.org/2009/10/welcome-to-pequot-war-battlefields/](http://www.pequotwar.org/2009/10/welcome-to-pequot-war-battlefields/)

character of Native Americans combined with their intense desire to settle Connecticut—incidentally in the heart of Pequot territory—led them to press for an excuse for armed conflict with the Pequot Confederacy.

In addition, the Puritans successfully tapped into existing enmities among the Pequots, Mohegans, and Narragansetts over the rights to the ever-burgeoning Wampum trade. In reality, the Pequot War pitted Pequots against the Puritans and their Mohegan and Narragansett allies. According to Cave, “English intervention in the Pequot-Mohegan-Narragansett power struggle paved the way, not only for the acquisition of substantial tracts of land in Connecticut, but also for the establishment of a lucrative tributary network dominated by Boston.”<sup>26</sup> As such, both the Mohegans and the Narragansetts later found that the friendship of Boston only lasted so long. Within fifty years, both groups had bowed to the same Puritan desire for their land that had destroyed the Pequot Confederacy.

Finally, Cave offers his ideas about why it took until the dawn of the new millennium to dispel the myth that the Pequot War pitted the civilized Puritans against the savage Pequots. According to Cave, Puritans felt a strong desire to justify the brutality of their campaign against the Pequots. Simple desire for Connecticut could not square with their religious doctrine. The burning of women and children at the Pequot village of Mystic made Puritans look like the savages in this affair. They therefore constructed an explanation rooted in their basic belief that Native Americans represented Satan’s minions on earth. Their victory over the Pequots came to represent “the triumph of light over darkness, civilization over savagery.”<sup>27</sup> While Cave presents a much more intricate picture of the geopolitics of New England Native societies, he also lends credence via his thorough historical research to many of Jennings’ original claims about Puritan distortions of the historical record.

The year 1996 also brought the first of Kathleen Bragdon’s two-volume treatment of coastal New England Algonquians. *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650* has remained an extremely important source for New England historians in general, but particularly for those interested in the period before the arrival of English colonists in 1620. In it, Bragdon altered many of the familiar assumptions regarding the lifeways and sociopolitical organization of New England Algonquians during this period. For example, previous scholarship tended to accept the notion that southern New England Native groups depended upon farming much like the Native peoples to their west and south during the period, and this dependence upon agriculture necessitated a non-stratified society that also boasted a considerable degree of gender equality. Bragdon, however, argued quite convincingly that quite



### Map of New England in King Philip's War, 1675-1676

Recent scholarship has underscored the carnage inflicted by King Philip's War (1675-76). Colonists faced a diverse coalition of Native Americans led by Wampanoag sachem Metacom (whom the colonists referred to as King Philip). In terms of population, King Philip's War was the bloodiest conflict in U.S. history. Fifty-two English towns were attacked, a dozen were destroyed, and more than 2,500 colonists died – perhaps 30% of the English population of New England. At least twice as many Native Americans were killed. Some historians estimate that the combined effects of war, disease, and starvation killed half the native population of the region. The war left an enduring legacy. Map source: *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*, Colin G. Calloway. (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999), p. 2.



the opposite represented the norm in southern New England. Farming constituted a very late-arriving and secondary means of subsistence for coastal New England Algonquians. Furthermore, Bragdon found both significant stratification and status difference between men and women. *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650* also did much to clarify the relationship of matrilineality and patrilineality in the region as Bragdon's explanation of their coexistence among coastal Algonquians represents one of the most accessible and cogent explanations of the system to date.<sup>28</sup>

### 1990s SCHOLARSHIP ON KING PHILIP'S WAR

Jill Lepore published her first book, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (1998), just two years after *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650*. Although it was her first scholarly work, it brought her considerable acclaim and attention. In Lepore's own words, *The Name of War* represents a "study of war, and of how people write about it." Similar to Alfred Cave's interpretation of the Pequot War, Lepore argued that New England colonists increasingly found themselves losing their "Englishness," so to speak.<sup>29</sup> Specifically, as they interacted with, and to some extent adopted, certain elements of Native American culture, Puritans came to fear that they were the ones being colonized. For Lepore, this then led them to seek the annihilation of the Wampanoags and their leader King Philip or Metacom. Philip's increasing resistance to colonial land encroachment provided them just such an opportunity.

