

Technical Report
Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp, July 13-14, 1637
Site Identification and Documentation Project

Department of the Interior
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I. Introduction

This technical report summarizes the research, methods, and results of the Battle of Pequot (Munnacomock) Swamp (July 13-14, 1637) battlefield survey. A National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program (NPS ABPP) Site Identification and Documentation grant (GA-2287-17-004) was awarded in August 2017 to the Fairfield Museum and History Center (FMHS).¹ The FMHS subsequently contracted with the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center to conduct the historical research and battlefield surveys associated with the battle.

This NPS ABPP grant is part of a larger effort to identify and preserve all of the battlefields associated with the Pequot War (1636-1637). The FMHS completed an NPS ABPP Planning and Consensus grant which involved historically chronicling a series of sustained actions between Pequot and English Allied forces on July 13-14, 1637, and identifying properties which could potentially yield evidence of the battle. The overall goal of the Site Identification and Documentation grant was to conduct an archaeological survey of the probable locations of the engagements and ancillary sites related to the Battle of Pequot (Munnacomock) Swamp, the last major battle of the Pequot War which took place in the present-day Southport section of Fairfield, Connecticut.

The Pequot War began in late August 1636 when Massachusetts Bay soldiers attacked a Pequot village along the Thames River in retaliation for the murders of Captain John Stone and his crew two years earlier along the Connecticut River. In response, the Pequot laid siege to Saybrook Fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River from September 1636 through March 1637. The siege was lifted in mid-March with the arrival of Captain John Underhill and reinforcements from Massachusetts Bay. On April 23, 1637 Pequot forces assaulted the English settlement of Wethersfield along the Connecticut River killing nine men and women and taking two girls' captive. A week

¹ The NPS ABPP promotes the preservation of significant historic battlefields associated with wars on American soil. The purpose of the program is to assist citizens, public and private institutions, and governments at all levels in planning, interpreting, and protecting sites where historic battles were fought on American soil during the armed conflicts that shaped the growth and development of the United States, in order that present and future generations may learn and gain inspiration from the ground where Americans made their ultimate sacrifice. The goals of the program are: 1) to protect battlefields and sites associated with armed conflicts that influenced the course of American history, 2) to encourage and assist all Americans in planning for the preservation, management, and interpretation of these sites, and 3) to raise awareness of the importance of preserving battlefields and related sites for future generations (further information can be found at www.nps.gov/abpp).

after the attack Connecticut declared war on the Pequot on May 1 and raised an army of 90 men along with some 250 Native allies to invade Pequot country and attack the two Pequot fortified villages at Mistick and Weinshauks. This resulted in the Mistick Campaign (May 10-27, 1637), during which the Battles of Mistick Fort and the English Withdrawal took place (May 26, 1637). During these engagements the Pequot lost an estimated 500 men - half their military strength. Subsequently, the Pequot fled their homeland, some to seek safety in other communities across the region and others, including the chief Pequot Sachem Sassacus, to seek allies to continue their war against the English. Sassacus led the largest group of refugees west along the Connecticut coast with the intention of reaching Hudson River and seek assistance from the Mohawk. Alerted that the English were nearby, Sassacus and his bodyguard left the main body of Pequot near Quinnipiac (New Haven, CT) and continued north up the Housatonic River Valley to reach Mohawk country (Albany, NY). The remaining Pequot continued to Sasquanikut (Fairfield, CT) to seek refuge with their Sasqua and Pequonnock allies. The Pequot and their allies were attacked by a force of 160 soldiers from Massachusetts By and Connecticut at Munnacommock (Pequot Swamp) on July 13-14, 1637. The Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp was an English victory and the last major engagement of the Pequot War.

Project Goals and Results

The primary objective of the project was to conduct historical followed by a battlefield archeological survey to locate, sequence, and document battlefield actions associated with the 24-hour Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp. An additional objective was to engage local officials, landowners, and the interested public in an effort to locate and encourage protection of the battlefield, and, if applicable, to eventually prepare National Register of Historic Places registration forms to nominate the battlefield to the National Register of Historic Places.

The Scope of Work and Tasks identified by the FMHC for the Site Identification and Documentation Project of the battle of Munnacommock (Fairfield) swamp included:

1: Develop an archeological research design to standards acceptable to the ABPP and in accordance with the Connecticut State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) permitting

standards. The Research Design should address NAGPRA and protocols for the discovery of human remains.:

2: Prepare and Submit a Permit Application(s) for archeological investigations to the Connecticut State Historic Preservation Office (CT SHPO).

3: Conduct Field Surveys in accordance with Secretary of Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeological Documentation including:

- a. A Walkover Survey to assess the battlefield terrain and integrity of the battlefield landscape.
- b. A metal detector survey of selected areas within each of the Core Area(s) (i.e. areas of direct combat) of the battlefield. The survey will be conducted within a grid established in proportion to the size of the area to be examined. "Hits" will be flagged, mapped and evaluated with small excavation units. The grid location and depth of each artifact will be recorded on GPS for use in making a GIS map of artifact distribution.
- c. A program of subsurface testing in selected portions of the Core Area(s) that are expected to contain significant numbers of non-metallic artifacts and features particularly along the margins of the swamp to locate the site of the Sasqua Village.

4: Prepare a GIS map of battlefield identifying the Battlefield Boundary and Core Area(s) using NPS battlefield survey data dictionary.

5: Conduct laboratory analysis and curation of battle and non-battle related objects. The field methodology should be designed to document the Battlefield Boundaries and Core Area(s) with minimal artifact collection. All artifacts will be cleaned, assessed for conservation needs, identified and catalogued, and the location of each plotted on the GIS battlefield base maps. All objects will be stored at a facility that meets National Park Service Standards (NPS Museum Handbook I and II) until the FMHC determines the final location for the long-term curation of artifacts.

6: Coordinate a public planning process which shall include three meetings. The first meeting should be to present the goals of the project. The second meeting will be to solicit public comment on the draft report. The third meeting will be a presentation of the final report.

7: Prepare a technical report which combines the Phase I and Phase II report.

Additional objectives identified by the MPMRC included:

1. Conduct KOCO analysis (military terrain analysis) to identify key terrain features and possible route(s) taken by Native American and English forces;
2. Integrate battlefield landscape and key terrain onto USGS maps;
3. Create GIS mapping of battlefield terrain and cultural features.

The historical research and battlefield surveys were conducted between November 2017 and December 2018. A total of 265 objects were recovered; 85 were considered battlefield or possibly battle related objects and 180 considered non-battle related objects (see Appendix C). The battlefield surveys indicated that very little of the landscape associated with the battle was intact. Fairfield is a very densely settled suburban environment with many house lots only between 0.2 – 0.5 acres in size. In addition to the impacts associated with house construction on very small lots, the construction of Interstate 95, which runs through the middle of Munnacommock Swamp, resulted in extensive episodes of cut and fill within the Core area of the battlefield. Another problem was the high density of metallic non-battle related objects throughout the Core Area of the battlefield which ‘hid’ potential battle related objects and significantly impacted the ability of even the most experienced metal detectorists to locate battle related objects (particularly of lead and brass) among all the later historic and modern ‘noise.’

The lack of consistent distributions of battle related objects in undisturbed or moderately disturbed contexts made it difficult if not impossible to reconstruct battle events with any degree of confidence. There were only two areas within the battlefield that yielded a sufficient number of seventeenth century objects which allowed for any inferences about the battle. One area was just outside the northwestern corner of Munnacommock Swamp and the second was in Southport Park 600 meters (650 yards) northeast of the swamp. The latter distribution was quite unexpected and probably represents the first action(s) of the battle when the English descended Mill Hill as they approached the swamp. The Southport Park area is the only section of the battlefield that retains any integrity. The remainder of the battlefield has suffered significant impacts from historic and modern development and retains no integrity. Nonetheless, a sufficient number of battlefield objects were recovered to make some meaningful inferences about the nature and course of the battle.

II. Preservation & Documentation of Pequot War Battlefield Sites

Preservation

The long-term preservation goals set by the Fairfield Museum and History Center (FMHC) for the Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp project were to raise public

awareness of the existence and importance of the battlefield site and its associated historical significance through lectures, educational programs, publications, and community-based preservation initiatives. The immediate goal was to determine the Battlefield and Core Area boundaries through a cultural resource inventory, referred to in this report as a battlefield survey. The ultimate goal was to nominate those areas of the battlefield which retain a moderate to high degree of integrity to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

Battlefield surveys are an important aspect of historic preservation as many battlefield sites are destroyed or negatively impacted through ignorance of their location and significance. Many battlefields would be preserved if property owners and communities were aware of their existence and were informed of the significance of the battlefield along with its contribution to a broader understanding and appreciation of American history. Preserved battlefields and related historic sites can add to a community's sense of identity and foster a greater interest in history and preservation efforts. The identification, documentation, and mapping of a battlefield's historic and cultural resources are an essential first step for battlefield preservation efforts.

Documentation

The first steps in documenting a battlefield are to identify and delineate the extent of the battlefield based on the physical terrain (*e.g.*, hills, swamps, rivers, and other terrain features relevant to the battle), the distribution of battle-related objects (*e.g.*, musket balls, brass arrow points, firearms/firearm parts, and dropped and broken equipment) associated with critical terrain features, relevant cultural features (*e.g.*, roads, bridges, and towns), and an assessment of the physical and visual integrity of the battlefield. This process requires establishing a boundary around the battlefield that encompasses all relevant battle-related artifacts and cultural and physical features into an appropriately scaled topographic base map using Geographic Information Systems (GIS). The boundary must be defensible based on historical and archeological evidence (*i.e.*, documents, field survey, terrain analysis, and archeological surveys), and encompass legitimate historic resources. The following three boundaries are created for a battlefield:

- Battlefield Boundary: Currently understood boundary of the battlefield which includes Core Areas (direct areas of combat), avenues of approach and retreat,

- key terrain features (e.g. hills, swamps, rivers), and cultural features (e.g. Sasqua village);
- Core Area: Area of concentrated combat
- Potential National Register Boundary: Portions of the battlefield that have retained integrity

The Battlefield Boundary is a concept introduced in the NPS ABPP's revised *Battlefield Survey Manual* (2016) to replace the earlier concept of the Study Area (Figures 1 and 2). A weakness of the original concept of the battlefield "study area" was that it was too broad and vague, as it was defined as the furthest extent of the battlefield. The concept was often equated with the Project Area or Area of a general study which may have include buffers around the battlefield that had little value to understanding the battlefield and served to devalue the historic resource. In addition, many investigators used the term to indicate that there was no historic value outside of the Core Area of the battlefield. For these reasons, the ABPP decided to change the term to indicate that the Battlefield Boundary is indeed the currently understood boundary of the battlefield.

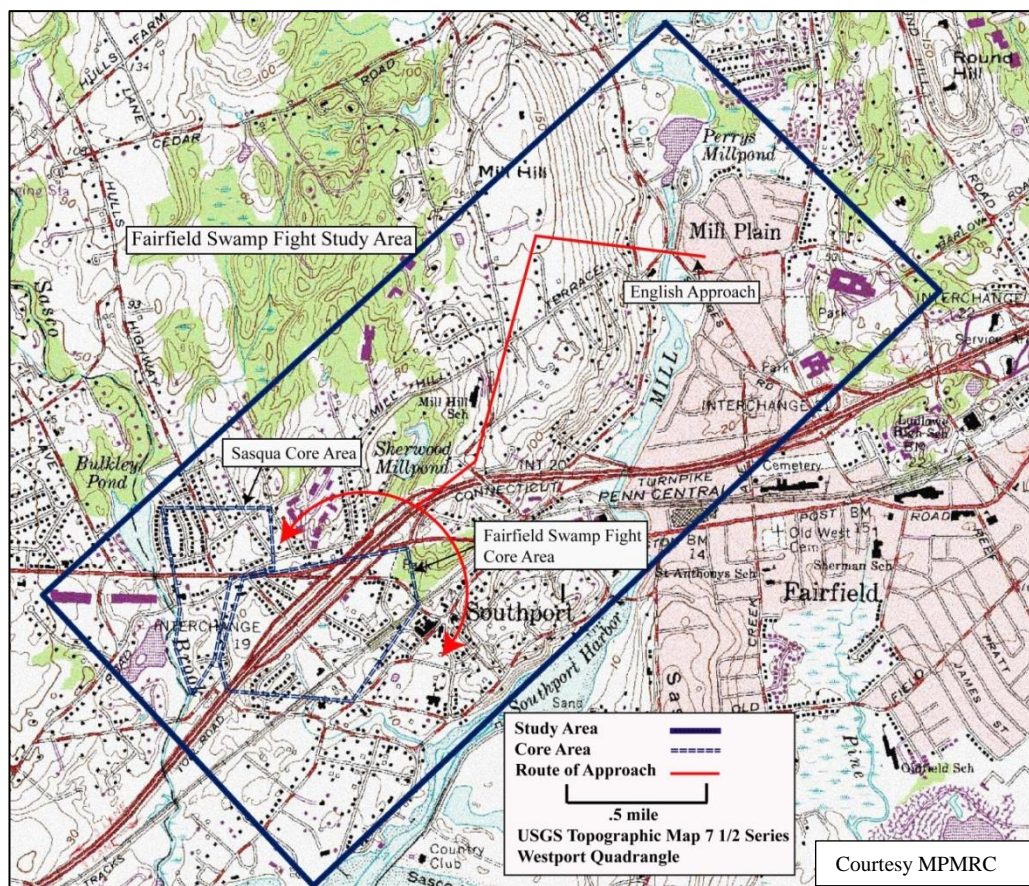


Figure 1. Original Battlefield Boundary and Core Areas. 7.5' U.S.G.S. Topographic Map

The NPS ABPP has developed a successful approach to research, document, and map battlefields.² These methods were originally developed for Civil War battlefields and later applied to Revolutionary War battlefields. Seventeenth century battlefields, like those of the Pequot War, present unique challenges for historians and battlefield archeologists to research, survey, document, and delineate battlefield boundaries. This is due to the nature of seventeenth century sources and the relatively low density and frequency of artifacts associated with seventeenth century battlefields in North America. Nonetheless, the methods outlined in Chapter V (Research Design, Methods, Site Identification & Documentation) have proven highly successful in documenting Pequot War battlefields and associated actions and sites.

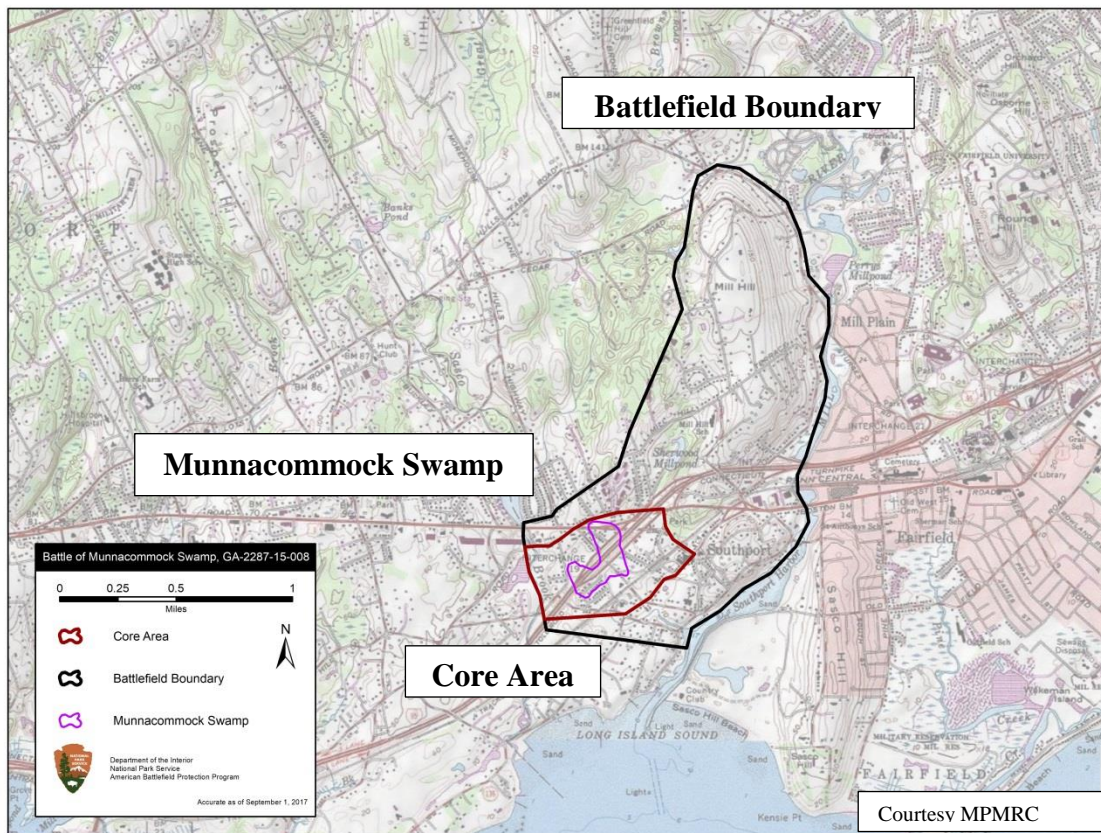


Figure 2. Revised Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp Battlefield Boundary, Swamp, and Core Area

² American Battlefield Protection Program, *Battlefield Survey Manual* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, revised 2007).

Defining the Battlefield Boundary and Core Areas

Defining the Battlefield Boundary and Core Areas of the battlefield site is a critical part of the battlefield documentation process.³ The Battlefield Boundary is defined as the area which encompasses the ground over which units maneuvered in preparation for combat and where combat action occurred. The Battlefield Boundary area functions as the tactical context and visual setting of the battlefield. The natural features and contours on relevant USGS 7.5-minute quadrangle maps are used to outline the Battlefield Boundary and include all locations that directly contributed to the battle's development and conclusion. The Battlefield Boundary should include the following:

- Core Areas of combat
- locations of all deployed units of the combatants on the field, even reserves
- preliminary skirmishing if it led directly to the battle, and
- logistical areas of the armies (supply trains, hospitals, ammunition dumps, etc.).

The Battlefield Boundary is restricted to the immediate flow of battle after one side or the other has moved to initiate combat. For example, in terms of the Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp, the Battlefield Boundary begins at the Mill River in present-day Southport and the imposing heights of Mill Hill. This battlefield is defined thus because it was at Mill Hill that the English Allied forces began their pursuit of fleeing Pequot which led them to the Sasqua village and Munnacommock Swamp. The Battlefield Boundary encompasses Mill Hill and lands surrounding the Munnacommock Swamp site as the battle occurred in and around the confines of that wetland.

The Core Area should always fall fully within the Battlefield Boundary. The natural features and contours on the USGS 7.5-minute quadrant map help to define a Core Area that contains the areas of most intense conflict. Natural barriers, such as rivers, creeks, swamps, hills, and ridges, often restrict the movement of the armies, sometimes providing a natural landscape or topographical boundary for the battlefield. Generally, Battlefield Boundaries can be reasonably well defined in Revolutionary and Civil War battlefields based on better documentation and maps compared to seventeenth century Pequot War battlefields. There are no known maps which document Pequot War battles, and the documentation associated with these early American actions with respect to battle locations is ambiguous.

³ ABPP, *Battlefield Survey Manual*. P. 28-29.

An important aspect of the Battlefield Boundary and Core Area is the delineation of portions of the historic battlefield landscape that still convey a sense of the historic scene (retain visual and physical integrity) and can still be preserved. Any areas of the Battlefield Boundary or Core Area that have been impacted or otherwise compromised by modern development, erosion, or other destructive forces and can no longer provide a feeling of the historic setting are excluded from areas of integrity. However, some battlefields in suburban areas may still retain integrity and significance if artifacts or other archeological information (*i.e.*, campfires and ditches, etc.) are intact. In such instances the presence of houses may affect the feeling of the historic setting but information is present that will contribute to the significance of the battlefield.

III. Historic Context

The Pequot War (1636-1637) consisted of several major battles and minor actions fought between September 1636 and August 1637 throughout southern New England (Figure 3). Thousands of combatants, including the Pequot, and other Natives

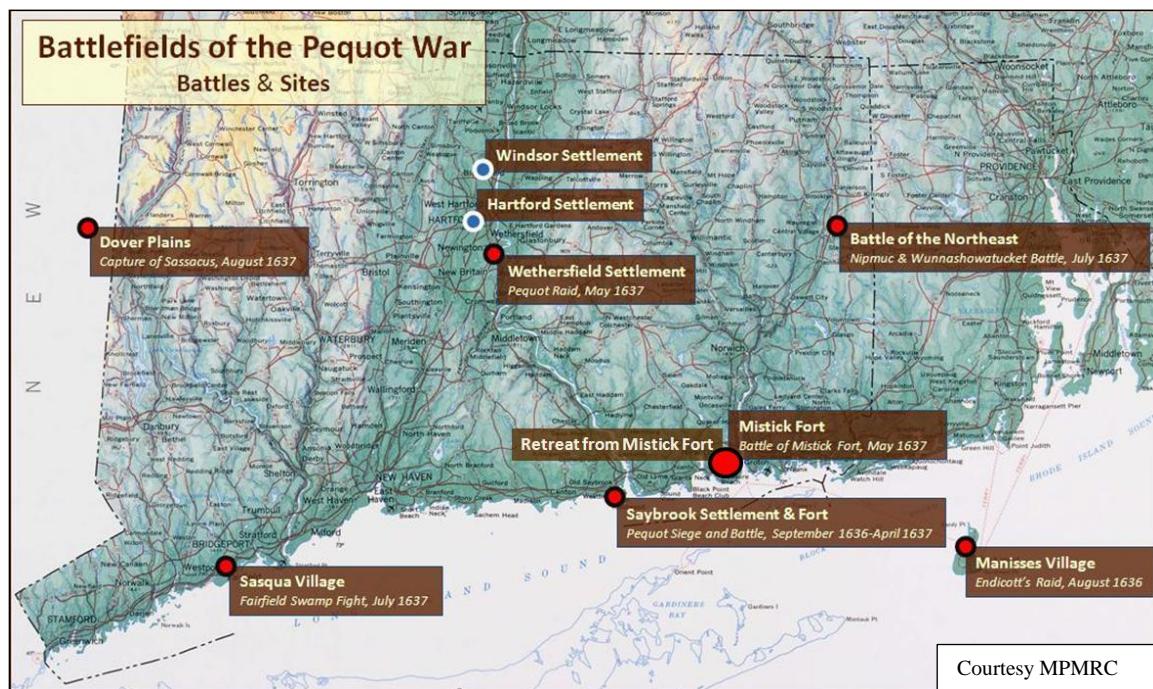


Figure 3. Battlefields of the Pequot War (1636-1637). Red dots indicate where combat action occurred during the Pequot War, and blue indicate important ancillary sites.

(Narragansett, Niantic, Mohegan, Podunk, and Connecticut River Valley tribes), fought both with and against the English. The causes of the Pequot War are best explained

within the political, economic, and military spheres, as cultural exchange grew with the arrival of the Dutch (1611) and the English (early 1630s) within coastal southern New England and the Connecticut River Valley.

Contact, Trade, and Pequot Expansion in Southern New England (1611-1636)

Within a decade after the arrival of the Dutch, the Pequot positioned themselves to control the fur and wampum trade (purple and white beads fashioned from whelk and hard shell clam), key territory, and resources through warfare, coercion, subjugation, and alliances over much of southern New England. As the Pequot dominated Long Island Sound and the lower Connecticut River Valley, they controlled wampum production and the primary conduit of furs – the northern drainages to the coast of the Connecticut River.

Wampum from eastern Long Island Sound quickly became the most important component of the fur trade as it was in great demand by tribes in the fur-rich interior areas of the upper Connecticut and Hudson River drainages. The Dutch referred to wampum as “the source and mother of the beaver trade” and identified Long Island Sound as the “mint” of production.⁴ The wampum-producing regions of eastern Long Island Sound were the first areas to fall under Pequot control in the 1620s, followed by the lower Connecticut River Valley in 1631.⁵ On the eve of the Pequot War the Pequot controlled a territory of over 2,500 square miles stretching 75 miles of Connecticut and Long Island coastline and 50 miles up the Connecticut River. Their subjugation of tribes included the creation of tributary relationships and territorial control of the lands of tribes was claimed by right of conquest. In this way, the Pequot controlled key resources within their domains; they dictated the manner and the amount of furs and wampum that would reach the Dutch and English, as well as the distribution of trade goods to tributary and allied tribes.