In order to accomplish the destruction of Philip and his people, however, New England colonists were forced to adopt an extremely brutal and merciless brand of warfare. This opened up a disturbing paradox in the minds of Puritan leaders and thinkers. To prevent themselves from descending into supposed savagery, Puritans had been forced to adopt tactics they considered fit only for savages. According to Lepore, Puritans dealt with this disturbing revelation in much the same way they had dealt with the story of the Pequot massacre in 1637. They engaged in an outpouring of printed justifications. In the years following King Philip's War, notable Puritan writers and leaders such as Reverend Increase Mather and Reverend Cotton Mather, as well as others, proceeded to tell a story that justified New England's destruction of Native American "savages" yet went to considerable lengths to differentiate Puritan methods from those of the Spanish conquistadors of the "Black Legend."

Lepore argued that in so doing Puritans laid the basis for the creation of American nationalism and thus the rationale for the American Revolution:

Out of the chaos of war, English colonists constructed a language that proclaimed themselves to be neither cruel colonizers like the Spanish nor savage natives like the Indians. Later on, after nearly a century of repetition on successive American frontiers, this triangulated conception of identity would form the basis of American nationalism as it emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But by that time the British had come to replace the Spanish as the third element of the triangle.<sup>30</sup>

Eventually, even the Native Americans themselves—who had figured so prominently in the Puritan fears that set this entire process in motion—came to serve a useful purpose for late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Americans as examples of resistance to tyranny in struggles similar to their own. By the dawn of the American Revolution, New England, now largely devoid of Native American inhabitants, looked to none other than Metacom (King Philip) himself for inspiration in their fight against the oppression of the British government. Finally, beyond the propensity of New Englanders and Americans to craft distorted views of Native Americans in order to achieve their particular ends, Lepore ended her study by noting that Native Americans crafted and preserved their own narrative of the events of the mid-1670s. According to Lepore, they found that narrative particularly useful during the latter half of the twentieth century as they defined, “their own, Indian, nationalism.”<sup>31</sup>

*The Name of War* garnered, among other prestigious awards, a Bancroft Prize for Lepore and propelled her to the very top of the historical profession. Nevertheless, the book is not without its faults. Lepore’s heavy emphasis on cultural theory and cultural history, and her very selective reading of sources, stand out as two particularly troublesome issues. Additionally, the idea that what occurred in New England in 1675-76 bears direct relation to nationalist sentiments that did not develop for nearly another one-hundred years smacks of both determinism and the very kind of New England historical hubris that Jennings complained of nearly twenty-five years before. These criticisms aside, however, *The Name of War* took a conflict that up to that point had been largely ignored by most historians, as well as the general public, and made it an extremely relevant historical topic. It was not long before King Philip’s War began to appear in survey history textbooks, and other scholars began to examine it from additional angles.<sup>32</sup>

Jenny Hale Pulsipher’s *Subjects Unto the Same King: Indians, English and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England* (2005) and Daniel



**Portrait of King Philip (Metacomet) by Paul Revere**

Illustration from the 1772 edition of Thomas Church's *The Entertaining History of King Philip's War*. Thomas' father, Benjamin Church, led colonial troops in what remains the bloodiest war per capita in U.S. history. The war ended when Church captured Metacomet, chief of the Wampanoag. Thomas originally published this work in 1716 under the unwieldy title *Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War which Began in the Month of June, 1675. As also of Expeditions More lately made against the Common Enemy, and Indian Rebels, in the Eastern Parts of New-England: With Some Account of the Divine Providence towards Benj. Church Esqr.* Source: Library of Congress.

Mandell's *King Philip's War: Colonial Expansion, Native Resistance, and the End of Indian Sovereignty* (2010) epitomize the growing interest with which scholars of colonial New England now approach King Philip's War. Pulsipher's *Subjects Unto the Same King* argues that the violent conflict between Native Americans and New England colonists that exploded in 1675 represented the culmination of a long-standing dispute between New England Indians and colonists over the exact nature of their relationship to one another.

According to Pulsipher, New England Indians believed their relationship with the English to be that of an alliance among equals. Therefore, they had not surrendered their sovereignty as a separate people when they entered into various treaty agreements with the English during the first half of the seventeenth century. English colonists, however, saw things differently. In their estimation, the Native Americans of New England had placed themselves under the protection of the English government as subjects. Furthermore, English colonists were to serve as the conduit through which that subject relationship was governed, which they believed granted them superiority over the indigenous peoples.

Although these widely divergent views of Native sovereignty caused relatively minor disagreements throughout the first fifty years of the Native American-Puritan relationship, the growing colonial population and their desire for ever-increasing amounts of Native land in the 1670s backed Native American leaders such as King Philip into a corner—to the point that violent action designed to reassert Native sovereignty represented the last option available. Additionally, Pulsipher argued that the end result of the conflict was a decline in sovereignty for both sides involved. Obviously, Native American power in the region was irrevocably damaged, but so, too, did the conflict cause the English government to tighten their control over the colonial governments of New England. Finally, Pulsipher engaged critically with Jill Lepore; by examining sources from Maine, she concluded that Puritans did not try to cover up their culpability in initiating the bloodshed.<sup>33</sup>

Daniel Mandell's *King Philip's War: Colonial Expansion, Native Resistance, and the End of Indian Sovereignty* (2010) constitutes the most recent of the major treatments of these events. As part of the *Witness to History* series from Johns Hopkins University, it breaks little new ground but instead provides a brief and very readable treatment of the conflict while incorporating all of the relevant scholarship. Like previous scholars, Mandell cites conflicts over land and sovereignty as the principal causes of King Philip's War. Key to understanding the war itself for Mandell are the complex and shifting alliances and conflicts amongst the participants themselves. Neither side appears in the book as monolithic; this likely represents the book's greatest

contribution. Mandell concludes that King Philip's War represents the end of Native American sovereignty in New England.

While Mandell, Pulsipher, and Lepore's books represent the most notable of recent scholarship on King Philip's War, they are not the only worthy treatments of the subject. Issues of space prevent this survey from delving into the details, but James D. Drake's *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676*, and Eric B. Shultz and Michael Tougias' *King Philip's War: The History and Legacy of America's Forgotten Conflict* also deserve the attention of scholars interested in New England Indian history. Both were published in 1999.<sup>34</sup>

### THE SALEM WITCH TRIALS AND WARFARE WITH NATIVE AMERICANS

The Salem Witch trials of the 1690s have long been one of the most popular episodes from New England history. However, scholars have only recently begun to uncover and trace the Native aspects of the event. Elaine G. Breslaw's *Tituba: Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies* (1996) represents the first of these attempts to add a Native American component to witch-trial historiography. While Breslaw did not connect the witch trials to the Indian groups of New England specifically, she provided a stunning reexamination of one of the central figures of the incident.