Dutch and English goods commonly traded to the Native peoples of the region included duffel cloth, axes, hoes, adzes, pot hooks, drills, kettles, looking glasses, jaw harps, spoons, and glass beads. Archeological sites at Native-occupied villages and

⁴ Berthold Fernow, ed. *Documents Relating to the History of the Early Colonial Settlements Principally on Long Island, with a Map of Its Western Part Made in 1666, Translated, Compiled and Edited from the Original Records in the Office of the Secretary of State and the State Library, under the Direction of the Hon'ble. Joseph B. Carr, Secretary of State.* Vol. 14. (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Co. 1883. Fernow 1883, Vol. 11: 543; Vol. 14: 470); Kevin McBride, “War and Trade in Eastern New Netherland” in *A Beautiful and Fruitful Place, Selected Rensselaerswijck Papers*, Vol. 3. New Netherland Institute, 2013. Pp. 271-283, 341-342.

⁵ McBride, “War and Trade in Eastern New Netherland.” P. 280.

encampments such as Mistick Fort (Site 59-19), Pequot Woods Village (Site 59-73), and the Porter's Rocks Native Allied Encampment (Site 59-34) yielded numerous European trade goods and materials. Natives often modified, reworked, and reintegrated these European objects into their own cultural systems. They assimilated these materials and items into their customs, and used them differently than how they were originally intended. For example, artifacts found at Pequot War-era sites were modified into Native functional and ideological uses, such as iron and brass kettles cut and reworked into arrow projectile points and lead, brass, and iron objects molded into decorative and spiritual objects such as beads and amulets.

English Arrival and Dutch Conflict, 1633-1636

Between 1611 and 1633 both the Dutch and Pequot benefitted from their exclusive trading relationship and respective control of their economic and political spheres. The period could be described as relatively calm but potentially volatile. The careful balance was disrupted during the Fall of 1633 when thousands of Natives throughout the Northeast died from a smallpox epidemic that swept through the region in 1633-1634. Coincident with the epidemic hundreds of English traders and settlers migrated into the Connecticut River Valley in 1633-1635. Tensions heightened and regional trade stability waned as the English and other Native tribes attempted to break Pequot trade and military dominance over the region. The English disregarded Pequot claims to the valley and established settlements at Windsor, Wethersfield, Hartford, and Saybrook; the land previously purchased from the local (subjugated) sachems and with whom they sought trade relations. The subjugated and tributary tribes saw an opportunity to escape Pequot hegemony, and pursued alliances with and protection from the English.

Little studied is the Pequot-Dutch War, the first major conflict between Native Americans and Europeans in New England. It began during the winter of 1633-1634 and continued through the Fall of 1634 (January 1634 – November 1634), as stated by Winthrop in his journal entry that the Pequot “were now in a war with the Narragansett and the Dutch.”⁶ The Pequot-Dutch War further strained economic and cultural relationships within the region. The English tried to break the Dutch-Pequot monopoly over trade,

⁶ James Kendall Hosmer, Ed. Winthrop's Journal “History of New England” 1630-1649. (New York, NY: C. Scribner's Sons, 1908). P. 139.

while the Pequot tried to maintain their political and economic dominance. The Pequot-Dutch War was the first time the Pequot encountered Europeans on a battlefield. As many as 70 Dutch Marines in the Connecticut River Valley were stationed at the Dutch trading post House of Hope in an attempt to drive the English from the Windsor trading post.⁷ As a result of their experiences, the Pequot adjusted their strategies to counter English battle formations, tactics, and weapons. Two years later the Pequot refused to fight the English in the open field (with few exceptions during extreme circumstances). Instead, they relied on feints, ruses, rushes, and ambushes in order to draw the English closer and aim their brass tipped arrows at the weak points in English armor and buff coats during the Pequot War. These tactics were very successful during the Pequot Siege of Saybrook Fort (September 1636 – March 1637), and in turn, impacted English battle plans for and consequential reactionary measures through the Mistick Fort Campaign (May 10-26, 1637).

Most often cited in secondary historical accounts as the cause of the Pequot War are the murders of Captain John Stone and his eight-man crew along the Connecticut River by the Pequot. In reality, these murders were the result of rising tensions between numerous Native and European cultural entities who each struggled to gain and maintain power in a volatile region. The murders of English trader John Stone and his crew, related only by English sources, indicate that the Dutch inadvertently played an important role. In January 1634, Stone and his crew kidnapped several Western Niantic Indians, allies of the Pequot, and demanded that they guide them upriver to the Dutch trading post (the House of Hope) at Hartford. While anchored near the mouth of the Connecticut River one night, John Stone and eight crew members were killed by the Pequot.

John Winthrop, Deputy Governor of Massachusetts Bay, noted Stone's murder in his journal, but not the motivations.⁸ John Stone was not well-liked by the English at Massachusetts or Plymouth and was portrayed as a pirate, smuggler, and fornicator. However, he was highly regarded by the Dutch in New Amsterdam, including the Dutch Governor of New Amsterdam.⁹ Following the murders, a Pequot ambassador gave the

⁷ McBride, "War and Trade in Eastern New Netherland." P. 280; William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647*, Vol. II (New York, NY: Russell & Russell, 1968). P. 170; Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal*. P. 190.

⁸ Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal*. P. 119.

⁹ Alfred A. Cave, *The Pequot War* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996). Pp. 59-60; Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*. P. 190; David Pietersz de Vries in J. Franklin Jameson, ed.

explanation; “could yee blame us for so cruell a murder? For we distinguish not between the Dutch and the English, but took them to be one nation.”¹⁰ Their reasons for the murders are still unclear; the crew may have been killed during a rescue attempt the Western Niantics, and/or in mistaken retaliation for the recent death of the Pequot sachem Tatobam (who was killed by the Dutch sometime in 1633).

The Pequot could not afford another conflict. In early November 1634, they sent “a messenger ... to desire our [English] friendship.”¹¹ Winthrop recorded that,

the reason why they desired our friendship was, because they [Pequot] were now in war with the Narragansett, whom, til this year, they had kept under, and likewise with the Dutch, who had killed their old sachem and some other of their men, for that the Pekods had killed some Indians, who came to trade with the Dutch at Connecticut; and, by these occasions, they could not trade safely any where.¹²

A tentative agreement between the Pequot and the English determined that the Pequot would turn over their rights to Connecticut, and those “worthy of death” murderers, if Massachusetts Bay brokered a peace treaty with the Narragansett.

However, the Pequot refused to turn over the murderers partly or largely because they felt their actions were justified. By the spring of 1636, tensions were further exacerbated by reports that the Pequot prepared to attack other English traders.¹³ On July 1, 1636, Governor Vane of Massachusetts Bay sent an instructive and frustrated letter to John Winthrop, Jr. with instructions to meet with the Pequot at Saybrook. If the Pequot did not give satisfaction to the English over Stone’s death, then Winthrop was to return the gift of wampum given in November 1634. While no records exist from the meeting, the gift of wampum was returned. Less than three weeks later, the English trader John Oldham was killed off Block Island. Although the Pequot were initially blamed, it was quickly determined the Manisses of Block Island were responsible. As a result, Massachusetts Bay responded with military action against the Manisses for Oldham’s murder and against the Pequot for Stone’s murder two years before.

Narratives of new Netherland 1609-1664 (New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1909). Pp. 191-192; Winthrop, *Winthrop’s Journal*. P. 118.

¹⁰ John Underhill, *Newes from America* (London, UK: Peter Cole, 1637). P. 12.

¹¹ Winthrop, *Winthrop’s Journal*. P. 139-141.

¹² Winthrop, *Winthrop’s Journal*. Pp. 138-139.

¹³ Winthrop Family, *Winthrop Papers*, Vol. III 1631-1637, Eds. Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, MA: Merrymount Press, 1943). P. 270.

The Pequot War

Massachusetts Bay Expedition to Block Island & Thames River (August 1636)

In August 1636, Massachusetts Bay ordered a punitive expedition against the Manisses and Pequot in retribution for the murders of John Stone and John Oldham. Under the command of Colonel John Endicott ninety soldiers sailed from Boston on August 24, bound first to Block Island and then Pequot territory. They were ordered,

to put to death the men of Block Island, but to spare the women and children, and to bring them away, and to take possession of the island; and from thence to go to the Pequods to demand the murderers of Capt. Stone and other English, and one thousand fathom of wampom for damages, etc., and some of their children as hostages, which if they should refuse, they were to obtain it by force.¹⁴

At Block Island, the Endicott expedition disembarked from their boats into the surf, approximately one hundred yards from Crescent (present-day East) Beach. As they waded ashore the men were met with a volley of arrows fired by 60 Manisses; the English returned fire, and the Manisses retreated. The expedition then established a base camp in an abandoned village near their anchored ships and for two days proceeded to search the island per their orders. The English burned several villages and destroyed cornfields while the Maniseans fled to the many swamps on Block Island for safety.

The Endicott expedition embarked at Block Island for Saybrook, and at their arrival, Lion Gardiner (commander of the Saybrook Fort) was less than pleased with their commission to confront the Pequot. Gardiner was well aware that Saybrook would take the brunt of any Pequot retaliation and admonished Massachusetts Bay, “you come hither to raise these wasps about my eare, and then you will take wing and flye away.” During the first week of September, Endicott and twenty Massachusetts Bay men (including John Underhill) disembarked on the east side of the Pequot (Thames) River to meet the Pequot sachem Sassacus. Negotiations were unsuccessful, and the English burned a village and killed several Pequot, thus beginning the Pequot War.¹⁵

Siege of Saybrook Fort (September 1636 – March 1637)

The Pequot viewed the Endicott expedition and the attack on their villages as

¹⁴ Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal*. P. 186

¹⁵ Lion Gardiner, *Relation of the Pequot Warres: Written in 1660 by Lieutenant Lion Gardener* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company for the Acorn Club of Connecticut, 1901). P. 11.

unprovoked and quickly retaliated against the English at Saybrook. For the next six months (September 1636 – March 1637), the Pequot laid siege to the fort and settlement at Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut River. Over 30 English settlers, traders, and soldiers were killed in and around Saybrook during the siege, including half of the fort’s garrison.¹⁶ The Pequot attacked any English who ventured too far from the fort and repeatedly lured them into ambushes. They also destroyed English provisions and livestock, burned trading warehouses, and disrupted all river traffic to the upriver colonies of Windsor, Wethersfield, and Hartford. Pequot successes were achieved largely without firearms, notwithstanding the best efforts of Lieutenant Gardiner to counter their tactics. During this period, the Pequot won every engagement against the English and proved themselves superior to the English on the battlefield, likely due to their experiences during the Pequot-Dutch War. In early April 1637, Massachusetts Bay sent twenty soldiers under Captain John Underhill to relieve the siege at Saybrook Fort, and the Pequot shifted their attention to the English settlements upriver.

Wethersfield Raid (April 23, 1637) & Connecticut’s Declaration of War (May 1, 1637)

A force of more than 100 Pequot attacked the English settlement at Wethersfield on April 23, 1637. They killed nine men, a woman, and a girl, and captured two girls from the Swaine family. The attack on Wethersfield caught the settlers by surprise. In spite of the siege at Saybrook, the Connecticut Colony had not yet declared war against the Pequot as they felt the actions by Massachusetts Bay against the Pequot the previous September were unjustified. However, the Wethersfield attack (the first time women and children had been killed in the war) galvanized the General Court of Connecticut into declaring an offensive war against the Pequot.

In direct response to the Wethersfield attack the General Court of Connecticut declared war on the Pequot.¹⁷ On May 1, 1637, the Court at Hartford ordered “an

¹⁶ All of the following dates used to reconstruct the Mistick Campaign are based on times, dates, and references to the “Sabbath” which are found throughout the relevant primary Pequot War narratives. Recorded dates were in the Julian calendar, generally used by most European countries during the seventeenth century. The Julian calendar year consists of 365 days divided into twelve months with a leap year occurring every four years. The Gregorian calendar superseded the Julian calendar and in 1752, the British Empire adopted the new system. Even so, the Julian calendar remained in use in the Americas well into the early nineteenth century.

¹⁷ J. Hammond Trumbull, *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, Prior to the Union with New Haven Colony* (Hartford, CT: Brown & Parsons, 1850). Pp. I: 10-11.

offensive war ag^t the Pequot and 90 men (thirteen were sailors) levied out of the 3 Plantations, Hartford, Wethersfield & Windsor ... It is ordered that every souldier shall cary with him 1lb of powder, 4 of shott, 20 bulletts ... 1 barrel of Powder from the Rivers mouth [Saybrook Fort], (a light) Gunn if they can.”¹⁸ The court appointed Captain John Mason commander; Robert Seeley, William Pratt, and Thomas Bull lieutenants; and eight men sergeants. It is believed that commissioned and non-commissioned officers on the expedition had previous combat experience in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), as well as many of the enlisted men. The three towns were also to supply twenty sets of armor, arm their soldiers with firearms, poles, edged weapons, and accoutrements, and provide provisions that could sustain the army for a prolonged two-week campaign.

Mistick Campaign (May 10-27, 1637)

The Connecticut English organized the Mistick Campaign expedition in little over one week. On May 10 English soldiers rendezvoused first at Hartford with 60-80 “River Indian” allies which included Mohegan, Podunk, Suckiaug and Wangunk men among others, and then together proceeded downriver to Saybrook. Arriving at Saybrook on May 17, Mason appraised Captain John Underhill and Lieutenant Gardiner of the General Court’s orders to conduct a frontal assault against the Pequot along the Thames River. Mason asked for their assistance, which Underhill and Gardiner refused:

we both said they were not fitted for such a design [attack plan] and we said to Major Mason we wondered he would venture himselfe being no better fitted and he said the Magistrates could or would not send better, the we said yt none of our men would go with them and neither should they go unless we yt were bred soldiers from our youth could see some likelihood to do better than the [Massachusetts] bay men with their strong commission last year [September 1636 Thames River expedition].¹⁹

The three English commanders revised the battle plan based on Gardiner’s and Underhill’s experiences, the information obtained from the two Swaine girls, and a plan of attack proposed by the Narragansett (reiterated by Roger Williams). The Dutch rescued the two captive Swaine girls from Wethersfield after three weeks in Pequot

¹⁸ Trumbull, *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*. P. I: 10.

¹⁹ Gardiner, *Relation*. P. 19.

country. The girls informed English commanders on the number and disposition of Pequot forces, the location of the two forts, and the number of firearms in the Pequot's possession.²⁰ The new plan of attack was based on surprise and containment of Native forces within their palisade in order to mitigate Pequot mobility, superior numbers, and tactics.²¹ The plan included simultaneous nighttime attacks on two Pequot fortified villages, Mistick Fort (Pequot Hill) and Weinshauks (Fort Hill). Mistick Fort was one-half mile west of the Mystic River and Weinshauks located 2.5 miles further southwest. The fortified villages were the residences of the two chief sachems of the Pequot, Sassacus (Mistick), and Momoho (Weinshauks).

In their planned ruse, the expedition intentionally sailed through Long Island Sound by the Pequot coastline in full view of the Pequot who thought they were reluctant to land their force. The expedition arrived at Narragansett Bay on May 20 at Narragansett (Figure 3). The force was delayed several days due to weather conditions and prolonged Narragansett negotiations. The delays concerned Mason; the more time that went by the higher the chance the English Allied forces would lose their element of surprise. Mason chose not to linger for an additional 40 Massachusetts Bay soldiers less than a day's march away in Providence. Approximately 250 Narragansett and Eastern Niantic men agreed to join the English Allied force and on May 24 the expedition marched towards the Mystic River, arriving on the evening of May 25 (Figure 3).

The English and their Native allies established two short-term encampments at a place known as Porter's Rocks (Native Encampment, Site 72-34: and English Encampment, Site 72-35), a large bedrock formation stretching for a half mile west of the Mystic River and rising more than 100 ft. above the surrounding landscape. It was easily defended with its commanding view, and was located only two miles north of Mistick Fort. Two Pequot men, Wequash and Wuttackquiackommin, guided the English through Pequot country.²² Mason placed a great deal of emphasis on intelligence gathering during the Mistick Campaign, and sent a Native ally (presumably Narragansett, Mohegan, or one of the Pequot guides) ahead of the approaching column to determine if the Pequot were

²⁰ Underhill, *News from America*. P. 25.

²¹ John Mason in Thomas Prince, Ed, *A Brief History of the Pequot War* (Boston, MA: S. Kneeland & T. Green, 1736). Pp. 2-3.

²² Glenn W. LaFantasie, Ed. *The Correspondence of Roger Williams*, Vols. I & II, Rhode Island Historical Society. Vol. I, P. 73.

aware the expedition was approaching. The English Allied force reached Porter's Rocks around 8 p.m., set out sentries, and rested for a few hours, rising at 1 a.m. for the two-mile march to Pequot Hill. What English commanders and Native Allied leaders did not know was the fact that the Pequot were somehow alerted to the presence of English forces on the march from Narragansett and had sent 150 reinforcements to Mistick Fort with plans to search for the English army in the morning.²³

The Allied force reached the base of Pequot Hill just before dawn at around 4 a.m. and made a brief stop to make their final preparations for the attack. The plan of attack was to divide the 77 English soldiers into two groups of 38/39 men each under Mason and Underhill, and then one-half of each division was to enter the fort "to destroy them by the sword and save the plunder."²⁴ The remaining English and Natives were to form inner (English) and outer (Native allies to prevent the Pequot from escaping) rings. The battle plan went awry almost immediately as Mason's division was discovered "approaching within one Rod, heard a Dog bark and an Indian crying Owanux! Owanux! which is Englishmen! Englishmen!"²⁵ Mason's company was forced to begin the battle before all the English were in position and they forced their way through the narrow entrance filled with brush. Although Mason's entrance into the fort was not contested, the Pequot quickly recovered and mounted a determined defense. The battle was underway as Captain Underhill's company hurried to find the southwest entrance.

Mason's and Underhill's narratives described intense hand to hand fighting within the fort, and the closely packed wigwams greatly reduced the effectiveness of the English weapons. Within 15-20 minutes, Mason's company suffered so many casualties that he ordered his men to set fire to the fort and retreat outside the palisade walls. The fire quickly swept through the closely packed wigwams fanned by a brisk northeast wind and engulfed the fort in minutes. By the time Underhill and his men arrived in position and fought their way into the southwestern entrance the northeastern end of the fort was already of fire. Underhill lit additional fires with a trail of gunpowder and ordered his men to retreat to the outside of the fort. There, the English Allied forces killed nearly all survivors who attempted to escape from the southwest entrance. The battle lasted little

²³ Mason in Prince *Brief History of the Pequot War*. P. 10.

²⁴ Mason in Prince *Brief History of the Pequot War*. P. 8.

²⁵ Mason in Prince *Brief History of the Pequot War*. P. 8.

more than an hour and left 400 Pequot dead, 200 of them burned to death. Only a dozen or so were reported to have escaped.

After the conclusion of the Mistick Fort battle, the English withdrew one kilometer south along Pequot Hill to a location overlooking Long Island Sound. There, they waited to observe their ships sailing west towards the rendezvous point at the Pequot (Thames) River. The English remained in this locale for approximately two hours; they tended to their wounded and defended against Pequot counterattacks. The English Allied force repulsed three Pequot counterattacks during the two hours spent on Pequot Hill after the Battle of Mistick Fort. The Pequot's initial counterattacks were uncoordinated and ineffective consisting of the men from the closest Pequot villages to the south and west of Mistick Fort. Shortly after the second Pequot counterattack and Underhill's return to the English Rest and Vantage Point, English commanders saw their ships in Long Island Sound sailing to the rendezvous at Pequot Harbor.

The Battle of the English Withdrawal began once English commanders decided to begin the march towards Pequot Harbor. English Allied forces formed a column, with Captain Mason at the front and Captain Underhill at the rear. This formation allowed the English Allied forces to march together and if needed, rapidly respond to resist and check Pequot counterattacks during their 6.5-mile withdrawal west through Pequot country towards the Thames River. The Allied force had already marched 35 miles and fought a major battle on very little rest. They were low on rations and ammunition, and sustained heavy casualties during the Battle of Mistick Fort (30% or more of the English contingent and an unknown number of Native allies). Now they faced an experienced and determined enemy highly motivated to exact revenge as hundreds of Pequot fighting men organized attacks and mobilized from other villages towards the English and Allied force. Shortly before the English began their march towards Pequot Harbor (present day Thames River harbor) Mason stated that around 300 Pequot warriors from Weinshauks arrived on the battlefield. The arrival of reinforcements nearly two hours after the Mistick Fort Battle concluded suggests Sassacus mobilized a large force and possibly developed a strategy to destroy the invaders. Captain Mason led some men forward to engage the warriors, but the Pequot broke off quickly, likely in an effort to reach Mistick Fort.²⁶ As the English began their withdrawal and vacated Pequot Hill the Pequot circumvented

²⁶ Mason, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 11.

them and made their way to the summit of Pequot Hill where they saw the remains of the burned Mistick Fort and 400 of their dead kinsmen. The Allied column was one-quarter mile down the western slope of Pequot Hill when the 300 Pequot men launched a furious assault from the burned fort (one-half mile away):

And Marching about one quarter of a Mile; the Enemy coming up to the Place where the Fort was, and beholding what was done, stamped and tore the Hair from their Heads: And after a little space, came mounting down the Hill upon us, in a full career, as if they would over run us; But when they came within Shot, the Rear faced about, giving Fire upon them: Some of them being Shot, made the rest more wary: Yet they held on running to and fro, and shooting their Arrows at Random.²⁷

The Pequot attacked the rear of the English Allied column, one-quarter mile west from the summit of Pequot Hill. Mason, at the head of the column, was probably several hundred yards further away and perhaps had already reached a small stream at the base of Pequot Hill. As the English described the terrain as “champion [open] country,” the visibility the terrain afforded allowed the English to prepare their defense against the Pequot who were in full view as they mounted their attack down Pequot Hill. The rear of the column, led by Underhill, turned and fired several volleys into the charging Pequot which broke the attack. English Allied forces made a brief stop at a stream at the bottom of Pequot Hill (present-day Fishtown Brook) “where we rested and refreshed ourselves, having by that time taught them a little more Manners than to disturb us.”²⁸ The English fought off Pequot attacks for the remainder of the withdrawal, ending only when the English Allied forces were within two miles of Pequot Harbor (present-day Pequannock Bridge, Groton, CT).²⁹ At the end of their six-mile march, the English marched to the top of a hill overlooking Pequot Harbor and saw their vessels at anchor.³⁰

English sources claim that they killed more Pequot men during the withdrawal than the approximately 200 men killed during the Battle of Mistick Fort. For their part the Pequot seemed to have abandoned the tactics that had proven so successful against the English in the first six months of the Pequot War prior to Mistick Fort. Although the Pequot did try to lure or drive the English into ambush points along the way in order to

²⁷ Mason, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 11.

²⁸ Mason, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 11.

²⁹ Mason, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 12.

³⁰ Mason, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 12.

fire their arrows at point blank range (generally less than 30 yards), they were so enraged by the deaths of more than 400 of their people at Mistick they would often venture into the open in an attempt to revenge the deaths of their comrades.³¹ The English Allied army was ferried to the west bank of the Thames and disembarked to spend the night on shore near their ships while the other vessels transported Underhill and the wounded to Saybrook Fort. The next morning Mason and the remaining English Allied forces marched twenty miles through Western Niantic territory, reaching the east bank of the Connecticut River on the evening of May 27, 1637. The English Allied forces encamped along the Connecticut River for the night and in the morning were transported over the river and to the safety of Saybrook Fort. The Mistick Campaign was over.

Quinnipiac Campaign (July 7-14, 1637)

On June 2, 1637, the Connecticut General Court authorized a second levy of troops to continue the war against the Pequot and Captain Mason was again put in command of a 30-man company.³² Five days later on June 7, 1637, Plymouth Colony declared war on the Pequot and planned to raise fifty men for land and sea service, but these forces were never deployed.³³ During this time Gardiner and his command shared Saybrook Fort with Captains Underhill and Patrick along with sixty Massachusetts Bay soldiers. There they awaited the arrival of Captain Israel Stoughton and an army of one hundred and twenty-men from Massachusetts Bay.

In the weeks following the destruction of Mistick Fort the remaining Pequot villages (estimated at 25 and upwards to 3,500 people) abandoned their territory for fear of additional attacks by the English. Sassacus and Mononotto, the remaining two chief sachems, elected to continue the war against the English and Narragansett. Sassacus, with five or six sachems and perhaps two hundred men, women, and children, made their way west along the Connecticut coast intending to seek refuge and support from their allies and tributaries to the west at Quinnipiac (New Haven), Cupheag (Stratford), Poquonnock (Bridgeport), Sasqua (Fairfield), and beyond to the Hudson River. Groups of Pequot made preparations to cross the Connecticut River a week or two after the Mistick

³¹ Mason, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 11

³² Trumbull, *Records of the Colony of Connecticut*. P. I:10.

³³ Bradford, *History of Plimmoth Plantation*. Pp. II:247-248.

Campaign to seek safety with tributary allies to the west on their journey to enlist the aid of the Mohawk (Albany, New York) against the English. Around the middle of June, Patrick reported the capture of “some Cannoes laden with all sorts of Indean howsell stuff passinge by the rivers mouth” which was interpreted by the English as evidence of Sassacus’ retreat. Around June 18, a shallop with three English soldiers sailing south towards Saybrook Fort was attacked in force by the Pequot at Six Mile Island.³⁴ After the Pequot killed the men and destroyed the vessel they continued to transport the rest of their people across the river.

The following day Captain Underhill and those men of his company “willing to returne to the Bay” departed Saybrook Fort after their three-month deployment.³⁵ Captain Patrick was left in command of Massachusetts Bay forces until the arrival of Israel Stoughton around June 21, 1637. On June 26, 1636, the Connecticut General Court authorized a third levy of ten additional troops, which may have been sent to Saybrook Fort or added to Mason’s Connecticut Company. It was further ordered that “Mr. Haine & Mr. Ludlowe shall goe to the mouth of the River to treat & Conclude wth o^r frendes of the Bay either to joine wth their forces in p^rsecutinge o^r design against o^r enemies or if they see cause by advise to interprise any Accon according to the force we have. And to parle wth the bay about o^r settinge downe in the Pequoitt Countrey.”³⁶ In a letter to Boston dated June 28, Stoughton noted that Ludlow, Mason, and thirty Connecticut men had arrived and that the combined forces planned to move against “Sasacos, and an other great Sagamore: Momomattuck.”³⁷

By late June 1637, the English Allied forces now consisted of approximately one hundred and sixty Massachusetts Bay soldiers, forty Connecticut troops, an undetermined number of Native allies, and at least three pinnaces and multiple shallops. For the remainder of the Pequot War, Saybrook Fort acted primarily as the gateway to the Connecticut River and possibly as a warehousing or staging area for Connecticut forces on their way to Pequot Harbor. No attacks were reported around the vicinity of Saybrook Fort since the shallop attack of June 17 as the Pequot had completely vacated the region

³⁴ Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers*. Pp. III:430-431.

³⁵ Underhill, *Newes from America*. P. 44; Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers*. Pp. III:430-431.

³⁶ Trumbull, *Records of the Colony of Connecticut*. P. I:10.

³⁷ Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers*. Pp. III:435-436.

and the English prepared for a second and final campaign against Sassacus and Mononotto's remaining men.

Massachusetts Bay quickly established a presence in Pequot country with Stoughton's large force fortified on the Niantic side of Pequot Harbor and took control of the English war effort. Between June 28 and July 10, English, Narragansett, and Mohegan forces marched through Pequot country in search of refugees or resistance. The Narragansett surrounded about one hundred Pequot in a swamp twelve miles north of the Possession House which Captain Stoughton then captured.³⁸ In early July, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut English forces organized another campaign against the retreating Pequot. The force consisted of one hundred and sixty Massachusetts Bay and forty Connecticut soldiers and an unknown number of Mohegan and River Indians. At this time the Narragansett and Massachusetts Indian Allies refused to send any fighting men as they were angry with how they were treated by their Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay allies. According to Roger Williams, the Narragansett did send two men as guides for the campaign.³⁹ The combined force embarked from Pequot Harbor, first sailing for Long Island in pursuit of Sassacus. English Allied forces landed on Long Island, west of Montauk, where they met with the sachems of the place. These people were likely Montauk Indians and were tributary and allied to the Pequot until the defeat of the Pequot at Mistick. These Native groups submitted to English authority and relayed that Sassacus was at Quinnipiac (New Haven).⁴⁰ According to Lion Gardiner, one of the sachems' sons, Wyandanch, and an unknown number of Long Island Indian warriors joined the English Allied forces and accompanied them on the campaign.⁴¹

With new intelligence received from the Montauk and others, the English Allied army sailed west to Quinnipiac. The following day, English Allied forces came to a harbor ten miles east of New Haven (Quinnipiac) Harbor, at present-day Guilford. There, four Native allies disembarked and captured several Pequot, two of whom were sachems. After an unsuccessful interrogation the sachems were executed and their heads placed in a tree on the neck of land where they were taken. The place name of "Sachem's Head"

³⁸ Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal*. P. I:225; Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 128.

³⁹ LaFantasie, *Correspondence of Roger Williams*. P. I:114.

⁴⁰ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 15; Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 128.

⁴¹ Gardiner, *Relation of the Pequot Warres*. P. 22.

still exists today.⁴² The next day the ships continued west to Quinnipiac Harbor where they were drawn to the sight of smoke from fires. Allied Native forces scouted the area and determined that the Natives there were “Connecticut (allied) Indians” and not Pequot.⁴³ They brought with them the son of a Quinnipiac sachem who promised to help the English locate any Pequot in the area but none were found.⁴⁴ The next day, skeptical English commanders determined to scout the area themselves and a company under Lieutenant Richard Davenport captured seven Pequot, one of whom was a sachem. One of the captives forced to serve as a guide for the English “directed them into quite contrary way, for which his life was deservedly taken from him.”⁴⁵

Finding few Pequot around Quinnipiac, English Allied forces made landfall west of the Housatonic River and continued their western advance towards Poquonnock (present-day Stratford and Bridgeport). At this time a captive Pequot named Luz, who had been taken earlier in Pequot country and had promised to work for the English if he and his family were spared, was sent out on foot to Sassacus.⁴⁶ It would be nearly a week before English commanders would hear back from him. While Luz searched for Sassacus, English Allied forces split their companies into smaller units in order to cover more ground and to pursue multiple groups of Pequot they encountered. Before long they encountered scattered groups of Pequot as they advanced west but it is unclear how much fighting may have occurred during the English Allied advance. Thomas Stanton indicated in a 1659 court testimony concerning lands conquered by the English during the war, that English forces “ded persue y^m y^e pequets” and “killed divers att *new haven* & att *Cupheag*,” Cupheag being the Native name for present-day Stratford, Connecticut.⁴⁷ If this is the case, then it appears there were some skirmishes fought between Pequot Allied and English Allied forces beginning at Quinnipiac. Stanton further mentioned that “onely one house or y^e carcass of one wee found att *milford* with out inhabitants att the Cutting of y^e Pequots.”⁴⁸

⁴² Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 129; Mather, “Anonymous,” *A Relation*. P. 49.

⁴³ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 15; Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers*. Pp. III:452.

⁴⁴ Mather, “Anonymous,” *A Relation*. P. 49.

⁴⁵ Mather, “Anonymous,” *A Relation*. P. 49.

⁴⁶ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 15; Mather, “Anonymous,” *A Relation*. P. 49; Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 129.

⁴⁷ Thomas Stanton, “1659 05 04 Testimony,” *Papers of William Samuel Johnson*. Connecticut Historical Society, Reel V, Volume III.

⁴⁸ Stanton, “1659 05 04 Testimony.”

During this time, the English spy Luz managed to find Sassacus and the largest group of Pequot in Sasqua country in present-day Fairfield. At some point Pequot leaders became suspicious of Luz who they believed to be a spy. Luz fled the camp with Pequot warriors in pursuit, but according to the Minister William Hubbard, “he accidentally met with a Canooe a little before turned adrift” which he used to paddle away and was picked up by an English vessel.⁴⁹ According to Captain Mason, the Anonymous account, and William Hubbard, it was Luz who then directed English commanders to proceed to Sasquanikut.

Upon receiving this new intelligence Mason recalled how English Allied forces “then hastened our March towards the Place where the Enemy was.”⁵⁰ The army was divided into two large companies of 60 Massachusetts Bay and 20 Connecticut troops each which allowed them to further subdivide into four 20 man companies each. This strategy was described by Captain Underhill when he explained how English commanders often split their forces in order to address the Native tactic of splitting up and fighting in small groups. Underhill commented:

I would not have the world wonder at the great number of Commanders to so few men, but know that the Indians fight farre differs from the Christian practise, for they most commonly divide themselves into small bodies, so that we are forced to neglect our usuall way and to subdivide our divisions to answer theirs, and not thinking it any disparagement, to any Captaine to go forth against an Enemy with a squadron of men taking the ground from the old & ancient practise when they chose Captaines of hundreds and Captaine of thousands, Captaines of fifties and Captaines of tens.⁵¹

On the morning of July 13, 1637, one large company of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Native troops under the command of Captain Patrick and Captain Mason encountered corn fields as they marched through Poquonnock. They cut them down, taking what corn they could and in the process they captured “a Pecott man very poore and weake” who told them of others nearby.⁵² Soon after, Allied Indians reported the cutting of wood in another direction, upon which English forces split their troops yet again.⁵³ Soldiers (40 Massachusetts Bay and 10 Connecticut) under the command of

⁴⁹ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 129.

⁵⁰ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 15.

⁵¹ Underhill, *Newes From America*. P. 4.

⁵² Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers*. P. III:453.

⁵³ Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers*. P. III:453.

Captain Traske marched towards the noise with their Native allies. Although the smaller company of 30 soldiers included 20 Massachusetts troops led by Captain Patrick and Lieutenant Davenport, Captain Mason was in overall command of the unit.

Mason's company continued to destroy cornfields until "several of the English espied some Indians, who fled from them" which the English closely pursued.⁵⁴ the mixed company of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Native forces crossed the Mill River in present-day Fairfield and climbed present day Mill Hill in Southport. Captain Mason recalled how the soldiers "coming to the Top of an Hill" were able to view the surrounding countryside and saw "several Wigwams" below them with "only a Swamp intervening, which was almost divided into two Parts."⁵⁵ According to Philip Vincent, this location was approximately "threescore miles beyond the Country (till within 36 miles of the Dutch plantations on Hudsons river)."⁵⁶

Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp (July 13-14, 1637)

The dwellings Mason saw to the south were part of a Sasqua village located immediately adjacent to a large wetland known by the local Native people as Munnacommock (roughly translated to "place of refuge" and known today as the Pequot Swamp).⁵⁷ In addition to the Sasqua Indians, there were several dozen Pequot warriors and over 80 Pequot and Sasqua non-combatants in the village as well as an unknown number of fighters from other local tribes still tributary to or allied with the Pequot, most notably the Poquonnock.⁵⁸ It appears that at the same time the English saw the village as they were descending Mill Hill, the Natives in the village saw the English. Once they realized the English were nearby, they made the decision to flee into the swamp for safety and to mount a defense. Not wanting to lose the element of surprise the English allied forces atop Mill Hill quickly descended south to engage the enemy below.

It appears the battle may have begun before the English reached the swamp. An unanticipated pattern of 50 musket balls in two lines running north-south was identified

⁵⁴ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 15.

⁵⁵ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 15.

⁵⁶ Vincent, *A True Relation*. P. 16.

⁵⁷ Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Volume IX, 5th Series. Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1885. P. 121.

⁵⁸ Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. P. IX:121.

along the southern exposure of Mill Hill approximately 0.5 miles (0.8 kilometers) from the summit of Mill Hill and 0.5 miles (0.8 kilometers) from Munnacommock Swamp (Figure 24). Mason provides only a brief description that might refer to this engagement:

We then hastened our March towards the Place [Munnacommock Swamp] where the Enemy was: And coming into a Corn Field, several of the English espyed some Indians, who fled from them: They pursued them; and coming to the Top of an Hill, saw several Wigwams just opposite, only a Swamp intervening.⁵⁹

The first soldiers to reach the swamp were under the command of Connecticut Sergeant Palmer who moved to “surround the smaller Part of the Swamp” while a group of Massachusetts Bay soldiers under Lieutenant Davenport headed directly to the village by charging into the swamp.⁶⁰ As the Massachusetts Bay men entered the swamp Lieutenant Davenport “overtook a man and a sachem Child” who he killed with his half pike. The men pushed further into the swamp until the last soldier in line, John Wedgwood, was shot in the stomach with an arrow and was captured by Pequot warriors. Davenport and three other soldiers turned to assist their comrade and were engaged by several warriors who shot at them with arrows.⁶¹ One soldier, Thomas Sherman, was shot in the neck and fell while Lieutenant Davenport was hit by fourteen arrows, two of which missed his chainmail armor and pierced his body. Davenport managed to kill or wound four of the attackers and saved Wedgwood in the process. The men were soon rescued by another group of Massachusetts Bay soldiers under Sergeant Riggs and the Native men broke off the fight.⁶² Soon after, the rest of the English Allied army arrived and surrounded the entire Munnacommock Swamp.

It was around 3 p.m. when the English commanders deliberated on how best to proceed with their siege and attack. Captains Patrick and Traske of Massachusetts Bay wanted to cut down the swamp using “Indian Hatchets” they had captured, but this was opposed. Others suggested that they palisade the entire swamp but this was considered unrealistic. Some believed that there was enough daylight left to charge the swamp but this too was rejected. Several of the English commanders considered tightening their lines around the swamp and sealing any open passages with brush to secure the swamp

⁵⁹ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War* P. 15.

⁶⁰ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 15.

⁶¹ Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers*. P. III:453.,

⁶² Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 129.

until the morning, but this course of action was not taken either. Captain Mason recalled that “so different were our Apprehensions” that the commanders could not agree on a course of action and some of the men simply “concluded the Indians would make an Escape in the Night.” In the end English Allied forces maintained their circumference of the swamp, but their soldiers and Native allies were spread thin which Mason only described as “keeping at a great distance” apart.⁶³

Around this time, now being the late afternoon, Thomas Stanton, interpreter for Connecticut forces, offered to speak to the Indians in the swamp to persuade non-Pequot people and Pequot women and children to surrender to the English. Mason wrote that the commanders believed the attempt would be too dangerous but Stanton persisted and was allowed to proceed.⁶⁴ Four Native men who were in the swamp at the time of the battle testified years later that Thomas Stanton “made a speech” and offered to spare the Sasqua and Poquonock Indians, and allow them land to live upon, if they surrendered. According to Quontoson, Tussawacombe, Winnepoge and Craucrecco,

Whilst in the swamp, Mr. Thomas Stanton being with the English made a speech, and told the Sasqua and Poquonock Indians that the Pequits were the English great enemies, and that, if they, the Sasqua and Poquonock Indians, would come forth and peaceably surrender themselves to the English mercy, they should have their lives. Whereupon they came forth and surrendered themselves, with wampum, skins, and their land. Then the English told them that they should have sufficient lands for themselves and theirs to live upon.⁶⁵

The negotiations took up to two hours and resulted in the mass surrender of non-combatants and many Sasqua and some Poquonock men. According to John Winthrop, at first “the sachem of the place came forth, and an old man or 2 and their wives and children” surrendered. By the end of the surrender nearly a hundred Pequot, Sasqua, and Poquonock Indians were taken captive and put under guard by English forces before being marched a half mile south to the harbor and awaiting English ships. Although some of these people may have been allowed to remain in their homelands, the vast majority were taken by the English to Boston where they were sold into slavery, some as far as the

⁶³ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 15.

⁶⁴ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 16.

⁶⁵ English and Native Testimony, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Volume IX, 5th Series. Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1885. 121.

Caribbean.⁶⁶ Winthrop mentioned that it was nearly night until all the surrenders had given themselves up. At that point the remaining Pequot and Pequot allied warriors declared that “they would selle their lives their, and so shott at him so thicke, as If he had not cried out, and been presently rescued, they had slaine him.”⁶⁷ The battle continued now that the surrender had finished and English forces understood they were now facing an unknown amount of determined Pequot allied defenders.

As the afternoon wore on English Allied forces engaged an undetermined number of Pequot men and their allies who fought back from the cover and protection of the swamp. The English estimated that they faced 70 or 80 warriors but were unsure of the total number.⁶⁸ According to Edward Johnson, the Pequot forces-maintained contact with the English “and as they saw opportunity they made shot with their Arrowes at the English.” When English troops returned fire on the warriors “then suddainly they would fall flat along the water to defend themselves from the retaliation of the Souldiers Muskets.”⁶⁹ The “Anonymous” account described how “the English beset the Swamp; and shot in upon them” but also mentions that in this engagement the Pequot shot back with their own firearms as “some of which were furnished with Guns.”⁷⁰

Edward Johnson described how “some of them spyed an Indian with a kettle at his back going more inwardly into the swamp, by which they perceived there was some place of firm land in the midst thereof, which caused them to make way for the passage of their Souldiers.”⁷¹ To tighten the siege Captain Mason ordered his troops to push through the narrow part of the swamp and the firm land described by Johnson, in order to cut the swamp in two which was accomplished by Sergeant Davis and his men.⁷² This was also done to more effectively surround it and contain the remaining defenders inside. Even with the shorter circumference, English forces were so stretched that the soldiers “stood but 12 or 14 foote asunder.”⁷³ According to Hubbard, after reducing the size of the siege

⁶⁶ All of those surrenders were sold into slavery either in the New England Colonies or to islands in the Caribbean. Pequot women and children of note in particular were sold into Caribbean slavery. Massachusetts Bay traders sent south to sell Indian captives often returned with African slaves. The African slave trade in New England is rooted in the Pequot War.

⁶⁷ Winthrop. *Winthrop Papers*. III:457.

⁶⁸ Mather, “Anonymous,” *A Relation*. P. 49.

⁶⁹ Johnson, *Wonderworking Providence*. P. 115.

⁷⁰ Mather, “Anonymous,” *A Relation*. P. 49.

⁷¹ Johnson, *Wonderworking Providence*. Pp. 115-116.

⁷² Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 15.

⁷³ Winthrop. *Winthrop Papers*. III:457.

“our souldiers standing at twelve foot distance could surround it.”⁷⁴ The battle continued overnight as the English tried to keep the remaining Pequot men hemmed in the swamp while Pequot allied fighters attempted to break through the English lines throughout the night. The English sources definitely indicate that the most intensive fighting occurred between the onset of darkness and dawn.

The following morning of July 14, under cover of fog, approximately sixty to eighty Pequot men broke through a section of the English lines and escaped. According to Mason, about “half an Hour before Day” Pequot allied forces in the swamp “attempted to break through Captain Patrick’s Quarters’ but were beaten back several times.” Pequot warriors began “making a great Noise, as their Manner is at such Times, it sounded round about our Leaguer.” The commotion and noise of combat was so loud that Captain Mason sent Sergeant Thomas Stares to see if Captain Patrick needed assistance. Captain Traske moved to reinforce Patrick which stretched English lines further. The fighting became so intense that the Connecticut companies “raised our Siege” and as they marched towards the fighting “at a Turning of the Swamp the Indians were forcing out upon us; but we sent them back by our small Shot.” As Mason’s company held their position at the point they were attacked, other Pequot forces “pressed violently upon Captain Patrick, breaking through his Quarters, and so escaped.” Mason estimated that there “were about sixty or seventy as we were informed.” In addition to those warriors who broke through the English lines, others were able to escape through the large gaps that opened in the English siege line.⁷⁵ English commanders attempted to pursue the retreating Pequot forces but were able to only engage a few. According to Hubbard “some of whom notwithstanding were killed in the pursuit” although it is unclear how many.⁷⁶ By daybreak the battle had ended.

English accounts of Pequot casualties differ, ranging from seven dead to as many as sixty.⁷⁷ The earliest, and possibly the most accurate, accounting of Pequot casualties comes from the “Anonymous” account which claims that a “Diligent search was the next day made in the Swamp for dead Indians, Not many, (as some have made Narration) but

⁷⁴ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 129.

⁷⁵ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. Pp. 15-16; Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. Pp. 130-131.

⁷⁶ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 129.

⁷⁷ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. Pp. 15-16; Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. Pp. 130-131.

seven, and no more could be found.”⁷⁸ Hubbard claims that some wounded Pequot allied warriors were encountered in the swamp, sitting together in circles, as if prepared for death and described how “many were killed in the Swamp like sullen dogs, that would rather in their self willedness and madness sit still to be shot through or cut in pieces, then receive their lives for the asking at the hand of those into whose power they were now fallen.”⁷⁹ Writing in 1677 Hubbard mentioned how English soldiers executed the wounded and noted that “some are yet living and worth of credit doe affirm, that in the morning entering in to the Swamp, they saw several heaps of them sitting close together, upon whom they discharged their pieces laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets at them, putting the muzzels of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them.”⁸⁰ As later narratives of the war were published in the decades that followed, the alleged Pequot body count following the battle became drastically inflated. The English suffered only a handful of wounded during the battle.⁸¹ Other than the casualties that were incurred by Lieutenant Davenport’s squad at the beginning of the battle, “Anonymous” reported that “although the Indians coming up close to our men, shot their Arrows thick upon them, as to pierce their hat brims, and their Sleeves, and Stockings, and other parts of their Cloaths, yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them, as that (excepting three that rashly ventured into the Swamp after them) not one of them was wounded.”⁸²

After the battle the English were informed that they had missed capturing Sassacus and other Pequot leaders by a day. Sassacus along with six other sachems, a few women, and a body guard of twenty men had left the main Pequot body at Quinnipiac after suspecting their kinsman Luz of spying. Sassacus’ group moved north along Housatonic River and west up the Ten Mile River into present-day eastern New York with the intention of seeking refuge in Mohawk territory. The Pequot were discovered by a contingent of Mahican or Mohawk warriors near the “Stone Church” in Dover Plains, New York. Sassacus’s party was surprised in their wigwams by their attackers. Sassacus was killed in the engagement and although some of the Pequot managed to escape, they were quickly found and executed. The Mohawk sent Sassacus’s head and hands to

⁷⁸ Mather, “Anonymous,” *A Relation*. P. 49.

⁷⁹ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 131.

⁸⁰ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 131.

⁸¹ Mather, “Anonymous,” *A Relation*. P. 49.

⁸² Mather, “Anonymous,” *A Relation*. P. 53.

Agawam (Springfield, MA) where they were sent downriver to Hartford before reaching Boston on August 5, 1637.⁸³ The death of Sassacus effectively ended Pequot resistance.

Treaty of Hartford (September 21, 1638)

The Pequot War ended where it began, on Block Island. On August 1, 1637, Stoughton, based in occupied Pequot country to pursue refugee bands of Pequot, sailed to Block Island with a small force to seek satisfaction from the Manisses. Stoughton and his men killed an unknown number of several Manisses and burned several wigwams before the Maniseans submitted to English authority.⁸⁴ The Treaty of Hartford was signed on September 21, 1638, between the English of Connecticut, and their Native allies during the war; some of whom include Uncas the Mohegan sachem, and the Narragansett sachem Miantonomi (Narragansett) along with English leaders John Haynes, Roger Ludlow, and Edward Hopkins.⁸⁵ Over the course of the war, hundreds of Pequot lost their lives; dozens of Pequot men and sachems were executed. Captured Pequot women and children were given to colonists as spoils of war or placed in captivity under other tribes who had pledged allegiance to the English while captives of high social standing were sold into slavery to English settlements in the Caribbean.

IV. Order of Battle, Weaponry, and Tactics

Pequot Order of Battle

Pequot Allied Forces at Munnacommock Swamp (July 13-14, 1637)

Pequot (Approximately 70-80)

Poquonnock (Unknown)

Sasqua (Unknown)

Noncombatants taken at Munnacommock Swamp 180-200

At the time of the Pequot War, the Pequot tribe could field approximately 1,000 fighting men, not counting those of their tributaries and allies. Following the English Allied victory at Mistick Fort the Pequot Confederacy of tributary tribes soon collapsed. The Pequot were not able to maintain political or military control over many of their

⁸³ Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers*. Pp. III:456, 490-491.

⁸⁴ Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal*. P. I:225.

⁸⁵ Connecticut State Library, RG001 Connecticut Archives: Indians. Series I 1647-1789, Volume II: 120a.

former tributaries such as the Wangunk and the Montauk. The closest of the Pequot allies, including the Western Niantic and several Nipmuc groups, remained military allies during this time but the ability for Pequot leaders to field large numbers of warriors was seriously diminished. The significant loss of several hundred warriors during the Battles of Mistick Fort and the English Withdrawal greatly impacted their ability to successfully prosecute the war either against the English or Narragansett. By early July 1637, it appears that Sassacus was only able to muster around 100 warriors during his trek west along the Connecticut Coast. Although Sassacus and his followers were able to rely on the hospitality and provisions from some western Connecticut allies, such as the Quinnipiac, Poquonnock, and Sasqua, those tribes do not seem to have contributed many fighting men to Sassacus' remaining forces.