Breslaw argued that Tituba, the Parris family slave whose confession initiated the witch accusation hysteria, was not an African as nearly all previous histories have portrayed but was instead an Arawak Indian captured from the Guianas (now Guyana). Drawing on extremely fragmentary but convincing evidence, Breslaw recreated a scenario in which Tituba was captured, sold into slavery on Barbados, and became fluent in African, Native American, and Puritan cultures, as well as each culture's ideas of the supernatural. She then came into the possession of Samuel Parris, the Puritan minister of Salem, who eventually brought her to Salem as one of his household's slaves. Once she was accused of encouraging the young girls of the Parris household to engage in witchcraft, Tituba, according to Breslaw, used Puritan fears of Native Americans as agents of the Devil against them in order to save her life. But, in the process, she ignited the witch-hunt hysteria. As previously noted, much of Breslaw's evidentiary foundation rests upon conjecture and reconstruction; however, the end result is plausible and, in Breslaw's hands, quite convincingly written.<sup>35</sup>

Mary Beth Norton's *In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692* (2002) argues that the witch-hunt in Essex County can tell us much

about the psychological effects of warfare with Native Americans. The thesis of the book centers on Norton's claim that while the fits that seized the first "victims" might have originated in some sort of explainable physiological phenomenon, the perpetuation and escalation of the episode exhibits a direct link to Puritan fears of Native Americans. The continuation of the witch episode, which engulfed the New England frontier in 1692, depended upon the accusations of townspeople with a direct link to either King Philip's War (1675) or King William's War (1688-97).<sup>36</sup> Norton states that, "had the Second Indian War on the northeastern frontier somehow been avoided, the Essex County witchcraft crisis of 1692 would not have occurred."<sup>37</sup> (King William's War represented the beginning of nearly eighty years of intermittent warfare in colonial America between Britain, France, and their respective allies, both Native and European.)

Norton sought to demonstrate this connection in two ways: throughout the book, she employs an interesting, although at times confusing, dual history. Primarily the book recounts the events in Essex County in 1692 chronologically. Norton, however, also interspersed an alternate narrative of the events of the frontier wars. She injected these frontier war narratives in non-chronological sequence to place events from the Maine frontiers that involve various witch-trial actors in direct opposition to their 1692 activities. For example, when Mercy Lewis, a maidservant to the Putnam family and a prominent witch-trial accuser, enters the story, Norton then juxtaposed material that details the frontier experience of the girl years earlier. She did this for other prominent accusers and suspects, including Abigail Hobbs and George Burroughs.

The direct connections between various witch-craze participants and the war raging on the Maine frontier constitutes the other way in which Norton attempted to drive home the connection between the witch hysteria and the overall Native American war context. For Norton, the fact that many of the afflicted claimed to see a spectral vision consisting of a black or tawny man represented more than a mere coincidence. Puritans often employed these same words to describe Native Americans. In addition, the various threats of dismemberment and live roasting employed by the "witches" also mirrored methods employed by their Native American adversaries. These pieces of admittedly suggestive evidence form the basis of Norton's explanation of the witch trials. While *In the Devil's Snare* most assuredly will not be the last treatment of the Salem witch trials, it is notable as the most comprehensive attempt to connect the incident to the larger Native American history of New England.<sup>38</sup>

## PURITAN MISSIONARIES AND PRAYING INDIANS

Probably no other single factor has been as closely connected with the history of colonial New England than religion. The area was founded largely for the purpose of religious separation (in the case of Plymouth colony) or religious reform (as in Massachusetts Bay). Since the beginning, historians have interpreted New England in light of Puritanism. However, scholarship on the Native history of New England has, until recently, been rather slow to adopt religion as a primary lens through which to understand Native American-Puritan relationships. While authors such as Jennings, Salisbury, Norton, and Lepore have utilized Puritan religious beliefs as evidence in making their claims, most New England Indian scholarship from the 1970s until the early part of this decade has been reluctant to take both Puritan and Native American religious views seriously as a primary object of analysis.