Pequot Armament & Tactics

By the time of the Pequot-Dutch War (1634), the Pequot may have acquired some guns through trade from the Dutch and perhaps a few taken from Captain Stone and his crew. When the Pequot War commenced, the Pequot well understood the capabilities of European firearms and armor and the effectiveness of European battle formations against Native formations in the open field. The Pequot quickly adjusted their tactics to counter the superiority of English firearms and minimize European material advantages while maximizing their own tactics and weaponry. When the Pequot War began in late 1636, the English were quickly introduced to Native tactics that relied on small groups of men who stayed a sufficient distance from English firearms and only hazarded themselves in groups of ten to quickly shoot a volley of arrows. The Pequot also devised ways to get close enough to the English (while not injuring themselves) to fire their arrows with enough accuracy to find the weak spots in English armor – usually the head, neck, shoulders, arms, and legs. By using natural cover and camouflage from the local environment Pequot warriors would try to fire on English forces at close range, or draw them into an ambush, to ensure they hit unarmored portions of their targets. The Pequot employed a number of strategies to bring the English close enough to mitigate their superior long-range firepower including indirect attacks, ruses, feints, and ambushes.

The leadership structure and organization of individuals and units in the Pequot military system are not well understood. There are frequent references to groups of ten

Pequot shooting arrows and then falling back to make room for another group of ten bowmen.⁸⁶ This pattern suggests at the time of the war the basic unit of the Pequot military organization were groups of ten men, presumably with appropriate leadership at that level. When these smaller groups of ten were integrated into larger units, perhaps 50 to 100 men (or more), they were led by “Captains.” Captains were not sachems or men of high social standing, but individuals respected for their knowledge and leadership, as well as their bravery and success in battle. Above the Captain(s), it appears a sachem was in overall command of a large formation of warriors and often fought alongside his men in battle. The English mention two sachems killed at Mistick Fort on May 26, 1637. One was Momoho, the sachem of Mistick, and the second (unnamed) likely led the 100 to 150 warriors who were sent to Mistick the night before. Weinshauks, Sassacus’ fort, served as an important logistical and command location during the Battles of Mistick and the English Withdrawal.

Van Der Donck made the following observations regarding military structure, tactics, and combat among Natives living along the Hudson River which may be relevant to the demonstrated military experience and organization of the Pequot:

The principal order, authority, and structure of command of the Indians is revealed in time of war and matters pertaining to war, but it is not so firm that they can maintain platoons, companies, and regiments whenever they wish. They march in separate files and out of step, even when in their best formation. They attack furiously, are merciless in victory, and cunning in planning an assault. If it is a dangerous one, they operate by stealth, very quietly, and under cover of darkness. They will always attempt to ambush and deceive the enemy, but face to face on a plain or water they are not particularly combative and tend to flee in good time, unless they are besieged, when they fight stubbornly to the last man as long as they can stand up.⁸⁷

At the time of the Pequot War, Sassacus was the principle Pequot Sachem but the English were equally concerned about a sachem named Momomattuck.⁸⁸ Other military leaders were known as “Pniese.” These men were groomed for military leadership when they were very young, and often served as military advisors to the chief sachem. Edward Winslow, writing in 1623, described the Pniese he encountered in New England:

⁸⁶ One such instance was recorded by John Winthrop. See: Hosmer. *Winthrop's Journal*. P. I:191; John Underhill also alludes to such tactics. See: Underhill. *Newes From America*. Pp. 40-41.

⁸⁷ Van Der Donck, *New Netherland*. P. 100.

⁸⁸ Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal*. P. I: 228.

The pnieases are men of great courage and wisdom, and to those also the devil appeareth more familiarly than to others, and as we conceive, maketh covenant with them to preserve them from death by wounds with arrows, knives, hatchets, &c...yet they are known by their courage and boldness, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost an hundred men; for they account it death for whomsoever stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the sachim's council, without whom they will not war, or undertake any weighty business. In war their sachims, for their more safety, go in the midst of them. They are commonly men of the greatest stature and strength, and such as will endure most hardness, and yet are more discreet, courteous and humane in their carriages than any amongst them, scorning theft, lying and the like base dealings, and stand as much upon their reputation as any men.⁸⁹

Pequot tactics against English forces varied upon the situation, but it is evident that the Pequot modified their military tactics based on their combat experience against the Dutch and later the English during the Siege of Saybrook. By this time Pequot warriors had learned not to engage the Europeans in open field but learned to stay out of musket range (approximately 125-175 yards) until an opportunity presented itself through feint, ruse, or ambush to get close enough to the English to fire their arrows point blank (less than 30 yards), and with few exceptions in smaller groups of five to 15 warriors. This tactic presented the English with a smaller target and allowed the Pequot to maximize the effectiveness of their arrows. Pequot fighters used the terrain and cover to their advantage to observe the unsuspecting English before they attacked and generally remain out of musket range or pressed the attack so closely it negated the English advantage in firearms. The Pequot proved themselves very capable of launching organized close-range attacks on English forces in order to overpower slow-loading English musketeers. In any case, the Pequot tactics ranged from ambushes and sharp skirmishes to pitched battles at close quarters as described by an amazed Lieut. Gardiner who recalled Pequot adversaries who charged “to very muzzles of our pieces (muskets).”⁹⁰

Edged Weaponry: Pequot men were armed with a number of weapons. Most men carried edged weapons of various types to use in close-combat. Edged weapons known or presumed to have been used by the Pequot include iron knives, iron axes, and stone celts

⁸⁹ Edward Winslow, *Good Newes from New-England: a true relation of things very remarkable at the plantation of Plimoth in New England* (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1996). Pp. 62-63.

⁹⁰ Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers*. Pp. III: 381-382.

hafted in wooden handles. Edward Johnson described how “the most of them were armed also with a small Hatchet on a long handle” and also mentioned “they had a small number of Mawhawkes, Hammers, which are made of stone, having a long pike on the one side, and a hole in the handle, which they tie about their wrists.”⁹¹



Figure 4. Monolithic Axe collected in Branford, CT.

The type of weapon referred to by Johnson as “a small Hatchet on a long handle” is likely a European trade axe. The “Mowhawkes, Hammers” he describes are monolithic stone axes similar to the one collected in Branford, Connecticut (Figure 4). The axe is made from a Greywacke found in the Albany, New York area (Mohawk territory). Greywacke is a variety of metamorphosed sandstone characterized by its hardness, dark color, and poorly sorted angular grains. The form of the monolithic axe is derived from a hafted celt, commonly used as a woodworking tool or weapon of war. A number of monolithic axes have been recovered from Mississippian burial mounds, always in association with warriors of high social status. The monolithic axe recovered from Branford, Connecticut portrays several beings carved into the axe, a bird of prey for the handle, an owl facing away from the user and toward an enemy, and the image of a male/warrior facing the user. Five pieces of shell were at one time glued to each side of the axe, and two more into the eyes of the owl. The upper half of the axe was painted with vermillion, a brilliant Chinese red ochre mixed with mercury, a common trade item

⁹¹ Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*. P. 114.

in the seventeenth century. The vermillion indicates the object dates to the seventeenth century, and its provenience suggests it may be associated with the Pequot. If so, the axe was carried by someone of rank or standing, perhaps a sachem, war captain, or powwow (*i.e.*, a Native healer). Such signifiers of potential military rank or leadership may provide some insights into the military organization of the Pequot.⁹²

Pole Arm Weaponry: The Pequot used spears of varying lengths during the war resembling pikes or javelins. Vincent stated Pequot men carried “Javelins, &c.”⁹³ His reference to a javelin suggests a weapon thrown at the enemy. Thrusting spears were also carried by “Captains” and used in close-quarter combat.

Projectile Weaponry: The bow, with brass tipped arrows, was the primary weapon used by the Pequot in open battle. The earliest arrows described by the English at Plymouth “were headed with brass, others with hart’s horn, and others with eagles’ claws.”⁹⁴ By the time of the Pequot War, Native arrows tipped with brass points cut from sheet brass or brass kettles were used exclusively. Just before the English Allied Force departed Saybrook Fort to attack the Pequot, the English prevented a Dutch ship from trading with the Pequot because they might “go and trade with them our enemies, with such commodities as might be prejudicial unto us, and advantageous to them, as kettles, or the like, which make them Arrow heads.”⁹⁵

Brass points quickly replaced stone and bone points because they were likely easier to produce given sufficient supplies of raw materials, not because they had superior penetrating power. Several of the brass arrow points recovered from Mistick Fort were bent from impacting English armor or buff coats, something that would not happen to stone or bone/antler points although neither material would be able to penetrate iron armor or very thick buff coats.

The brass points used by Pequot bowmen were easily able to penetrate English clothing and would be stopped by heavy English buff coats which they could somewhat penetrate. They were completely ineffective against English iron armor. The brass arrow

⁹² See: *Site Identification and Documentation Plan* GA-2255-09-017 prepared for National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program: Kevin McBride, David Naumec, et al., *Battle of Mistick Fort: Site Identification and Documentation Plan* GA-2255-09-017 (Mashantucket, CT: 2009).

⁹³ Vincent, *A True Relation*. P. 4.

⁹⁴ Dwight B. Heath, Ed., *Mourt’s relation: a journal of the pilgrims at Plymouth* (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1963). P. 37.

⁹⁵ Underhill, *Newes From America*. P. 26.

points used by Native bowmen were of two types: flat, two dimensional triangular points, and rolled conical points. Within the flat group are many variations of triangular shape, with or without flared “barbs” at the base. The rolled conical points were generally six inches long and rolled to a fine, needle-like point and sometimes had three-dimensional “barbs” or flares at their base (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Conical and Flat Cuprous Points Recovered from the Mistick Fort Site.

The Algonquian bow was very effective at a distance of 20-40 yards, and had a maximum range of 120-150 yards if shot at a 45 degree angle.⁹⁶ A Native bowman could fire up to a dozen arrows a minute. The only surviving example of a southern New England bow was acquired by William Goodnough, an English farmer in Sudbury, Massachusetts, who killed the bow’s owner in 1660 for ransacking Goodnough’s house for plunder. The bow is now in the collections of Harvard University. The “Sudbury Bow” is made of hickory and is 67 inches long (5.6 feet).⁹⁷ No two bows were exactly alike as each one was made to match the height of the user. There are many English

⁹⁶ National Park Service, “History of Armour and Weapons Relevant to Jamestown,” Historic Jamestown, www.nps.gov/jame/historyculture/history-of-armour-and-weapons-relevant-to-jamestown.htm (Accessed January 1, 2010).

⁹⁷ Harvard Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology. Object # 95-20-10/49340.

references to the penetrating power and accuracy of Native bows. During the English attack on Block Island, one English captain “received a shot upon the breast of his Corslet, as if it had beene pushed with a pike, and if hee had not had it on, hee had lost his life.”⁹⁸ In an attack on Gardiner and some of his men during the Siege of Saybrook, Gardiner was wounded by a Native arrow through his buff coat, and “...the body of one man shot through, the arrow going in at the right side, the head sticking fast, half through a rib on the right side.” Gardiner “took out and cleansed it, and presumed to send to the Bay, because they had said that the arrows of the Indians were of no force.”⁹⁹

The Pequot and other Native people in southern New England began to acquire firearms from the Dutch years before the English arrived in the Connecticut Valley. During the siege of Saybrook Fort, the English reported the Pequot captured a number of guns from the soldiers and traders they killed at the fort and along the Connecticut River. The two Swaine girls captured at Wethersfield and brought to Pequot territory reported that the Pequot had 16 firearms. The figure may be a conservative estimate, as the girls counted only those firearms they encountered during their two-week stay in Pequot country. Interestingly, Edward Johnson stated the reason the Pequot took the two girls’ captive was in the hope they knew how to make gunpowder.¹⁰⁰ If true, it suggests the Pequot were familiar with firearms but found it difficult to procure gunpowder.

The Pequot began to use firearms with increasing regularity against the English during the siege of Saybrook Fort according to Lieutenant Gardiner:

the Indians are many hundreds of both sides the river and shoote at our Pinaces as they goe vp and downe; for they furnish the Indians with peeces powder and shot, and they come many times and shoot our owne pieces at vs, they have 3 from vs already, 5 of Capt: Stones one of Charles.¹⁰¹

The Pequot may have been very selective about the firearms they acquired through purchase or capture, preferring lighter carbines and muskets over heavier matchlocks, flintlocks, and “long guns.” In February 1637, Gardiner took ten men to burn “weeds, leaves and reeds, upon the neck of land” when they were attacked by numerous Pequot

⁹⁸ Underhill, *Newes From America*. P. 7.

⁹⁹ Gardiner, *Relation of the Pequot Warres*. Pp. 13-14.

¹⁰⁰ Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*. P. 117.

¹⁰¹ Winthrop, *Winthrop’s Journal*. P. III: 321.

hiding in the marshes. In their fighting retreat to Saybrook Fort, two of Gardiner's men threw away their firearms. Several days later Gardiner "found y^e guns y^t weare throune away."¹⁰² If the Pequot were interested in acquiring English firearms it is strange they would not have pick up discarded English firearms on ground they had won and controlled for a number of days. It may well be the firearms were rejected by the Pequot because they were unwieldy matchlocks or heavy flintlocks.

A 1640's description by Dutch colonist Adriaen Van Der Donck of the weapons used by Native men inhabiting the lower Hudson River Valley may have relevance to the weapons used during the Pequot War and insights into the evolution of Native arms and warfare during this period:

Their weapons used to be, always and everywhere, bow and arrow, a war club on the arm and, hanging from the shoulder, a shield big enough to cover the trunk up to the shoulders. They paint and make up their faces in such a manner that they are barely recognizable, even to those who know them well. Then they tie a strap or snakeskin around the head, fix a wolf's or a fox's tail upright on top, and stride imperiously like a peacock. Nowadays they make much use in their warfare of flintlock guns, which they learn to handle well, have a great liking for, and spare no money to buy in quantity at high prices from the Christians. With it they carry a light ax in place of the war club, and so they march off.¹⁰³

English Allied Order of Battle

English Allied Forces – Quinnipiac Campaign (July 7-14, 1637)

Approximately 150 English (20-30 Connecticut, 120 MA Bay),
Unknown Numbers of Native Allies

Massachusetts Bay (120 Soldiers)

Captain Patrick – Massachusetts Bay Commander

Mr. Wilson – Minister

Captain Patrick's Company (60 Soldiers)

Captain Traske's Company (60 Soldiers)

Lt. (Ensign) Davenport WIA

Sgt. Riggs

Sgt. Jeffery

Thomas Sherman WIA

John Wedgwood WIA

¹⁰² Gardiner, *Relation of the Pequot Warres*. P. 13.

¹⁰³ der Donck, "The Representation of New Netherland, 1650." Pp. 100-101.

Edward Shorthose WIA

Connecticut (20-30 Soldiers)

Captain Mason – CT Commander

Ludlow – CT Magistrate

Haynes – CT Magistrate

Thomas Stanton – Interpreter

John Gallop – Ship Captain

Captain Mason's Company (20-30 Soldiers)

Lt. Seeley

Sgt. Richard Olmstead

Sgt. Palmer

Sgt. Davis

Sgt. Thomas Stares/Starre

Thomas Tiball

John Dyer WIA

Thomas Stiles WIA

Allied Native Forces – (Unknown)

Long Island Indians (Sachem Wyandanch - Unknown)

Mohegan (Sachem Uncas, Guide – Jack Eatow, Unknown)

Narragansett (2 Guides – Wagonckwhut, Maunamoh)

Pequot (2 Guides – Wequash; Luz (Captive)

“River Indians” Eg: Suckiaug, Wangunk, Poquonnock, etc. (Unknown)

July 13, 1637 – English Allied Forces Battle of Munnacommock Swamp

Captain Mason's Company – 30 Soldiers Total: 20 Massachusetts Bay / 10 CT Captain

Mason – 10 Connecticut Soldiers

Mr. Ludlow

Sgt. Palmer

Captain Patrick – 20 MA Men

Lieutenant (Ensign) Davenport WIA

Sgt. Riggs

Sgt. Jeffries WIA?

Thomas Sherman WIA

John Wedgwood WIA

Edward Shorthose (Charlestown) WIA

Captain Traske's Company – 50 Soldiers Total: 40 Massachusetts Bay / 10 Connecticut

Captain Traske – 40 MA Men

Lieutenant Seeley – 10 Connecticut Soldiers

Captain Stoughton's Company – 80 Soldiers: 60MA/20CT

60 MA Men / 20 10 Connecticut Soldiers

Allied Native Forces – (Unknown)

Long Island Indians (Sachem Wyandanch - Unknown)

Mohegan (Sachem Uncas, Guide – Jack Eatow, Unknown)

Narragansett (2 Guides – Wagonckwhut, Maunamoh)

Pequot (2 Guides – Wequash; Luz (Captive)

“River Indians” Eg: Suckiaug, Wangunk, Poquonnock, etc. (Unknown)

English Allied Forces

Following the English Allied victories at the Battles of Mistick Fort and the English Withdrawal, the majority of the Connecticut army was demobilized and sent back home to their towns on the Connecticut River. In early June 1637 Captain Mason was in charge of a company of thirty men stationed at Saybrook Fort. Massachusetts Bay initially sent 40 soldiers under the command of Captain Stoughton to take control of the Pequot (Thames) River and Pequot Country in early June 1637. Stoughton’s men constructed a blockhouse on the western side of the river near the Western Niantic village of Nameag where he directed operations to track down Pequot communities still in the area. By mid-June Massachusetts Bay sent an additional 120 soldiers under the command of Captain Patrick to join up with Stoughton’s men on the Pequot River near present-day New London on the west side of the Thames (Pequot) River. Towards the end of the month the Connecticut General Court sent an additional ten men to join Mason making to full Connecticut companies of 20 men each under the command of Captain Mason and Lieutenant Seeley. When the Quinnipiac Campaign was organized it appears that the combined force consisted of approximately 120 Massachusetts Bay soldiers, 40 Connecticut troops, and an undetermined number of Native allies. The General Court sent two Connecticut Magistrates, John Haines and Roger Ludlow, to accompany the expedition as political liaisons with Massachusetts Bay and to report back to Hartford. A company of 20 Massachusetts Bay troops remained at the blockhouse near Nameag and Lieutenant Lion Gardiner had less than a company stationed at Saybrook Fort.

English Military Experience

The level of training and experience among the English forces who participated in the Quinnipiac Campaign varied from draftee to veteran soldier. An undetermined number of English settlers in the Connecticut River Valley and Massachusetts Bay (perhaps as many as 20-25%) had prior military service either in European wars, privateering in the Caribbean, or perhaps against the Powhatan Confederacy in Virginia.

Of the thousands of English settlers who had converged on New England between 1620 and 1636, a handful can be confirmed as having prior military service during the Thirty Years War in Europe. Although it is unclear how many English colonists in New England had prior military service in the lowlands of Europe, hundreds of English and Scots served in the Thirty Years War and later migrated to the colonies. Between 1629 and 1635, Puritan officials such as John Winthrop, John Davenport, and Hugh Peters actively sought veteran soldiers, armorers, artilleryists, and engineers for the defense of their Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut settlements. They were able to recruit veterans of the Low Country Wars in both England and the United Provinces.¹⁰⁴ All officers and non-commissioned officers in the Pequot War likely had prior military experience.

English Armament and Tactics

The first English colonists to settle Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts Bay, and later Connecticut provided themselves with modern European military equipment and weaponry. The organizers of the various English colonial ventures perceived threats from the Native inhabitants of the region, the Dutch in New Netherland (who laid claim to lands as far east as Narragansett Bay), and even the English Crown. Once the English established a presence in New England, they turned to building defensive fortifications and sought both ordnance and small arms to defend against indigenous and European threats. Plymouth Colony and Massachusetts initially trained their militias to defend against European foes by instructing men in the use of both the musket and pike, but colonial arms, armor, and tactics soon evolved to combat more immediate Native threats.

Colonial leadership went to different lengths to arm their respective colonies. The first English settlers from the Plymouth Company provided some matchlock arms and armor for their settlers. Even though Plymouth Colony provided some arms, colonial leaders began to rely less on public weapon stores and encouraged private individuals to purchase their arms. In 1621, Edward Winslow recommended the following to the prospective Plymouth immigrant: “Bring every man a musket or fowling piece. Let your piece be long in the barrel; and fear not the weight of it, for most of our shooting is from

¹⁰⁴ Henry C. Shelley, “John Underhill Captain of New England and New Netherland” in *Bulletin of the Underhill Society of America* October 1972 (Greenwich, CT: Underhill Society of America Education and Publishing Fund, 1972). Pp.28-29.

stands...Let your shot be most for big fowls, and bring store of powder and shot”¹⁰⁵ The fowling piece was a multifaceted arm which was effective in hunting and could also serve as a weapon. However, heavy long-barreled weapons quickly began to be replaced in favor of shorter barreled and lighter weapons such as carbines and bastard muskets which were easier to load and wield in the wooded terrain of the New World.

80 bastard musketts, wth snaphaunces, 4 foote in the barrill, without rests ;
06 longe fowlinge peeces wth muskett boare, 6 foote longe, ½;
4 longe fowlinge peeces, wth bastard musket boare, 5 1/2 foote longe;
10 full musketts, 4 foote barrill, wth matchcocks and rests;
90 bandeleeres, for the musketts, each wth bullett bag;
10 horne flasks, for the longe fowling peeces, to hould a 1 peece; &
100 swords x belts;
60 cosletts [corselets], & 60 pikes; 20 halffe pikes

As early as 1628 English colonists recognized the superiority of flintlock and lighter weapons over matchlock weapons but nonetheless continued to value matchlocks in certain circumstances.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony was settled nearly a decade after Plymouth Colony as a joint-stock venture, and the company took steps to purchase stores of public arms as indicated in the Massachusetts Bay charter: “it shall be lawfull and free” for individuals in “our realms or dominions whatsoever to take, leade, carry, and transport...armour, weapons, ordinance, municon, powder, shott...and all other things necessarie for the saide plantacon, and for their use and defence.”¹⁰⁶ Like Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay eventually placed the burden of obtaining arms and equipment on the settlers themselves as indicated in early General Court orders.

When Massachusetts Bay settlers began to migrate to the Connecticut River Valley around 1633, the arms and equipment they brought with them were no different than what the Puritans who arrived in New England brought with them. It does not appear that any public stores of weapons were distributed to those who removed to the newly established Connecticut River towns, the migrants being expected to furnish their own personal weapons and armor. On the other hand, the English fort at Saybrook Point was purposely built as a military installation. Gardiner did receive some military equipment in the form of a few pieces of ordnance from Boston in 1636 and may have received a

¹⁰⁵ Heath, Ed., *Mourt's relation*. P. 86; Peterson, “The Military Equipment of the Plymouth and Bay Colonies.” P. 203.

¹⁰⁶ Shurtleff, Ed., *Records of Massachusetts Bay*. Pp. I:13-14.

shipment of “two case of pistols, 6 carabines, and 10 half pickes” from George Fenwick, one of the Saybrook proprietors, in May 1636.¹⁰⁷ Some of the personal weapons and armor available at Saybrook Fort may have been privately supplied by the garrison itself or may have been additional public arms from Massachusetts Bay.

Some English settlers brought some of the most modern weapons and armor that they could afford while others purchased more antiquated arms. To the English settler and Puritan lawmaker the definition of “completely armed” by the time of the Pequot War meant being armed with both firearm and sword. The individual settler does not seem to have been expected to provide armor but nonetheless it appears that many individuals did bring some pieces of armor with them. The English forces from Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay and Saybrook Fort who took part in the Mistick Campaign were generally well armed and with a wide variety of arms and equipment, of civilian make as well as military.

Armor: During the mid-seventeenth century, European armor used in New England included an iron corselet (iron breast and backplate sometimes equipped with tassets to protect the upper legs in pikeman’s armor), a leather buff-coat (a thick leather jacket which provided protection against sword slashes and Native arrow fire) or “Jacks of plate” (small iron squares sewn between canvas or leather), and helmets.¹⁰⁸ The iron corselet was the heaviest of the armor and offered the most effective protection against Native arrow fire, but offered no protection against large caliber firearms. Perhaps more importantly, given the enemy the English were about to fight, armor limited the wearer’s maneuverability and speed. The corselet with a tassett was the armor issued to European pikemen. A complete set consisted of a breastplate, backplate, two tassets to protect the legs above the knee, a gorget to protect the neck, and a helmet.¹⁰⁹ This armor was commonly used by nearly all seventeenth century European armies, was easily acquired, and accompanied many English settlers to New England. Parts of this ensemble may have been discarded for the Mistick Campaign to save weight and gain maneuverability.

¹⁰⁷ Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers*. Pp. III: 260-262, 273-275.

¹⁰⁸ Harold L. Peterson, *Arms and Armor in Colonial America 1526 – 1783* (Mineola: Dover Publications Inc., 2000). Pp. 133 – 149; Beverly A. Straube, “Unfit for any modern service”? Arms and armour from James Fort” in *Post-Medieval Archaeology* Vol. 40, Issue 1 (2006). Pp. 36-47.

¹⁰⁹ David Blackmore, *Arms & Armour of the English Civil Wars* (London: Royal Armouries, 1990). P. 63; Peterson, *Arms and Armor in Colonial America*. Pp. 143.

Iron helmets were commonly carried by English settlers to New England and numerous forms manufactured by various European nations were widely available. Of the examples of seventeenth century iron helmets to survive in New England the most common forms of helmets are generally referred to as the pikeman's helmet, the trooper's helmet and the cabasett or morion. The pikeman's helmet was a standard issue piece of equipment which had a wide brim turned down on the sides, and when combined with the corslet constituted a completed set of pikeman's armor. The trooper's helmet, or horseman's helmet, consisted of an iron skull which covered most of the soldiers' head, with a neck guard running off the back of the skull and a pivoted visor often equipped with a barred face guard. Finally, the cabasett or morion in its most common form was shaped as a deep bowl with an elongated comb along the crest of the helmet with a broad brim turned down to the front and back to protect from sword blows. The cabasett or morion became a popular infantry helmet and saw service in the English colonies.¹¹⁰

The leather buff-coat was another common form of armor worn by English forces. This heavy leather coat was optimally worn under iron armor but alone a well-made buff coat was capable of absorbing a sword cut or slowing an arrow fired by a Native bowman. The drawback of the buff coat in Europe was its high cost due to the thickness of leather and the amount of workmanship involved in its construction.¹¹¹ Buff coats could have been produced in New England as well. There are numerous period accounts of English forces armed with buff coats during the Pequot War which saved the lives of many of the men who wore them. The use of "Jacks of plate" by Connecticut or Massachusetts Bay forces cannot be confirmed and the earliest reference to such a garment may be found in 1645 when the Connecticut General Court ordered that settlers obtain "a canvas coat quilted with cotton wool as defense against arrows."¹¹² Early on during the Pequot War it appears that some English settlers equipped themselves in a full corselet complete with tassets however, by the time of the Quinnipiac Campaign, English soldiers relied on breast and backplates while others chose to wear only a buff coat.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Blackmore, *Arms & Armour of the English Civil Wars*. Pp. 14-16; Peterson, *Arms and Armor in Colonial America*. Pp. 112-115, 134-140.

¹¹¹ Blackmore, *Arms & Armour of the English Civil Wars*. P. 63; Peterson, *Arms and Armor in Colonial America*. Pp. 133-135.

¹¹² Peterson, *Arms and Armor in Colonial America*. P. 143.

¹¹³ In his journal, John Winthrop described how one armored Saybrook soldier was shot in the leg and wounded. See: Hosmer. *Winthrop's Journal*. P. 191. Captain John Underhill also describes his twenty man

Edged Weaponry: It was commonplace for seventeenth century European soldiers to carry both swords and knives. All of the seventeenth century primary accounts of English forces during the Battle of Mistick Fort and subsequent engagements describe a heavy reliance on swords. A wide variety of European swords were brought to New England and they generally fall into three categories; rapiers, single-edged cutting swords, and double-edged broadswords. The main difference in the weapons is in the blade design. Daggers, knives, and early plug bayonets were likely carried by well-armed English settlers in New England. The dagger or knife remained a popular weapon, but by the time of the Pequot War hatchets may have become a practical substitute for some edged sidearms.¹¹⁴

Pole Arm Weaponry: English forces utilized pole arm weaponry during the Mistick Fort Campaign and later during the Quinnipiac Campaign, but not in large numbers as they did with firearm weaponry. The three main pole arms used by Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay forces were the pike (or half pike), the halberd, and the partisan. The pike was the longest of the pole arm and the typical European pike averaged between 15-18 feet in length, was made of a one-inch diameter ashwood pole which was fitted with sharp, iron pike head and an iron tip at the base. The pike head was fitted to the shaft by to long iron straps riveted to the wooded pole.¹¹⁵ At the time of the Pequot War, pikemen formed one third of Massachusetts Bay's militia forces. It is not known if any full pikes were carried by English forces but months later during the Quinnipiac Campaign Lieutenant Davenport of Massachusetts Bay mentioned that he was armed with a "halfe-pike" which was six to eight feet in length.¹¹⁶ Early in the war English colonists adopted the practice of cutting full pikes into half-pikes.

Both the halberd and partisan were not only effective pole weapons but were also used to signify non-commissioned ranks such as sergeants. The halberd was on average eight to eleven feet in length. It had an iron or brass cap on the base and was headed with a piece that resembled a cross between an axe head and a long pike, which was also attached with long, riveted iron straps. The partisan was of similar length with a flatter,

company as being "completely armed with Corslets..." which would contain a backplate, breastplate, and tassets. See: Underhill, *Newes From America*. P. 17.

¹¹⁴ Peterson, *Arms and Armor in Colonial America*. Pp. 87-89.

¹¹⁵ J.B. Kist, "A Commentary" in Jacob De Gheyn, *The Exercise of Armes* (New York: McGraw-Hill Books, 1971). Pp. 28, 34; Blackmore, *Arms & Armour of the English Civil Wars*. Pp. 75-76.

¹¹⁶ Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers*. Pp. III: 452-454.

spear shaped head, with two upturned flukes at the base of the blade which was designed to catch and cut the leather straps of a horseman's saddle. By the time of the English Civil War, partisans were carried by lieutenants. This practice is also reflected in the records of Massachusetts Bay which indicated the existence of "2 partizans, for capten & lieftenant."¹¹⁷ Like the half-pike, a halberd or partisan may have been a preferred pole arm due to the overall length of the weapons (8 to 11 feet), which could also be shortened based on the preference of the user.

Projectile Weaponry: It is well known that English forces relied heavily on firearm weaponry during the Quinnipiac Campaign, but it is not clear what types of firearms English forces carried and in what proportion. Based on both primary accounts and archeological evidence it can be determined that English forces carried matchlock, wheellock, and flintlock weapons. It can also be inferred with various degrees of confidence that a wide variety of firearms were carried by English Allied Forces, including full-sized muskets, caliver-sized weapons, fowling muskets, carbines, pistols, as well as other firearms shortened or otherwise modified by their owner. The firearms carried by English Allied forces varied in firing mechanism, country of manufacture, classification, overall length and caliber.

The majority of English settlers in the Connecticut River valley may have been armed with matchlock firearms as indicated in a March 1638 order from the General Court at Hartford. The Court ordered that "every military man is to have continually in his house in a readiness halfe a pounce of goode powder, 2lb of bullets sutable to his peece, one pounce of match if his peece be a match locke."¹¹⁸ This record indicates not only the presence of matchlocks but other types of firearms such as the snaphaunce or other early English flintlock designs, the dominant military arm in English colonies at the time. Colonial militias and soldiers are generally believed to have been primarily armed with matchlock arms prior to King Philips War (1675-1677), but this was clearly not the case in Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut. Based on the 1628 arms shipment to Massachusetts Bay, 80% of the firearms were flintlocks. Underhill's description of the

¹¹⁷ Blackmore, *Arms & Armour of the English Civil Wars*. P. 78; Shurtleff, Ed., *Records of Massachusetts Bay*. Pp. I: 26.

¹¹⁸ Trumbull, *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*. Pp. I: 15-16.

attack on Mistick Fort indicate both matchlock and snaphaunce arms were used, as well as musket and carbine length firearms:¹¹⁹

souldiers so unexpert in the use of their armes, should give so compleat a volley, as though the finger of God had touched both match and flint...having our swords in our right hand, our Carbins or Muskets in our left hand.

The pistol was considered a close-quarters weapon which would be able to hit an individual target up to 35 meters away, therefore was typically fired at close range, and it was also a common practice to load a pistol with two lead balls at once.¹²⁰ Pistols were popular weapons among settlers throughout the European colonies and were known to be carried by some English soldiers such as Lion Gardiner and John Underhill.

Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay soldiers were supplied with two types of ammunition: round ball and “small shot.” Since all firearms in the colonies were smoothbore weapons they proved versatile enough to accept these different ammunition loads. Round ball ammunition was a single round ball cast slightly smaller than the diameter of the musket bore while “small shot” consisted of small lead bullets or pellets analogous to modern day “buck shot.” Connecticut forces were ordered to carry 20 “bullets” and four pounds of shot, which would allow their musketeers to effectively fire at both distance targets or at point-blank range. A trained soldier could properly load and fire his arm once or twice per minute, but fouling from black powder residue would significantly reduce loading time in combat conditions. Measures could be taken to somewhat increase the rate of musket fire by carrying round ball ammunition in a soldiers mouth, by utilizing undersized ammunition to reduce friction while loading, or even avoiding use of the ramrod by dropping an undersized ball down the barrel and slamming the butt of the musket on the ground loosely seating the round. Even so, it would be difficult to fire more than two or three rounds a minute under combat conditions.

European regulations (such as those issued by the States General in 1599) claimed that muskets and calivers were designed to fire at ranges of up to 328 and 219 yards respectively but this likely referred to the maximum effective range of the weapons if

¹¹⁹ Underhill, *Newes From America*. P. 34.

¹²⁰ A pistol recovered at Jamestown was found to be loaded with two pistol balls. Straube, ““Unfitt for any modern service’?” P. 57.

fired at massed formation of men on an open European battlefield.¹²¹ English forces during the Pequot War did not fire at such great distances nor did they often have the chance to shoot at massed Native forces. It is unlikely that English forces accurately fired round ball ammunition out of smoothbore muskets at distances greater than 200 yards and most commonly fired at targets at about 100 – 130 yards. In good conditions all English smoothbore weapons, with the exception of pistols, could accurately hit a man sized target at a distance of 50-75 yards with round ball ammunition. Typically English forces had no choice but to engage more mobile Pequot warriors outside of smoothbore range (in excess of 100 yards) and often found it difficult to find their mark.

Small-shot ammunition loads were devastating at point-blank range (5-40 yards) but would have become increasingly ineffective at ranges beyond fifty yards. The actual amount of projectiles contained in a small-shot charge varied between individuals, but loads could range from a few carbine or pistol caliber balls (between two and three .48-.57 inch diameter balls), to ten or more smaller pellets (“small shot” or “swan-shot”) (.20-.40 inch diameter balls), or any combination of shot smaller than a full sized musket ball. Captain Mason described the use of small-shot by the men under their command when he clearly stated that his men “repayed” Pequot bowmen “with our small Shot.”¹²² Months later during the Quinnipiac Campaign, Mason recalled a point during the Battle of Munnacommock Swamp where “the Indians were forcing out upon us” and at that close range his men “sent them back by our small Shot.”¹²³

Tactics: The first action of the Pequot War occurred in August of 1636 as Captain John Endicott lead 100 Massachusetts Bay troops on a punitive expedition against Block Island and shortly after Pequot and Western Niantic villages on the Pequot [Thames] River.¹²⁴ During this first engagement of the war Endicott’s forces employed European derived tactics which reflected the training the soldiers received in Massachusetts Bay. As early as 1631 Massachusetts Bay required all men of military age to assemble on a monthly basis in the local “traine band” and were drilled in a European fashion. Two-thirds of the men in the three main Massachusetts Bay traine bands were trained as

¹²¹ Kist, “A Commentary.” Pp. 29-30.

¹²² Mason, *A Brief History of the Pequot War*. P. 9.

¹²³ Mason, *A Brief History of the Pequot War*. P. 17.

¹²⁴ Underhill claims 100 while Winthrop states 90. See: Underhill, *Newes From America*. P. 3.

musketeers and one third as pikemen.¹²⁵ Captain John Underhill, one of three captains, commanded a company of men throughout the Punitive Expedition and described an organized and well trained group of soldiers who attempted to use European tactics against the Manisceans, Pequot, and Western Niantic with little luck. Once on Block Island Underhill described how Massachusetts Bay commanders believed that the Manisceans “would stand it out with us” or fight the English formations in the open. When no attack was forthcoming the English established a temporary encampment and “set forth our Sentinels, and laid out our Pardues, wee betooke our selves to the guard, expecting hourelly they would fall upon us.” The English destroyed villages and skirmished with Maniscean forces but not being able to provoke a full-fledged engagement the English boarded their ships and proceeded on to Saybrook Fort and then the Pequot [Thames] River.¹²⁶

Early in the war, English commanders altered the typical European command structure in order to counter the Native tactic of splitting up and fighting in small groups. Underhill commented on this strategy in his narrative of the Pequot War:

I would not have the world wonder at the great number of Commanders to so few men, but know that the Indians fight farre differs from the Christian practise, for they most commonly divide themselves into small bodies, so that we are forced to neglect our usuall way and to subdivide our divisions to answer theirs, and not thinking it any disparagement, to any Captaine to go forth against an Enemy with a squaldron of men taking the ground from the old & ancient practise when they chose Captaines of hundreds and Captaine of thousands, Captaines of fifties and Captaines of tens: We conceive a Captaine signifieth the chiefe in way of Command of anybody committed to his charge for the time being whether of more or lesse, it makes no matter in power though in honour it doth.¹²⁷

At the time of Quinnipiac Campaign English forces were able to learn far more regarding the armament and strategies of Pequot forces, thanks the veteran Saybrook Fort garrison who had fought the Pequot throughout the Siege of Saybrook (September 1636-March 1637) and newly veteran English forces of the Mistick Campaign (May 19-28, 1637).

During the Quinnipiac Campaign English forces relied on tactics informed by English commanders who had learned valuable lessons since Endicott’s failed expedition

¹²⁵ Jack S. Radabaugh, “The Militia of Colonial Massachusetts” in *Military Affairs* (Volume 18, 1954). Pp. 1-3.

¹²⁶ Underhill, *Newes From America*. P. 7.

¹²⁷ Underhill, *Newes From America*. P. 4.

in August 1636. Increasing the number of officers in a company (two captains, two lieutenants, and several sergeants) allowed the main English force the flexibility to divide into smaller units whenever necessary, which occurred at different points of the battle. During the approach to Mistick Fort the English attack force of 77 men split into two separate companies commanded by Captain's Mason and Underhill. When each commander prepared to storm the entrances of Mistick Fort, they again split their companies and approximately twenty men from each group fought their way into the fort while the remaining men set up defensive positions along the perimeter. During the Quinnipiac Campaign, both Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay forces were able to effectively employ these tactics and divided their troops into twenty and ten man companies in order to track groups of Pequot as they marched west from Quinnipiac.

V. Methods, Site Identification & Documentation

Historical research for the Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp Identification and Documentation Plan studied the Quinnipiac Campaign in its entirety but focused specifically on the Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp in as much detail as possible.

Battlefield Survey

The discipline of Battlefield Archeology is concerned primarily with the identification and study of sites where conflict took place, and the archeological signature of the event. This requires information gathered from historical records associated with a battlefield including troop dispositions, numbers, and the order of battle (command structure, strength, and disposition of personnel, equipment, and units of an armed force during field operations), as well as undocumented evidence of an action or battle gathered from archeological investigations. The archeology of a battlefield allows battlefield archeologists to reconstruct the progress of a battle, assess the veracity of historical accounts of the battle, as well as fill in any gaps in the historical record. This is particularly important with respect to the battle as the historical record is often incomplete, inconsistent, and biased, particularly with respect to seventeenth century

sources. Battlefield archeology seeks to move beyond simple reconstruction of the battlefield event, and move toward a more dynamic interpretation of the battlefield.¹²⁸

The overall goal of battlefield surveys is to identify and document the historic and geographic extent of the battlefield through the recovery of battle-related objects, assess site integrity (as defined in *National Register Bulletin 40: Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields*), provide an overview of surviving resources, and assess short and long term threats to the integrity of the battlefield. Specific steps involved in this process include:

- Research the battlefield event(s);
- Develop a list of defining natural and cultural features associated with the battlefield;
- Conduct a visual reconnaissance of the battlefield;
- Locate, document, and photograph features;
- Map troop positions and features on a USGS topographic quadrangle;
- Define study and core engagement areas for each battlefield;
- Assess overall site integrity and threats

Analysis of Primary Sources

The first step to reconstruct a comprehensive military history of the Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp was to identify the various primary accounts that provided information on battlefield events or sites. Once these accounts were identified they were analyzed to assess the quality, veracity, relevancy, and significance of the material they contained. Very few primary sources survive which discuss the fighting but all three identified accounts were written at the time of the battle. These critical accounts were written by individuals who participated in the battle or by period historians who “interviewed” battle participants. Important considerations in assessing the veracity of individual accounts include: determining who the author was (battle participant or chronicler), why the account was written (*e.g.*, field report, history, Colonial records), how long following an engagement was the account written, and can the information in the account be corroborated by other records. The primary sources researched during the course of this study were “deconstructed” to identify all the defining terrain features of

¹²⁸ Richard Fox and Douglas Scott. “The Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern: An Example from the Custer Battlefield.” *Historical Archeology*, Vol. 25, No. 2: 92-103. 1991.

the Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp, battle events and movements, avenues of approach and retreat, and village sites.

A total of 15 primary and secondary sources directly reference the fighting that occurred following the Battle of Pequot Swamp, including Philip Vincent's *A relation of the Pequot War* (1637), John Underhill's *Newwes from America* (1637), and John Mason's *History of the Pequot War* (ca. 1660). These accounts along with additional period documentation were individually and collectively analyzed to gather information regarding battlefield features, locations, routes of approach and retreat, the ebb and flow of engagements, the movements of combatants across the battlefield landscape, tactics, weaponry, and specific individuals associated with a battle or action. Very few of the relevant accounts were contradictory and usually corresponded with one another. A combined analysis of all relevant accounts provided a much richer and complex narrative of the battle which assisted in refining the scope and scale of the battlefield study areas.

The historical record associated with the battlefield is used to construct a timeline of discrete battlefield events and material correlates or archeological signatures are then identified for each event. The expected archeological signatures can be used to inform and test hypotheses of unit actions and movements drawn from the historical record. It is often the case that the actual (recovered) archeological signature differs from the expected archeological signature necessitating a reevaluation or reinterpretation of the historic record. Using both Gross-Pattern and Dynamic-Pattern Battlefield Analyses, the spatial and temporal dimensions of a battle can be defined and reconstructed through the integration and continual assessment of the congruence of the historical and archeological record, a process based on the archeological correlates or signatures of individual and unit. In this ongoing process the historical record informs the archeological record as much as the archeological record informs the historical record and both contribute equally to the reconstruction of the battlefield.

The key to this analysis is the ability of battlefield archeologists to integrate the spatial dimensions of unit actions into a temporal framework. This does not necessarily require identification of aggregates of individual behaviors based on modern firearm analysis - the basis for the reconstruction of the Battle of Little Bighorn. The Dynamic Pattern Analysis approach can be applied to Pre-American Civil War battlefields (and non-rifled firearms) such as the Battle of Mistick Fort by focusing on hypothesized unit

actions and movements drawn from the historical record and identifying potentially unique material culture signatures that would be associated with the English Allied and Pequot-allied forces. Actions and movements of the various units can be clarified based on the battlefield time line (sequential unit actions and movements) and KOCO analysis, and integrated into a comprehensive sequence of battlefield actions and events.

The Battlefield Boundary and Core Area locations were identified by integrating information from the following sources: primary accounts, local oral history, local artifact collections, land records, historical maps, aerial photographs, site visits and KOCO analysis. The precise location and delineation of battlefields and associated sites required fieldwork to better assess battlefield features, terrain and integrity. Archeological surveys (walkover reconnaissance surveys, metal detector survey, sub-surface testing) were particularly important to locate and delineate the seventeenth century battlefields as the documents associated with the battle often lack detail, are incomplete, and sometimes contradictory.

Field Methodology

Landholder Permission

The first step to gain landholder permissions was to hold public informational meetings, send letters and brochures, and make phone calls. Mailings and information meetings achieved great success in acquiring landholder permissions. Project staff focused on cultivating relationships and seeking permissions with particular landholders; the landholders whose property staff believed were located within or adjacent to the battlefield site. Consequently, the strategy that was implemented consisted of holding regular meetings with reluctant landholders to update them on the overall progress of the project, and discuss any ongoing concerns they still had. Permissions were cultivated primarily through personal contact and relationship building, as conversation and communication became frequent and tangible between project staff and local residents.

Visual Inspection

Once landholder permission was granted, a visual inspection followed. Windshield surveys were conducted on properties where permission had not yet been granted as well as initial visual surveys from areas where viewing was possible (*i.e.*, adjoining property, higher elevation, etc.). Visual inspections of individual lots consisted

of a walkover of the property with the landholder to gain information on the locations of possible below-ground disturbance (*i.e.*, septic systems, utility lines), and noting landscape features that had either physical or cultural attributes that denoted possible inferences to the battlefield. These discussions with landowners were helpful in reconstructing recent land use history as a means of contextualizing the nature and distribution of the artifacts recovered during the project.

Land Use Research

Battlefields of the seventeenth century in New England like those of the Pequot War are unlike any other battlefields in American history. Compared to many American Revolutionary War or Civil War battlefields, there are far more post-event artifacts dating to the later seventeenth through twentieth centuries. Therefore, a land use study was employed as a frame of reference for interpreting the varied artifacts anticipated during fieldwork associated with human occupation and activities over the past 375 years. Peeling back the layers of habitation and varied land use is important to understand and predict the relevance and significance of artifacts signatures and contexts, and to assess site integrity.

Information for the land use study was collected from deeds, town records, historical newspapers, maps, photographs, local histories, books and other various periodicals, oral history and local knowledge, and previous artifact collections from the local area. Results uncovered a light but consistent pattern of landscape occupation in the centuries following the battle (Appendix A).

KOCOA Evaluation and Analysis

The United States military has developed a process for evaluating the military significance of the battlefield denoted by the acronym KOCOA; Key and Decisive Terrain, Observation and Fields of Fire, Cover and Concealment, Obstacles, Avenues of Approach and Retreat. The NPS ABPP requires the KOCOA approach for all documentation and implementation grants. An important aspect of KOCOA analysis is to identify defining features of the battlefield landscape – aspects of the landscape that are mentioned in battlefield accounts and influenced the nature and progress of the battle. Defining features may be natural (*e.g.*, Mill River, swamps, boulders, ridges) or cultural

(e.g., Sasqua Village, roads/paths) and are assessed and evaluated to determine their effect on the process and outcome of the battle. Critical defining features are mapped using GPS and GIS, and surveyed using remote sensing (metal detection and electrical resistivity), and archeological testing and excavation.

Prospective battlefield and ancillary site locations were identified by analyzing and integrating information from the following sources; primary accounts, local oral history, local and institutional artifact collections, land records, historical maps, aerial photographs, site visits, archeological excavation and KOCO A analysis. Battlefield landscapes consist of natural features (hills, streams, valleys, etc.) and cultural features (trails, fortifications, villages, etc.) that define the original battlefield landscape and also reflect the evolution of these features over time and their impacts to the original landscape. In order to identify, document, survey and map a battlefield, historians and archeologists must research all available and relevant historical accounts and identify the historic landscape that defined the battlefield in the field through terrain analysis and identification of natural and cultural features associated with the battlefield.

Terrain Analysis

Terrain analysis is a critical aspect of battlefield surveys, so much so that the NPS ABPP require all grant recipients to use KOCO A (Key terrain, Observation, Cover and concealment, Obstacles, Avenues of approach), a military terrain model the U.S. Army developed to evaluate the military significance of terrain associated with a battlefield. By studying the military applications of the terrain using KOCO A, a battlefield historian or archeologist can identify the landscape of the battlefield and develop a basis for judging the merits and flaws of battle accounts. KOCO A components include:

Key Terrain and Decisive Terrain - Key Terrain is any ground which, when controlled, affords a marked advantage to either combatant. Two factors can make terrain key: how a commander wants to use it, and whether his enemy can use it to defeat the commander's forces. Decisive Terrain is ground that must be controlled in order to successfully accomplish the mission.

Observation and Fields of Fire - Observation is the condition of weather and terrain that allows a force to see friendly and enemy forces, and key aspects of the terrain. Fields of Fire are areas where weapons may be covered and fire into from a given position.