Two recent works, however, Richard Cogley's *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War* (1999) and Kristina Bross' *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons: Praying Indians in Colonial America* (2000), portray Puritan religious motivations as more than cover for more nefarious designs and place those motivations at the center of their analyses. For his part, Cogley attempted to provide a corrective to accounts such as Jennings' that see the creation of praying towns and the missionary activity of John Eliot as nothing more than a front for English land-grabbing and cultural destruction. Cogley relies on his interpretation of Eliot himself as sincerely dedicated to Native American wellbeing to argue that the praying towns were actually beneficial to New England Indians. Specifically, he characterizes the praying towns as places where Native Americans could go to preserve some semblance of their own culture and maintain or create ties to other Native Americans. Therefore, while converting to Christianity and moving to the praying towns involved a certain amount of cultural destruction, it prevented complete domination by English officials and colonists because only the missionaries were allowed in the towns. This ensured that the praying towns, while dedicated to the Puritan religion, were still largely Native American-centered communities.

While some have rightly criticized *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians Before King Philip's War* as too zealous in its attempt to present New England missionary efforts as entirely benign and for ignoring the unintended consequences of the scheme, Cogley deserves praise for presenting Native American converts as agents of their own history. Faced with nearly impossible choices, many Native Americans seem to have chosen life in the praying towns because they viewed it as the best from among a set of very bad options.<sup>39</sup>



A 19th-century version of John Eliot preaching to Native Americans.

Whereas Cogley examined the ways in which Native Americans sought to use the praying-town experience to their own ends and for their benefit, Kristina Bross attempted much the same but for the Puritans in *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons*. Specifically, Bross posited that praying towns were critical to the religious, political, and economic mission of Puritan leaders. Demonstrating real success at converting Native Americans to Christianity represented a very tangible way in which Puritan leaders could demonstrate the divinely favored nature of their “errand into the wilderness,” not only to themselves and their followers but also to potential financial backers in England. In Bross’ words, “the figure of the Praying Indian helped shape the belief, at a time of spiritual, economic, and political crisis in the colonies, that New England had a place and a purpose in God’s plan that was special to itself but intimately connected with events in Old England.”<sup>40</sup> Assuredly, more such studies of the very complex religious encounter that occurred in colonial New England will follow in the years to come.

David Silverman’s *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha’s Vineyard, 1600-1871* (2005) provides another compelling and extremely thorough portrait of the



intersection of Puritan religious ideas with the physical presence of Native people. A micro-study of the Martha's Vineyard Wampanoags, Silverman tells the story of a place under the control of the Puritans but populated by a majority population of Native American people.

Despite their numerical advantage, the Martha's Vineyard Wampanoags opted to embrace Puritan Christianity very early on in their relationship with English colonists. By doing so, Silverman argues that they averted the bloodshed that characterized Anglo-Native American relations throughout so much of the rest of New England. While it might be tempting to view their conversion to Puritanism as a sort of capitulation on their part that would immediately deprive them of land and culture, quite the opposite was true. Silverman argues that by accepting Christianity so readily, the Martha's Vineyard Wampanoags gained for themselves the goodwill and autonomy necessary to maintain both the majority of their land base and their customs. Only the growing importance of race in the nineteenth century as a determinant of an American's fitness for civil and social participation ended this opportunity on Martha's Vineyard. *Faith and Boundaries* therefore provides, if at least in this one instance, evidence that Puritanism and Algonquian lifeways did not have to be mutually exclusive.<sup>41</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Adding Native Americans back into the story of American history represents one of the chief goals of ethnohistory. The texts examined in this article demonstrate beyond a doubt that New England historians have been hard at work over the past fifty years trying to achieve that goal. The demonstration of Native American persistence and survival also constitutes a major objective of Native American historians. Simply put, Native Americans did not disappear, and their skill in surviving the onslaught of colonialism deserves to be highlighted.

Thankfully, the past fifteen years have witnessed the publication of several texts that aim to do just that. Daniel Mandell's *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth Century Eastern Massachusetts*, Colin Calloway's edited collection *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England*, Jean M. O'Brien's *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790*, Mandell's more recent *Tribe, Race, History: Native Americans in Southern New England, 1780-1880*, as well as Kathleen Bragdon's *Native People of Southern New England, 1650-1775* all powerfully refute popular notions that New England Indian history ended

in the aftermath of King Philip's War or even by the time of the American Revolution.