Cover and Concealment - Cover is protection from enemy fire (*e.g.*, palisade, stone wall, brow of a hill, wooded swamp), and Concealment is protection from observation and surveillance (*e.g.*, ravines, swamps, intervening hill or wood).

Obstacles - Obstacles are any features that prevent, restrict, or delay troop movements. Obstacles can be natural, manmade, or a combination of both and fall into two categories: existing (such as swamps, rivers, dense wood, town or village) and reinforcing (placed on a battlefield through military effort).

Avenues of Approach and Withdrawal - An avenue of approach is the route taken by a force that leads to its objective or to key terrain in its path. An Avenue of Withdrawal is the route taken by a force to withdraw from an objective or key terrain.

Table 1: Key Terrain Features & KOCO Analysis

| Name | Location | Relevance to Battle | Field Comment | KOCO Analysis | Integrity Assessment | Remarks |
|---|---------------------------|--|--|---|--|-----------------------------|
| Terrain and Topographical Features | | | | | | |
| Mill River | Present day Southport, CT | English Allied forces pursued fleeing Pequot across the Mill River. Immediately west of the river is the steep eastern slope of Mill Hill. | Moderate Residential; Low Industrial; Public Roads & Bridges; Highway; Moderate Woodland | Obstacle, Avenue of Approach Pequot & English | Moderate Residential Development, Woodland | Within Battlefield Boundary |
| Mill Hill | Present day Southport, CT | English Allied forces climbed to the heights of Mill Hill in pursuit of fleeing Pequot and for a better viewshed of the surrounding countryside. From there they identified a Native village below near a swamp. | Dense Residential; Public Roads; Moderate Woodland | Key Terrain, Observation, Obstacle, Avenue of Approach Pequot & English | Moderate Residential Development, Woodland | Within Battlefield Boundary |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|--|--|---|---|------------------|
| Munnacommock Swamp | Present day Southport, CT | Pequot Allied forces and local Native groups sought shelter in the swamp while warriors mounted a defense against their attackers. | Heavily Developed; Dense Residential; Dense Commercial; Public Roads; Highway | Key Terrain, Observation, Obstacle, Avenue of Approach Pequot & English | High Residential Development, High Commercial Development, Woodland, Open Space | Within Core Area |
| Sasqua River | Present day Southport, CT | The Sasqua Village and swamp lay east of the Sasqua River. Any Pequot warriors retreating to the west would cross the river. | Moderate Residential; Low Industrial; Public Roads & Bridges; Highway; Moderate Woodland | Obstacle | Moderate Residential Development, Woodland | Within Core Area |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | |
| Sasqua Village | Present day Southport, CT | The Sasqua Village was located to the east of the Sasqua River and was near Munnacommock Swamp. It is unclear how large the village was or how many structures it contained. | Dense Residential; Public Roads; Moderate Woodland | Key Terrain, Cover and Concealment, Observation | Moderate Residential Development, Woodland | Within Core Area |

Viewshed Analysis

A number of Viewshed Models were developed using elements of KOCOAA and GIS. Identified cultural and terrain features were geo-referenced and integrated into cumulative Viewshed Models. A Viewshed is a raster-based map in which from each cell, a straight line is interpolated between a source point and all other cells within an elevation model to find whether or not the cell exceeds the height of the three-dimensional line at that point. Therefore, the result of each calculation is either positive or negative. If the result is positive (1) then there is a direct line of sight, if it is negative (0), there is no line of sight.¹²⁹ The resultant Viewshed Models illustrate locations that could be seen from elevations at different locations on the Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp site modeling what locations the combatants could see from these positions and how this might influence their actions. These models were very useful for conceptualizing the battlefield landscape and identifying key terrain, avenues of approach and retreat, obstacles and areas of concealment and observation.

¹²⁹ David Wheatley and Mark Gillings. *Spatial Technology and Archaeology: The Archaeological Applications of GIS* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, 2002).

The key to this analysis was locating the avenue of approach used by the English and the location of the Sasqua village. The spatial relationship between these two and the swamp was expressed by Mason:

They pursued them; and coming to the Top of an Hill, saw several *Wigwams* just opposite, only a *Swamp* intervening, which was almost divided in two Parts.¹³⁰

It appears the Pequot and Sasqua fled into a swamp soon after Mason could see the village below. This suggest that Natives within the village could also see English forces now positioned “Top of an Hill” as referred to by Mason:

...a small *Indian* town seated by the side of an hideous Swamp (near the place where *Fairfield* or *Stratford* now stand) into which they all slipt as well *Pequods* as natives of the place, before our men could make any shot upon them, having placed a sentinel to give warning.¹³¹

...and after 2 miles march we came where they were and suddenly coming to the place their wigwams being upon the edge of the swamp as soon as ever they saw us they took the swamp, it pleased god it was not very great, and our Company did surround it.¹³²

Least-cost pathways and cost distances (both raster-based derivatives of cost surfaces) were also developed in order to understand the path of least resistance for the English Allied forces route of march once crossing Mill River. In the production of a least cost pathway and cost distance, a “cost surface algorithm” is developed, usually based off slope data and barrier data, the most common obstruction being water features (*i.e.*, swamps, rivers). A cost surface is a modification to a continuous proximity product that measures both proximity and the character of the terrain over which that proximity extends (*i.e.*, slope, ledges). Cost or friction surfaces are algorithms designed to model the amount of energy that must be expended to move across a surface (*i.e.*, rate of march possible).¹³³ Using cost analysis, probable routes of travel across terrain were modeled.

Figures 7-13 present various scenarios regarding the position of the English when they initially spotted the Sasqua village on the far side of Munnacommock Swamp from a location on “top of the hill [Mill Hill]” (Figure 6). Figures 13-14 present two scenarios regarding the possible locations of the Sasqua village based on Davenport’s account that

¹³⁰ Mason in Prince *Brief History of the Pequot War*. P. 15.

¹³¹ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 130.

¹³² *Winthrop Papers*. P. III:454.

¹³³ Wheatley and Gillings. *Spatial Technology and Archaeology*.

the Pequot and Sasqua spotted the English at the same time they were observed “as soon as ever they saw us they took the swamp”. Based on this analysis it appears that the English were not on the very summit of Mill Hill when they initially saw the village (Figures 6 and 7) but were at slightly lower elevations as depicted in Figures 8-12. The locations of the English depicted in Figures 11 and 12 appear to be the best vantage point from which to see the entire area on the western and southwestern side of the swamp but the location in Figure 8 cannot be ruled out. The English position depicted in Figure 12 has a good view of the western and southern side of the swamp but is so close to the swamp it the English would likely have been spotted well in advance.

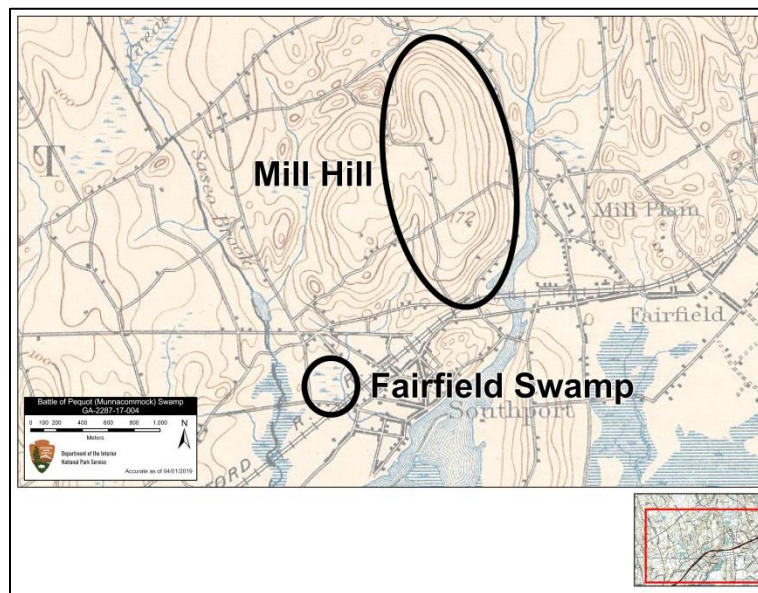


Figure 6. USGS Map 1893.

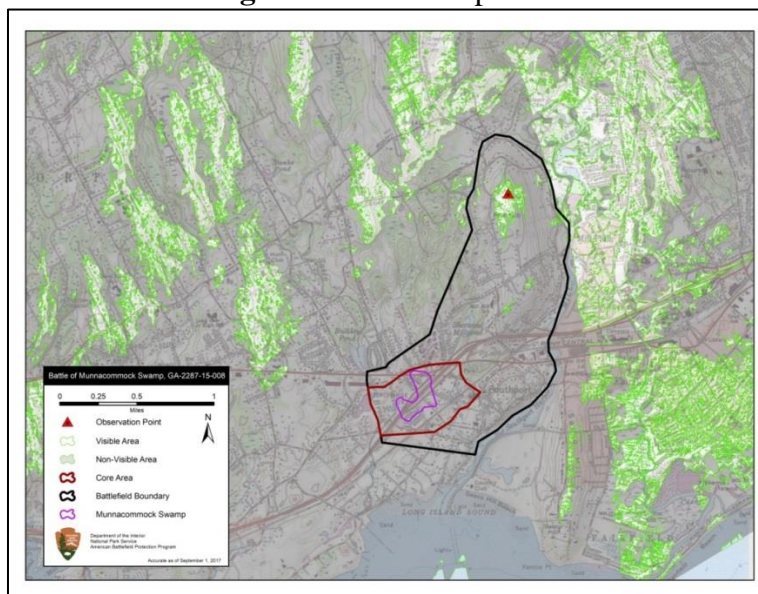


Figure 7. Viewshed from Top of Mill Hill

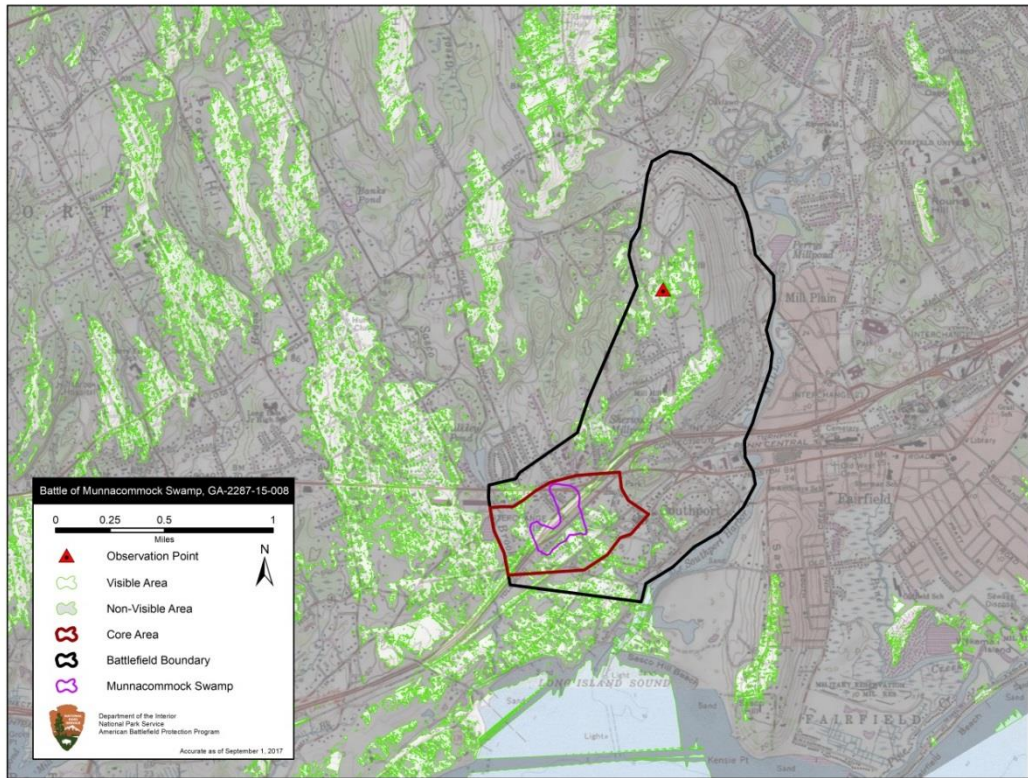


Figure 8. Viewshed from Lower Elevation Southwest of Mill Hill Summit.

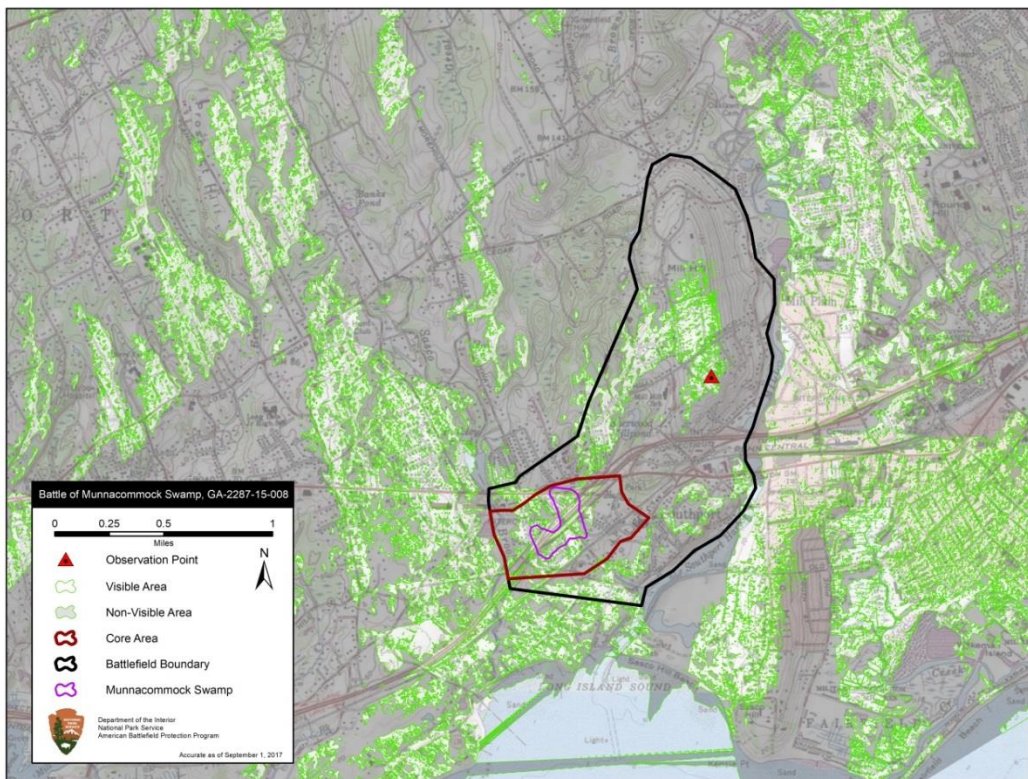


Figure 9. Viewshed from Lower Elevation on Mill Hill South of Summit.

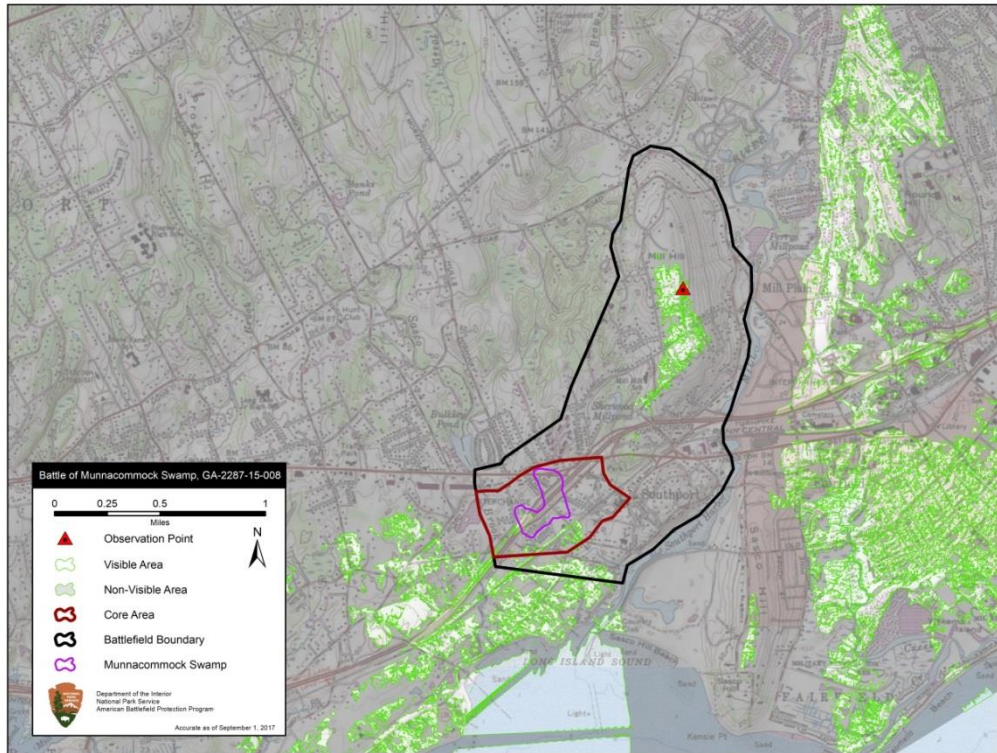


Figure 10. Viewshed Southwest of Mill Hill Summit.

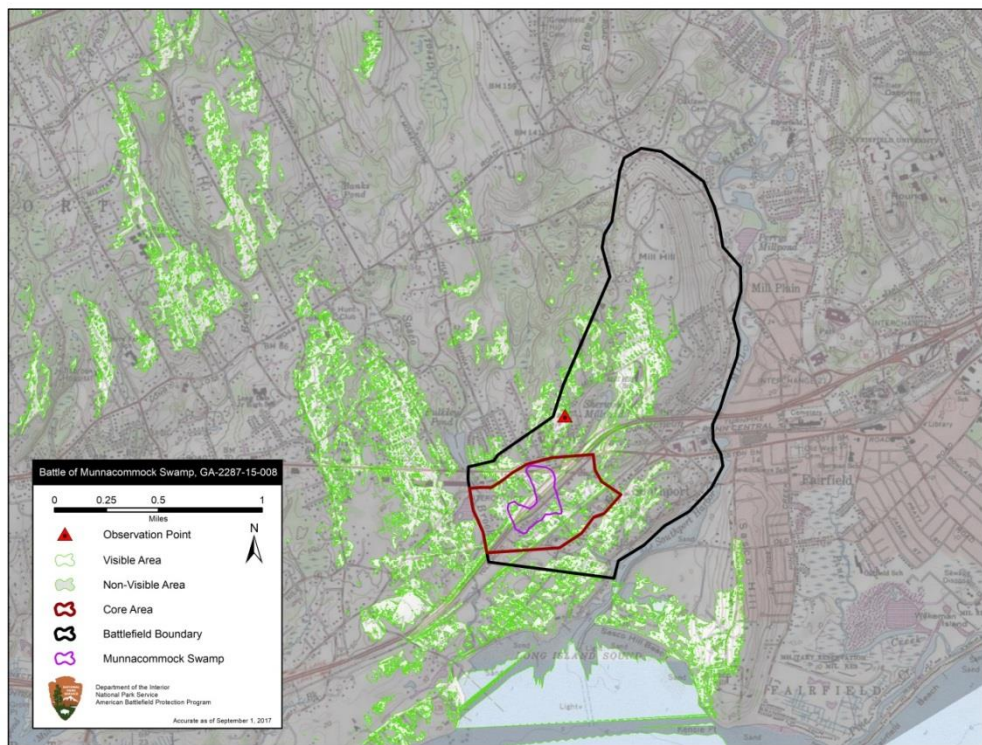


Figure 11. Viewshed from Southernmost Elevation.

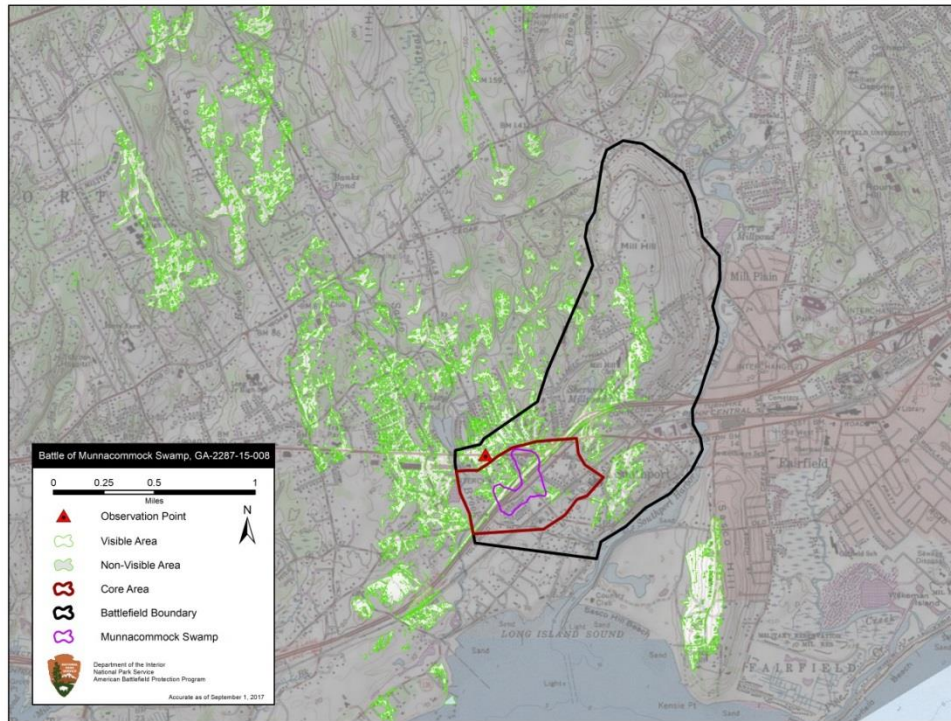


Figure 12. Viewshed from Sasqua Village Location Northwest Corner of Fairfield Swamp.

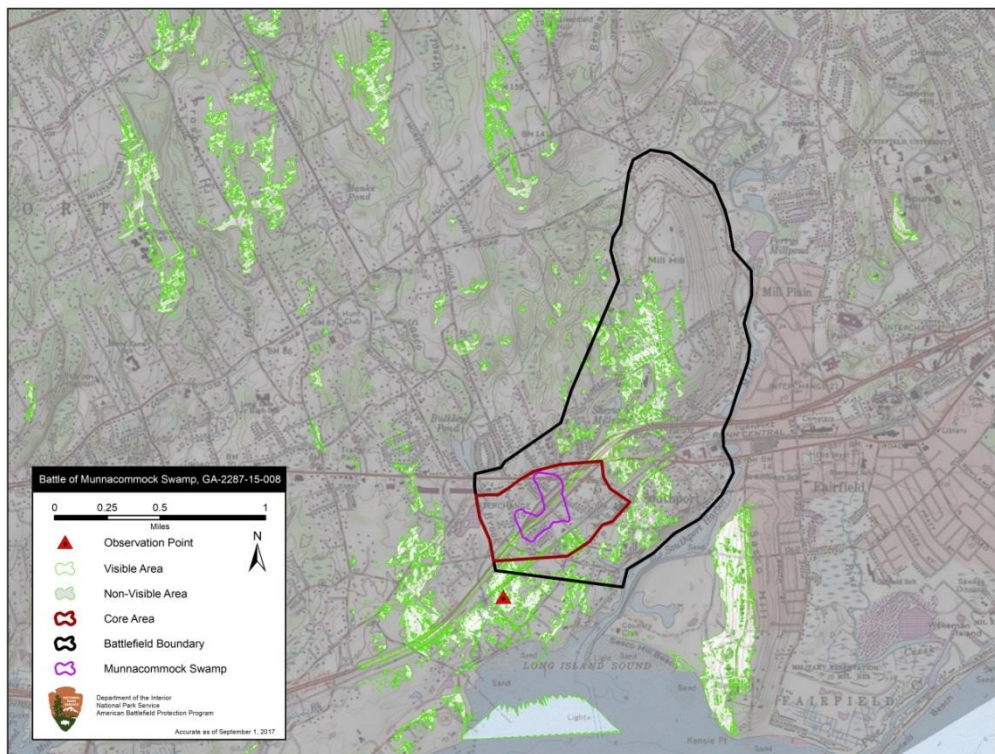


Figure 13. Viewshed from Sasqua Village Southwest Corner of Fairfield Swamp.

VI. Results and Battlefield Event Synthesis

Battle Narrative and Sequence

Constructing a narrative for the Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp prior to the archeological survey consisted of a synthesis of historical research, material culture analyses, and a cultural landscape study. Findings indicate that fighting between English Allied forces and Pequot Allied forces occurred sporadically between the time the English made landfall at Quinnipiac (present-day New Haven) and their advance towards Pequannock (present-day Bridgeport). For the purpose of this study, the Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp begins on the afternoon of July 13, 1627 at the present-day Mill River in Sasqua territory as English Allied forces climb Mill Hill in pursuit of Pequot and visually identify a village near a swamp to their south. The first action of the battle occurred after the English crossed the Mill River and ascended the east slope of Mill Hill:

We then hastened our March towards the Place where the Enemy was:
And coming into a Corn Field, several of the English espyed some
Indians, who fled from them: They pursued them; and coming to the Top
of an Hill, saw several Wigwams just opposite, only a Swamp intervening,
which was almost divided in two Parts.¹³⁴

This brief passage indicates that the English encountered an unknown number of unidentified Native people near a cornfield at or near the summit of Mill Hill, probably around noon. Whether the Natives Pequot or Sasqua, or whether they were non-combatants gathering food stores or were combatants there to gather intelligence on the approaching English, a blocking or delaying force, or both is unknown. Mason clearly indicates the English pursued the group for a distance and then saw the village somewhere on the west side of the intervening swamp. Although Mason does not mention firing upon the Natives, the unexpected distribution of musket balls recovered **between 0.9-1.0 miles (1.4-1.6 kilometers)** from the summit of Mill Hill indicates that he did. The viewshed analysis indicates the ‘top of the hill’ mentioned by Mason was likely not the summit of Mill Hill but likely one of the smaller west-facing terraces or hills at the lower elevations of Mill Hill. The southwest face of Mill Hill is characterized by a series of slopes and intervening terraces or small hills which extend for a mile from the summit of Mill Hill.

¹³⁴ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*, P. 15.

(Figure 21). The distance from the distribution of musket balls on Mill Hill to the eastern edge of Munnacommock Swamp is approximately 0.3 miles (0.5 kilometers). If so, this pattern suggests that Mason (and the rest of the English) may have forded the Mill River well south of the summit of Mill Hill or they traveled some distance from the summit southwest until they encountered the cornfield and group of Natives

Although it is unclear how far English forces pursued the fleeing Natives down the southwest slope of Mill Hill heading toward the swamp. It appears that fighting around the swamp commenced shortly after Pequot Allied forces and Native non-combatants fled into Munnacommock Swamp from the village along the western quadrant of the swamp. Two companies of English soldiers coming up behind Mason's men advanced quickly to the swamp and combat intensified as additional English troops arrived on the scene. There was an apparent lull in the fighting as the English and Natives parlayed and negotiated a surrender of non-combatants in the late afternoon. Fighting commenced immediately after the parley and continued through the night and into the early morning of July 14, 1637. Just before daybreak Pequot Allied forces attacked one section of the English Allied siege line which succeeded in drawing English troops towards the fighting, opening large gaps in the siege line through which the majority of their forces escaped. The battle ended the morning of July 14, 1637 around daybreak as English Allied forces lift their siege of Munnacommock Swamp in order to pursue retreating Pequot Allied forces.

Timeline

A detailed analysis and reconstruction of the sequence of events, movements and actions associated with the Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp suggests the battlefield timeline presented in Table 2. These events, movements and actions were assumed to have a unique archeological signature across time and space. The sequencing of historical events will assist in a future battlefield survey in modeling and anticipating archeological signatures and potential material culture that may be encountered.

Table 2: Battlefield Event Timeline of Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp

| Sequence and Phase of Battle | Action | Unit & No. of Combatants | Location | Time & Duration | Primary Resource | Anticipated Archeological Signature |
|------------------------------|--|--|---|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| Phase 1 | Crossing Mill River and climbing Mill Hill | Unknown Pequot Allied Non-Combatants and Warriors. Approx. 20 English Soldiers and Unknown Native Allies | Mill River and Mill Hill, Southport, CT | July 13, 1637; Approx. 12:00-12:30 pm | The precise location and time of the crossing by Mason and subsequent units of the English is difficult to determine but can be estimated based on Sequence 1 and 2. | Low. Dropped English and Native personal items, clothing items. |
| Phase 2 | Action 1 encounter with Natives near cornfield | Mason's group of 10 soldiers | Corn field somewhere south of summit of Mill Hill | July 13, 1637; Approx. 12:30-1:30 | We then hastened our March towards the Place where the Enemy was; And coming into a Corn Field, several of the English espied some Indians, who fled from them: They pursued them; | If they pursued and engaged the natives (as it appears they did) a moderate distribution of musket balls |
| Phase 3 | Descending Mill Hill to Munnacommock observing terrain, Native village, Native movements and planning deployment | Unknown Pequot Allied Non-Combatants and Warriors. Approx. 20 English Soldiers and Unknown Native Allies | Mill Hill, Southport, CT | July 13, 1637; Approx. 12:30-1:00 pm | and coming to the Top of an Hill, saw several <i>Wigwams</i> just opposite, only a <i>Swamp</i> intervening, which was almost divided in two Parts. ¹³⁵ ...a small <i>Indian</i> town seated by the side of an hideous Swamp (near the place where <i>Fairfield</i> or <i>Stratford</i> now stand) into which they all slipt as well <i>Pequods</i> as natives of the place, before our men could make any shot upon them, having placed a sentinel to give warning. ¹³⁶ ...and after 2 miles march we came where they were and suddenly coming to the place their wigwams being upon the edge of the swamp as soon as ever they saw us they took the swamp. | Low. Dropped English and Native personal items, clothing items. |
| Phase 4 | Deployment of English units to surround the swamp. Ensign Davenport | Approx. 30 Pequot Allied Warriors. Approx. 20 English Soldiers and Unknown Native Allies | Pequot/ (Munnacommock) Swamp, Southport, CT | July 13, 1637; Approx. 1:00-5:00 pm | The rest of the English coming up, the Swamp was surrounded. ¹³⁷ Captain Patrick and Captain Traske with about an hundred of the Massachusetts Forces came in upon them presently after the alarm was given; such Commanders as first hapned to be there gave special order that the swamp should be surrounded (being about a mile in Compas) but Lieutenant Davenport belonging to Capt. Trask his Company, not hearing the word of Command, with a dozen more of his | Moderate to low. Dropped English and Native personal items, clothing items. Impacted and Dropped Cuprous |

¹³⁵ Mason in Prince *Brief History of the Pequot War*. P. 15.

¹³⁶ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 130.

¹³⁷ Mason in Prince *Brief History of the Pequot War*. P. 15.

| | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| | rushes into the swamp | | | | <p>Company in an over eager pursuit of the enemy rushed immediately in to the Swamp, where they were very rudely enteratined by those evening wolves that were newly kenneled there.¹³⁸</p> <p>Serjeant Palmer hastening with about twelve Men who were under his Command to surround the smaller Part of the Swamp, that so He might prevent the Indians flying: Ensign Davenport, Serjeant Jeffries & c. entering the Swamp, intended to have gone to the Wigwams, were there set upon by several Indians, who in all probability were deterred by Serjeant Palmer. In this Skirmish the English slew but few: two or three of themselves were Wounded:</p> | Arrow Points and Lead Shot |
| 5; Phase 5 | A lull in the fighting occurs as a Sasqua Sachem and English interpreter Thomas Stanton parley and negotiate the surrender of non-combatants. | Approx. 60-80 Pequot Allied Warriors. Approx. 110 English Soldiers and Unknown Native Allies | Pequot (Munnaco mmock)Sw amp, Southport, CT | July 13, 1637; Approx. 3:00-5:00 pm | <p>... Tho. Stanton a Man well acquainted with the Indian Language and Manners, offered his Service to go into the Swamp and treat with them: To which we were somewhat backward, by reason of some Hazard and Danger he might be exposed unto: But his importunity prevailed: Who going to them, did in a short time return to us, with near Two Hundred old Men, Women and Children; who Delivered themselves to the Mercy of the English¹³⁹</p> | Low. Dropped or Discarded Native personal items. |
| 6; Phase 6 | Combat occurs throughout the evening and into the early morning . Before dawn Pequot Allied | Approx. 60-80 Pequot Allied Warriors. Approx. 110 English Soldiers and Unknown Native Allies | Pequot (Munnaco mmock) NW Sasqua River, Southport, CT | July 14, 1637; Approx. 8:00pm-4:00am | <p>By this time night drawing on, our Commanders perceiving on which side of the Swampe the enemies were lodged, gave order to cut through, the Swamp with their swords, that they might the better hemme them round in one corner, which was presently done, and so they were begirt in all night, the English in the circumference plying them with shot all the time, by which meanes many of them were killed and buried in the mire, as they found the next day. The Swamp by the forementioned device being reduced to so narrow a compass, that our souldiers standing at twelve foot distance could surround it, the enemy was kept in all the night.¹⁴⁰</p> | Moderate. Dropped English and Native personal items, clothing items. Impacted and Dropped Cuprous Arrow Points and Lead Shot, personal items |

¹³⁸ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 130.

¹³⁹ Mason in Prince *Brief History of the Pequot War*. Pp. 16-17.

¹⁴⁰ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 131.

| | | | | | | |
|------------|--|--|---|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| 7; Phase 7 | Pequot forces break through English lines and escape. | Approx. 60-80 Pequot Allied Warriors. Approx. 110 English Soldiers and Unknown Native Allies | Pequot (Munnaco mmock) NW Sasqua River, Southport, CT | July 15, 1637; Approximately 5:00am | <p>And so Night drawing on, we beleaguered them as strongly as we could. About half an Hour before Day, the Indians that were in the Swamp attempted to break through Captain Patrick's Quarters' but were beaten back several times; they making a great Noise, as their Manner is at such Times, it sounded round about our leaguer:</p> <p>Whereupon Captain Mason sent Serjeant Stares to inquire into the Cause, and also to assist if need required; Capt. Traske coming also in to their Assistance: But the Tumult growing to a very great Heighth, we raised our Siege; and Marching up to the Place, at a Turning of the Swamp the Indians were forcing out upon us; but we sent them back by our small Shot.</p> <p>We waiting a little for a second Attempt; the Indians in the mean time facing about, pressed violently upon Captain Patrick, breaking through his Quarters, and so escaped. They were about sixty or seventy as we were informed.¹⁴¹</p> | Lead Shot, personal items |
| 8; Phase 8 | Aftermath of the battle; English enter swamp to mop up and count Pequot casualties | Unknown number of English and between 10-20 Pequot dead | Pequot (Munnaco mmock) NW Sasqua River, Southport, CT | July 14, 1637; Approximately 9:00am | <p>Diligent search was the next day made in the Swamp for dead Indians, Not many, (as some have made Narration) but seven, and no more could be found.</p> <p>that in the morning entering in to the Swamp, they saw several heaps of them sitting close together, upon whom they discharged their pieces laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets at a time, putting the muzzels of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them, so as besides those that were found dead (near twenty) it was judged that many more were killed and sunk into the mire and never were minded more by friend or foe</p> | Personal items |

¹⁴¹ Mason in Prince *Brief History of the Pequot War*. P. 17.

Battle and non-Battle Related Objects

A total of 265 objects were recovered from the battlefield survey; 85 were considered to date to the seventeenth or possible seventeenth century and associated with the battle, and 180 objects dated to the eighteenth through 20th centuries. The seventeenth or possible seventh century objects consisted of musket balls (n=73) of varying diameters, a pewter and brass button, a folding knife fragment, a kaolin pipe stem fragment (6/64ths bore diameter), brass scrap fragments (n=5), an unidentified hand wrought iron fragment, a brass tack, and a fragment of bar lead (Figures 14 & 15).

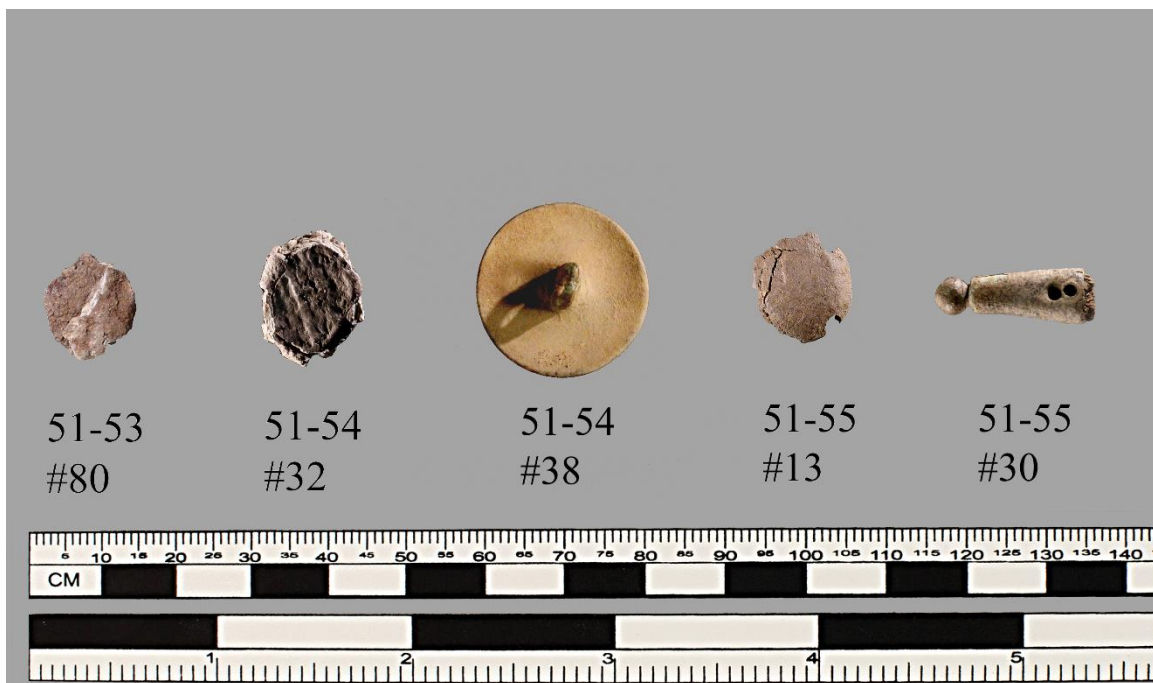


Figure 14. Possible 17th Century Pewter Buttons; #80 & #32.

All objects were assigned a site number based on their association with objects spatially separated from other groups of objects (Figure 16). Site 51-2 was the original site number assigned to the Fairfield (Munnacomock) Swamp battle in the 1970s. The other three sites were assigned unique site numbers based on the results of the battlefield survey.



Figure 15. Miscellaneous Non-17th Century Objects.



Figure 16. [REDACTED]

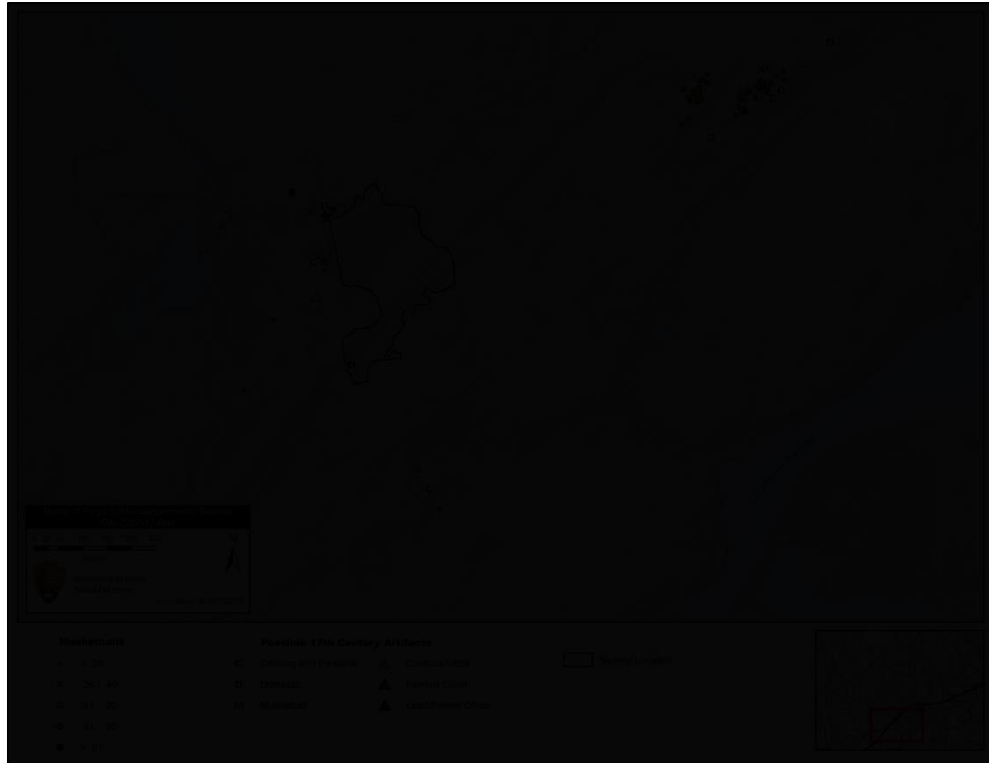


Figure 17. [REDACTED]

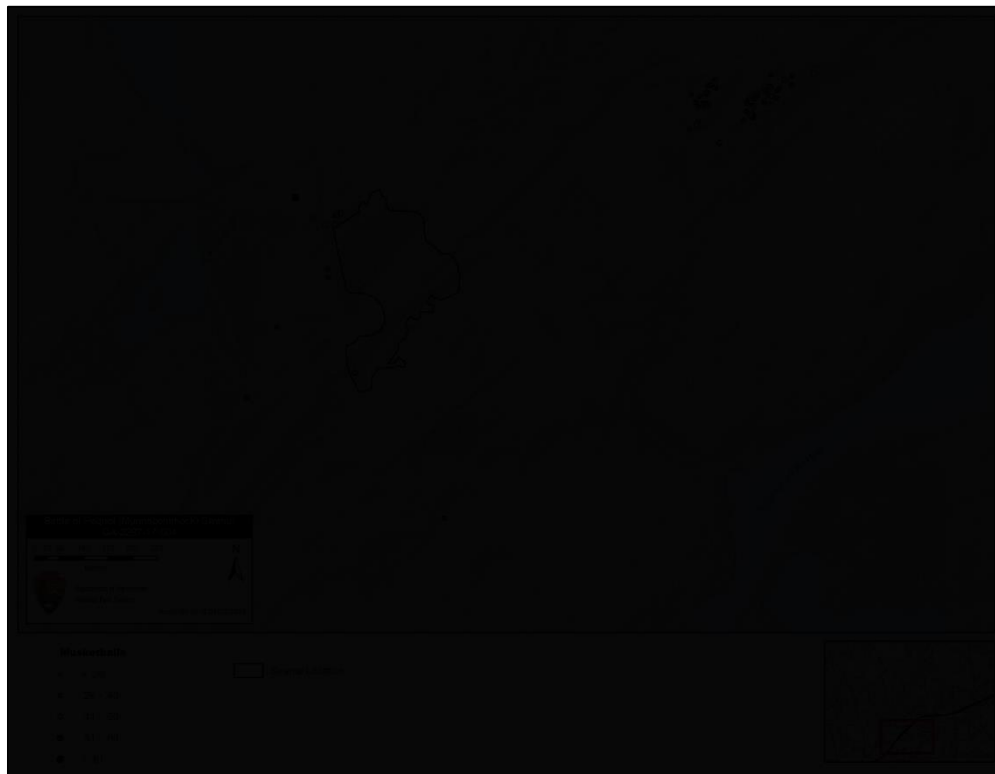


Figure 18. Spatial Distribution of Musket Balls by Diameter

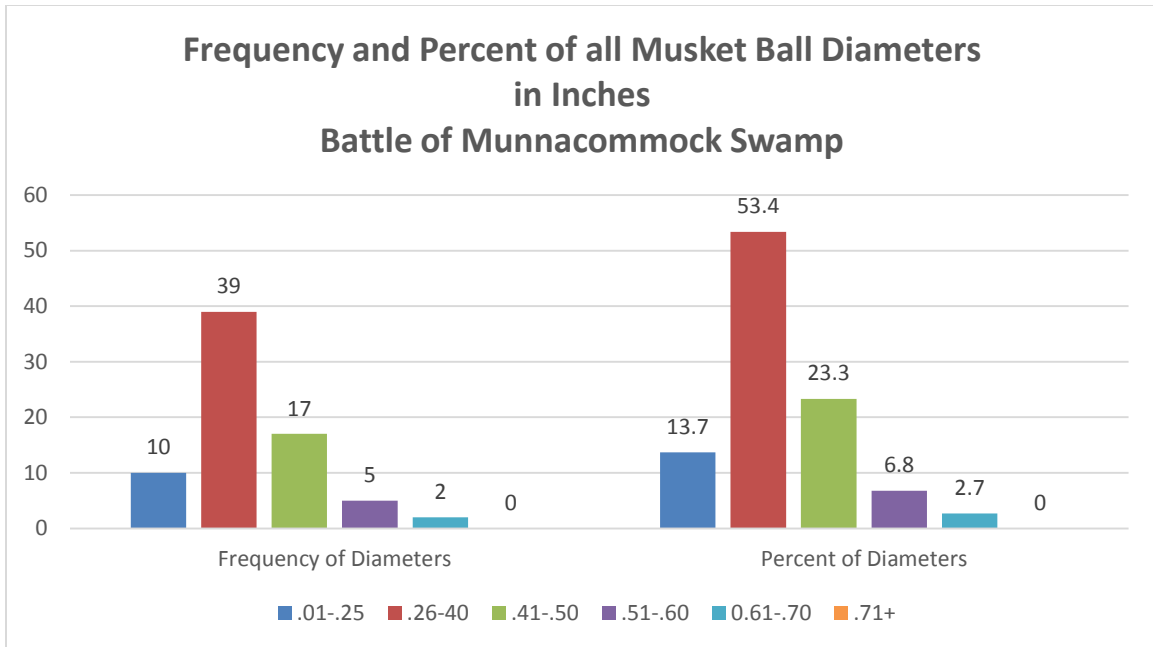


Figure 19. Frequency and Percent of All Musket Ball Diameters Battle of Munnacommock Swamp.

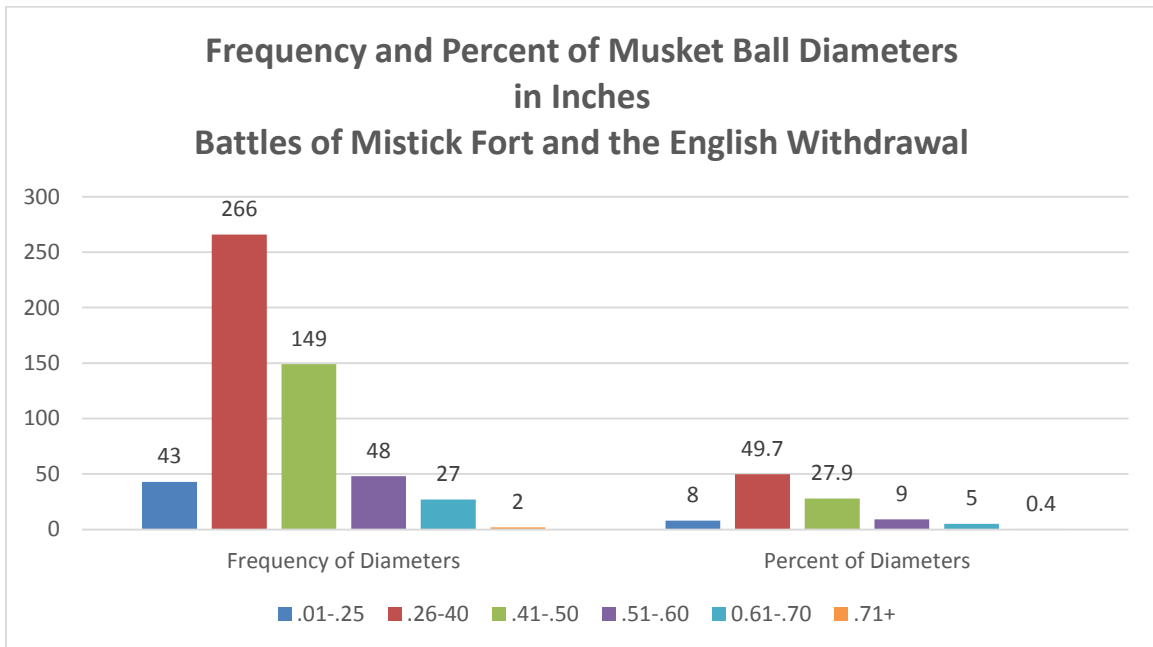


Figure 20. Frequency and Percent of Musket Balls from Battle of Mistick Fort and the English Withdrawal.