Instead, Native American people continued their connections to their New England homeland in whatever ways possible during the nineteenth century and began to demand redress for their grievances and respect for their sovereignty during the twentieth. Despite the destructive forces wrought by European colonialism and later American nationalism, Native American people continue to exist today in New England and remain vital to its continuing history.<sup>42</sup>

This essay earlier used the very differing introductions to Alden Vaughan's *New England Frontier* as an example of the effect of ethnohistory on the historiography of New England. To conclude, it seems fitting that we turn to his introduction to the 1994 edition of the book:

In the best of all worlds, I would have rewritten *New England Frontier* entirely, incorporating new research, rephrasing many passages, and rebutting several misguided works on Puritan-Indian relations that have appeared since the first edition. Although the resulting book surely would improve on the 1965 and 1979 versions, its basic argument would remain largely intact. (That argument is stated "most baldly"—and in terminology I would not use today—in the conclusion to the first edition and, somewhat modified, in the introduction to the second edition.)<sup>43</sup>

Thus, from Vaughan, to Francis Jennings and Neal Salisbury, through Alfred Cave to Jill Lepore and beyond, the course of New England Native American historiography over the past fifty years epitomizes the best of what scholarly historical analysis purports to do. On one hand, the ongoing debates (including that between the followers of Vaughan and those of Jennings) demonstrate that we will more than likely never arrive at the exact reality of the encounter between Native Americans and Puritans in New England. On the other, Vaughan's own admission that those debates would have led him to produce a very different *New England Frontier* than he did in 1965 demonstrates how much closer we are to that reality than we were in 1965. Such an admission surely demonstrates that, at least in the area of New England ethnohistory, scholars have indeed risen to James Merrell's challenge.

## Notes

1. James H. Merrell, "Some Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (January 1989), 94-119.
2. *Ibid.*, 117.
3. See Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949) and Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of Seneca* (New York: Knopf, 1969); Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "Ethnohistory: An Ethnological Point of View," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1961): 79-82 and Lurie and Eleanor Burke Leacock, *North American Indians in Historical Perspective* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1971); Gary Nash, *Red, White and Black: The Peoples of Early America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1974); Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 1975); T. H. Breen, "Creative Adaptations: Peoples and Cultures," in Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, eds., *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 195-232; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The People of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992) and *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln, NE: Bison Books, 1999); Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); and Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007).
4. James Axtell, "Ethnohistory: A Historian's Viewpoint," in *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 5.
5. W. S. Simmons, "Culture Theory in Contemporary Ethnohistory," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1988), 10.
6. Alden Vaughan, *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, Third Edition, 1995), lxix.
7. For examples of the scholarship against which Vaughan was writing, see Clark Wissler, *The Indians of the United States* (New York: Doubleday, 1940); Jennings C. Wise, *The Red Man in the New World Drama* (New York: W. F. Roberts and Company, 1931); Wilcomb E. Washburn, "A Moral History of Indian-White Relations: Needs and Opportunities for Study," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. IV (1957), 47-61; William C. Macleod, *The American Indian Frontier* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928); and James Truslow Adams, *The Founding of New England* (Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921).
8. Vaughan, *New England Frontier*, xi.

9. For reviews of *New England Frontier*, see R. Pierce Beaver, *Church History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (June 1967), 228-230; Edgar Packard Dean, *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (September 1966), 422-424; William C. Kiessel, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 71, No. 4 (July 1966), 1421-1422; Edmund S. Morgan, *New York Herald Tribune Book Week* (September 19, 1965); and Marion L. Starkey, *New York Times Book Review* (November 7, 1965); For the review which leveled the accusations mentioned above, see Theodore B. Lewis, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (July 1966), 500-502.
10. Vaughan, *New England Frontier*, xv.
11. Vaughan, xlviii.
12. Vaughan, liv-lxv. Some of the works Vaughan cited in 1995 as excellent examples of ethnohistorical scholarship relating to New England include Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Patrick M. Malone, *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1991); Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast: The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenaki-Euramerican Relations* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984); Richard Melvoin, *New England Outpost: War and Society in Colonial Deerfield* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989); and Colin G. Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont: War, Migration and the Survival of an Indian People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).
13. Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), 177-185.
14. *Ibid*, 14.
15. Alden Vaughan's review of *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest*, in *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (October 1976), 421-422.
16. For examples of negative reviews of *The Invasion of America*, see Ronald Cohen, *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (May 1976), 266-267 and Bernard Sheehan, *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (September 1976), 378-379. For more favorable reviews, see Nancy Oestreich Lurie, *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (September 1976), 365-371 and Neal Salisbury, *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (March 1976), 158-161.
17. See James P. Ronda and James Axtell, *Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1978); James Axtell, *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); and Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1980).
18. Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 3-12.
19. *Ibid*, 22-30, 101-109.
20. *Ibid*, 61-84, 203-235.

21. For reviews that approach *Manitou and Providence* from this standpoint, see Alden Vaughan, *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (March 1983), 129-132; Allen Trelease, *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 69, No. 3 (December 1982), 678-679; and Bernard Sheehan, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 88, No. 3 (June 1983), 746-747.
22. William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), vii, 170.
23. Donald Worster, "Review of *Changes in the Land*," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 58, No. 3, Symposium on the History of Rural Life in America (July 1984), 508-509.
24. Yasuhide Kawashima, *Puritan Justice and the Indian: White Man's Law in Massachusetts, 1630-1763* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1986), 15.
25. See Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont* and Colin G. Calloway, ed., *Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1991).
26. Alfred Cave, *The Pequot War* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 122.
27. *Ibid*, 168.
28. Kathleen Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996).
29. Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Vintage, 1998), ix-xxiii.
30. *Ibid*, x.
31. *Ibid*, Introduction and Chapter 5.
32. See reviews of *In the Name of War: King Phillip's War and the Origins of American Identity* by Philip Gould, *American Quarterly*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (June 1999), 455-460; Gregory Evans Dowd, *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (December 1998), 656-662; and by James Drake, *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Autumn 1998), 539-541.
33. Jenny Hale Pulsipher, *Subjects Unto the Same King: Indians, English and the Context for Authority in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 1-7, 207-237.
34. Daniel Mandell, *King Philip's War: Colonial Expansion, Native Resistance, and the End of Indian Sovereignty* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 1-4, 139-144. See also James D. Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999) and Eric B. Shultz and Michael Tougias, *King Philip's War: The History and Legacy of America's Forgotten Conflict* (Woodstock, VT: Countryman Press, 1999).
35. Elaine G. Breslaw, *Tituba: Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies* (New York: NYU Press, 1996), xix-xxv.
36. King William's War, as the American theater of the wider Nine Year's War (1688-1697) is referred to, represented the beginning of nearly eighty years of intermittent warfare in colonial America between Britain, France, and their respective allies, both Native and European.

37. Mary Beth Norton, *In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 298.
38. *Ibid.*, 3-13.
39. Richard Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians Before King Philip's War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 244-249. See also Virginia Anderson's review of *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians Before King Philip's War* in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 87, No. 2 (September 2000), 639-640.
40. Kristina Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons: Praying Indians in Colonial America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 27.
41. See David J. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600-1871* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
42. See Daniel Mandell, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth Century Eastern Massachusetts* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1996); Colin Calloway, ed., *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997); Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Daniel Mandell, *Tribe, Race, History: Native Americans in Southern New England, 1780-1880* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); and Kathleen Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1650-1775* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).
43. Vaughan, *New England Frontier*, li.