Figures 19 & 20 depict the frequency and percentage of musket balls recovered from the Pequot War battles at Mistick and Munnacommock Swamp. A comparative analysis indicates a high degree of similarity between the percentage of musket ball diameters at Munnacommock Swamp and Mistick. These patterns indicate a consistent tactical decision by the English to load their firearms with multiple loads of small shot (i.e .25-.45 diameter musket balls) anticipating or planning for combat at close quarters (within 40 yards). When the Connecticut General Court declared war on the Pequot and levied 90 men for an expedition against the Pequot they ordered each soldier to carry one pound of powder, four pounds of shot and 20 bullets. Based on the distributions of musket ball diameters recovered from the Mistick battlefields, 'shot' probably refers to musket ball diameters between .25-.45/.50 diameter and 'bullets' refers to musket balls .50 diameter and above to fit the caliber of the weapon. The use of larger diameter musket balls probably indicates firing at an enemy at distances greater than 40 yards. Four pounds of shot would equate to between 200-220 small diameter musket balls, a ratio of between 1/9 - 1/10 large diameter musket balls (bullets) to small diameter musket balls (shot); ratios evidenced at the Battle of Munnacommock Swamp as well.

Reconstruction of Battle Events & Distribution of Battle Related Objects

The battlefield timeline (Table 2) provides a basis to compare the actual distribution of battle related objects recovered from archaeological surveys with the actions and anticipated archaeological signatures of battle events identified from historical sources. While this process resulted in a moderate degree of success, the reconstructions of battle events was significantly hindered by the impacts to the battlefield discussed above. As such, it was often difficult to determine if the absence of battle related objects in any given area indicated no action(s) took place, if evidence of the action(s) was destroyed or otherwise hidden by modern development (fill) and high densities of modern artifacts, or the action(s) were characterized by the English firing into the swamp which would result in a very low density of battle related objects around the margins of the swamp such as dropped musket balls and personal items. Nonetheless, the integration of the archaeological record with the battlefield narratives provided some important insights into the progression of the battle. The survey could not determine the

location of the Sasqua village which is believed to be located at some distance along the western quadrant of the swamp. It is likely the village was destroyed during the removal of fill for the construction of Interstate 95. The timeline divided the battle into eight phases for the purposes of battlefield reconstruction. Not all of the phases have an identifiable archeological signature.

Phase I. Mill River Crossing and approach to Mill Hill.

An archaeological signature associated with the crossing at the Mill River Ford and English approach to Mill Hill would be very difficult to identify based on the low numbers of personal objects that may have been dropped by English soldiers. No archaeological surveys were conducted from the area around the Mill River Ford to Mill Hill as it was considered low priority given the focus of the survey around Munnacommock swamp.

Phase II. Mason's Encounter with Natives on Mill Hill, First Action Phase 2.

The first action of the Battle of Munnacommock Swamp occurred on the lower slopes of Mill Hill when "Mr. Ludlow and Captain Mason with half a score (10) of their men" descended Mill Hill after crossing the Mill River and encountered a group of Natives:¹⁴²

And coming into a Corn Field, several of the *English* espied some *Indians*, who fled from them: They pursued them.¹⁴³

Although Mason does not mention the number of Natives or firing upon them, the pattern of musket balls identified at Southport Park likely indicates the action is likely associated with Mason's troops. How far Mason pursued them cannot be determined, but it is likely the Natives sought the shelter of the swamp.

Figures 21-23 depict the distribution of musket balls by diameter and dropped/impacted musket balls recovered from the First Action, Phase II. There are two lines of musket balls separated by a gulley (Figure 25). The pattern likely indicates that Mason's ten men split into two groups of five to pursue several groups of Natives as they descended Mill Hill. The percentage of musket ball diameters is similar to the overall

¹⁴² Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 130.

¹⁴³ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 15.

distribution for the Battle of Munnacommock Swamp (Figure 22) indicating that English tactics were fairly consistent throughout the battlefield. Twenty-seven percent of the musket balls recovered from the Mill Hill action were dropped, a very high percentage compared to other Pequot War battlefields where generally less than 3-5% of the musket balls were dropped (Figure 24). This pattern indicates that the English were reloading their firearms often, and very quickly while pursuing the fleeing Natives.



Figure 21.

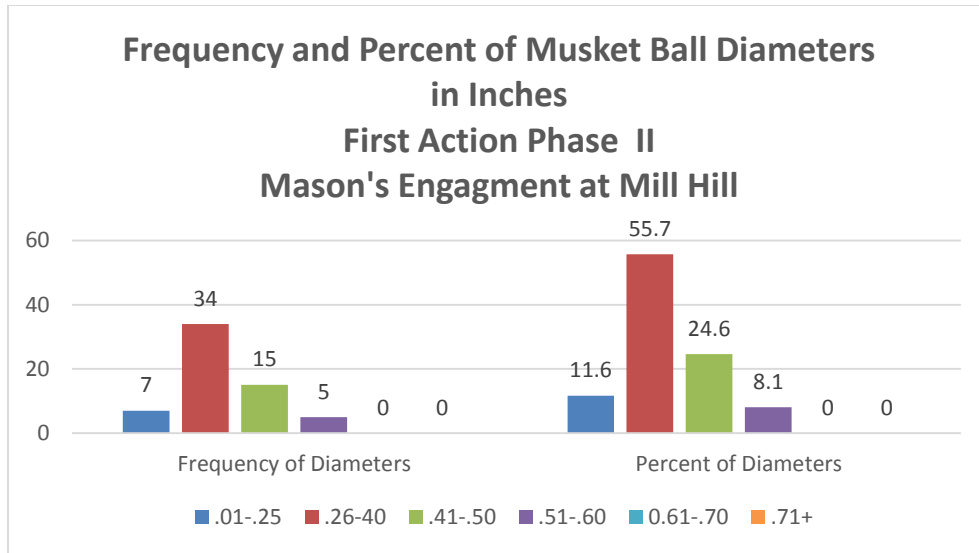


Figure 22. Frequency and Percent of Musket Ball Diameters, First Action Phase 2.

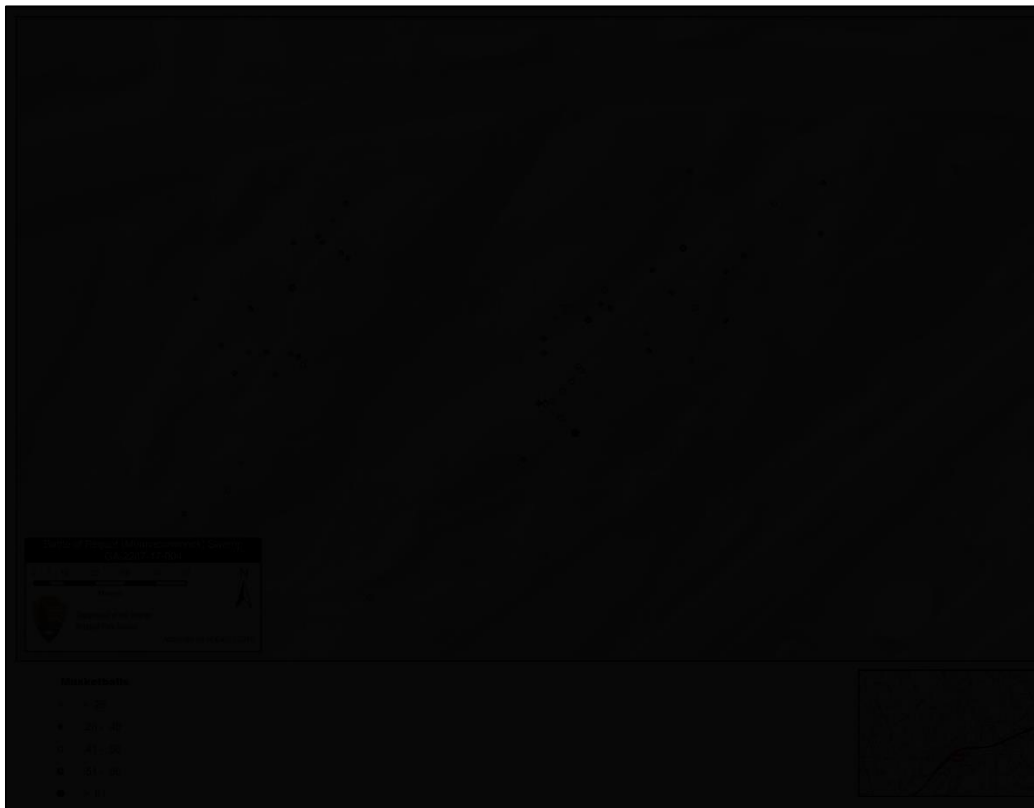


Figure 23. [REDACTED]



Figure 24. Dropped and Impacted Musket Balls, First Action Phase 2.

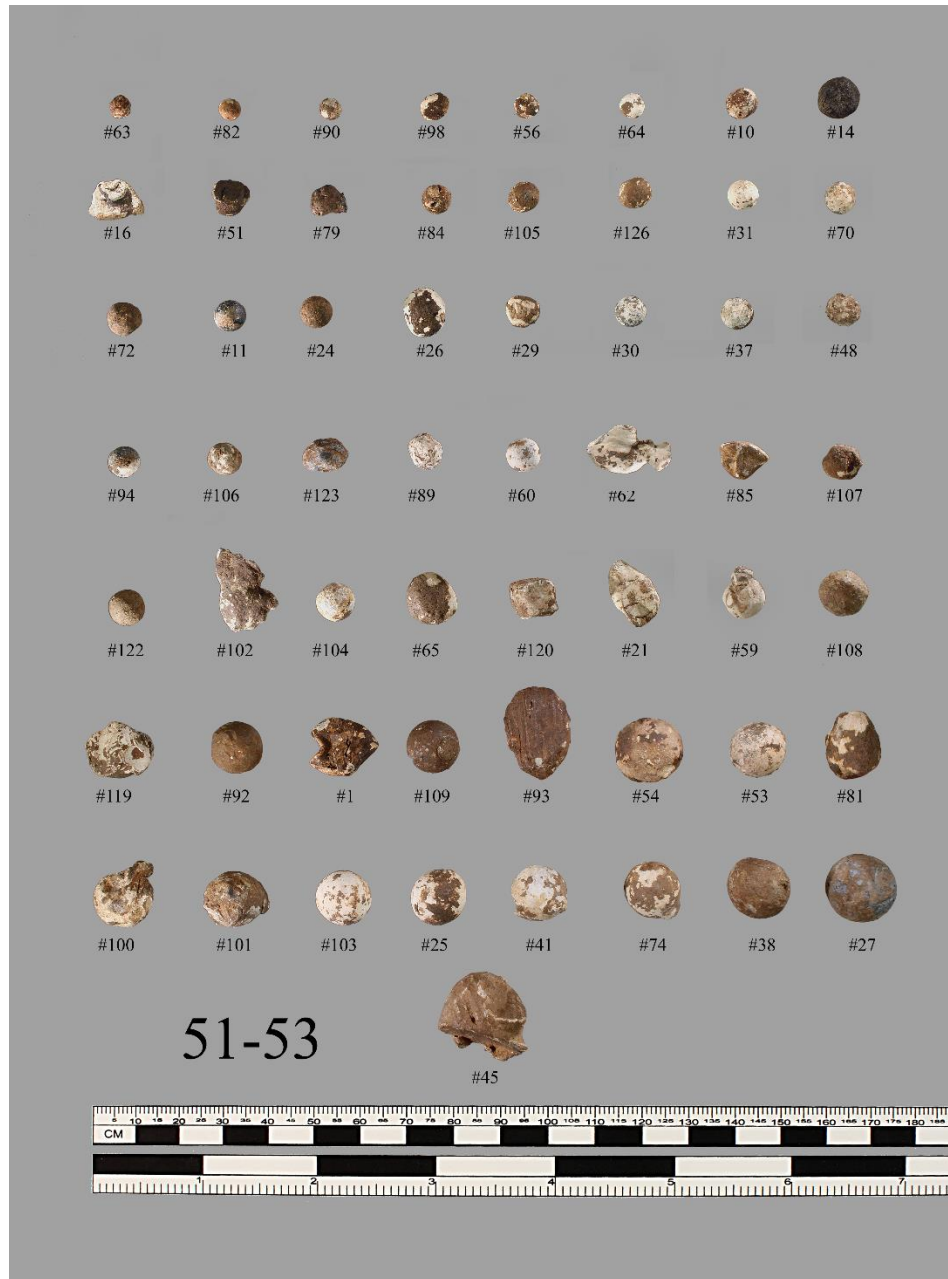


Figure 25. Musket Balls. First Action Phase 2.

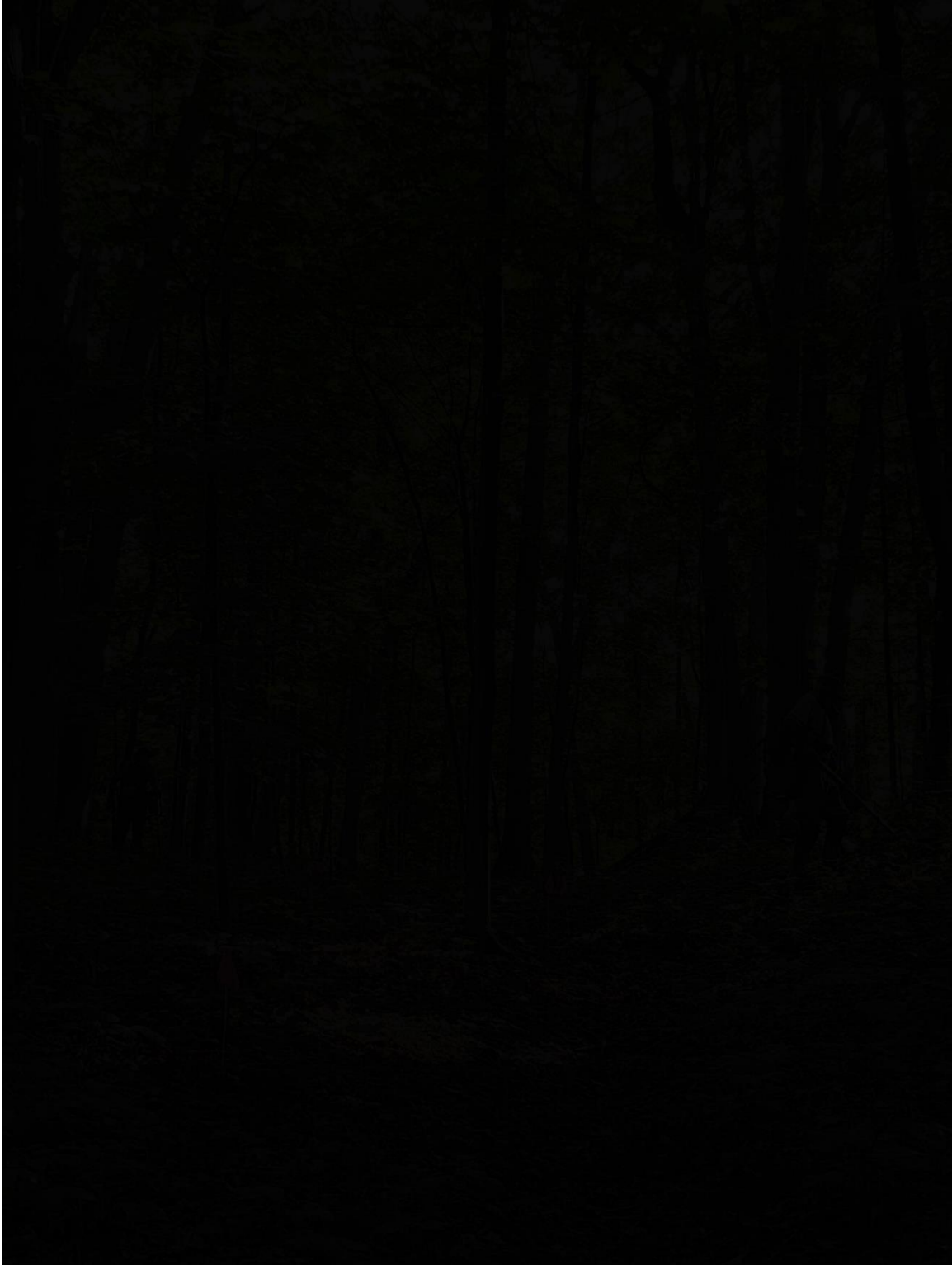


Figure 26. Top of the Gully Separating the Two Lines of Musket Balls, First Action, Phase 2. Flags Mark Musket Ball Finds.

Phase 3 & 4. English Army Descent Down Mill Hill and Encompassment of Munnacommock Swamp.

Phase 3 of the battle involved the English army of approximately 120 soldiers descending Mill Hill and devising a plan to surround Munnacommock Swamp. Phase IV is the English encirclement of the swamp with orders not to engage the enemy in the swamp. As Mason and his men pursued the Natives down Mill Hill they could discern the configuration of the swamp “which was almost divided into two parts”¹⁴⁴ and “being about a mile in compass.”¹⁴⁵ They could also see “several wigwams just opposite, only a swamp intervening” indicting the village was located somewhere outside the western quadrant of the swamp.

Shortly after Mason’s troops engaged the Natives fleeing down Mill Hill toward the swamp the rest of the army came up:

Captain Patrick and Captain Traske with about a hundred of the Massachusetts forces came in upon them presently after the alarm was given; such commanders as first happened to be there gave special order that the swamp should be surrounded being about a mile in compass), but Lieutenant Davenport, not hearing the word of command, with a dozen more of his company in an over eager pursuit of the enemy rushed immediately into the swamp where they were rudely entertained by these evening wolves¹⁴⁶

Lieutenant Davenport was at the rear of the column and did not hear the order not to engage the Pequot in the swamp and he and his squad of twelve men entered the swamp and engaged the enemy suffering a number of casualties. It is not known at which sector of the swamp that Davenport deployed to but it may have been at or near the smaller portion of the swamp where Sergeant Palmer was:

Serjeant Palmer hastening with about twelve Men who were under his Command to surround the smaller Part of the Swamp, that so He might prevent the Indians flying: Ensign Danport [Davenport], Serjeant Jeffries & c. entering the Swamp, intended to have gone to the Wigwams, were there set upon by several Indians, who in all probability were deterred by Serjeant Palmer.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*, P. 15.

¹⁴⁵ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 130.

¹⁴⁶ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 130.

¹⁴⁷ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*, P. 15.

There is likely not an identifiable archaeological signature associated with Davenport's action along the margins of the swamp as it appears the entire engagement took place within the swamp. It also appears that aside from Mason's action on Mill Hill, and Davenport's action within the swamp, no other engagements took place at this phase of the battle.

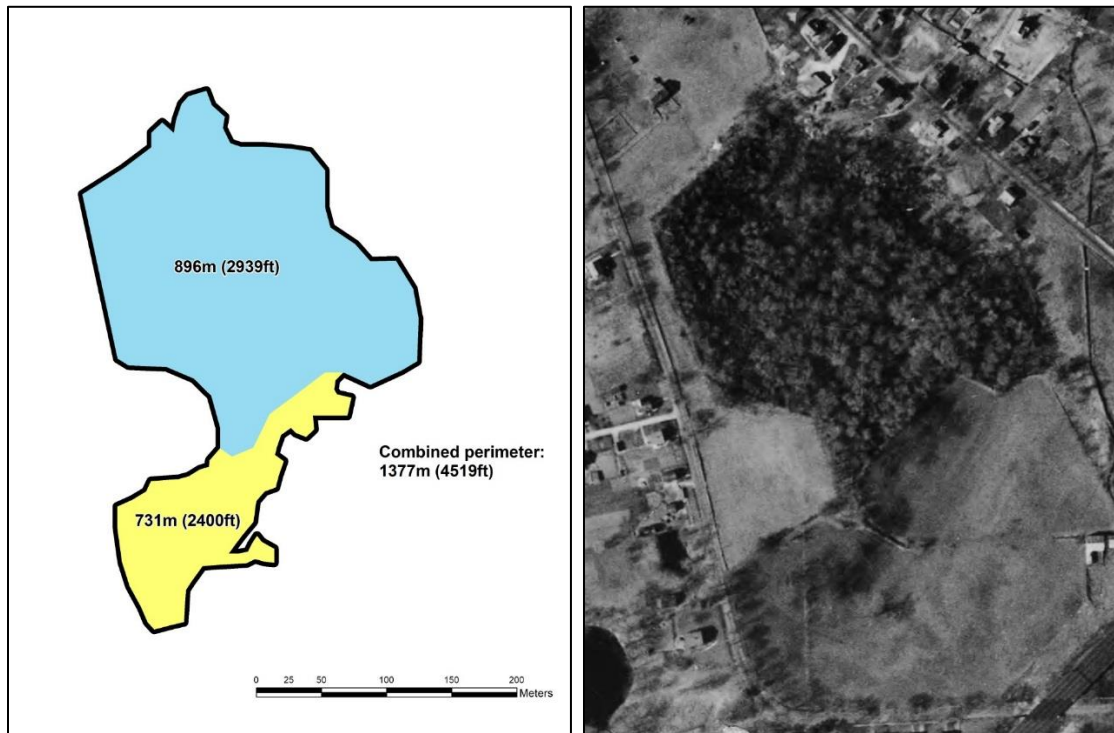


Figure 27. Configuration and Circumference of Munnacommock Swamp.

Figure 26 is based on the 1934 Aerial survey map of Fairfield and considered the best representation of Munnacommock Swamp in 1637. The primary sources describe the swamp “almost divided in two parts”, with one part described as the “smaller part of the swamp.”¹⁴⁸ The swamp was also described as “being about a mile in compass.”¹⁴⁹ As can be seen in Figure 26, the aerial photo is consistent with the 1637 description of the swamp; there are two sections of the swamp, one smaller than the other, and their connection so narrow that the swamp is almost divided, with the entire swamp approximately one mile in circumference. Based on a calculated circumference of both

¹⁴⁸ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*, P. 15.

¹⁴⁹ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 130.

sections of the swamp of 4,500 feet (Figure 26) and assuming there were approximately 120 English involved in the encirclement, the distance between English soldiers would be approximately 40 feet. The English commanders were concerned that the distance between soldiers was too great to prevent the Pequot from escaping:

it was then propounded to draw up our Men close to the Swamp, which would much lessened the Circumference; and with all to fill up the open Passages with Bushes, that so we might secure them until the Morning, and then we might consider further about it. But neither of these would pass; so different were our Apprehensions; which was very grievous to some of us, who concluded the Indians would make an Escape in the Night, as easily they might and did: We keeping at great distance, what better could be expected?¹⁵⁰

Mason then ordered the neck or the narrow portion connecting the two segments be cut to lessen the circumference:

Yet Captain Mason took Order that the Narrow in the Swamp should be cut thro'; Which did much shorten our Leaguer. It was resolutely Performed by Serjeant Davis¹⁵¹

That action decreased the circumference of the swamp from 4,500' to approximately 3,000' resulting a spacing of approximately 30' between the soldiers encircling the swamp.

Phase V. English Negotiate Surrender of Sasqua and Pequot Non-Combatants

Negotiations between the English and Sasqua and Pequot took in the afternoon to arrange a surrender of the Sasqua and Pequot non-combatants:

We being loth to destroy Women and Children, as also the Indians belong to that Place: whereupon Mr. Tho. Stanton a Man well acquainted with the Indian Language and Manners, offered his Service to go into the Swamp and treat with them: To which we were somewhat backward, by reason of some Hazard and Danger he might be exposed unto: But his importunity prevailed: Who going to them, did in a short time return to us, with near Two Hundred old Men, Women and Children; who delivered themselves to the mercy of the English.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*. P. 16.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*, P. 16.

This phase of the battle is expected to have no or very little archaeological evidence unless either the English or surrendering Natives dropped personal items. Any personal items dropped during this phase of the battle would be difficult to distinguish from any other domestic or personal objects dropped in other phases of the battle. English sources estimate that between 60-80 Pequot combatants remained in the swamp.

Phase VI. English reduce the Circumference of the Swamp Further and Battle the remaining Pequot in the Swamp through the Night.

In the late afternoon the English cut through and encircled a much smaller section of the swamp and were able to encompass the swamp with 110 men spaced at 12' foot intervals. If the English were deployed at 12' intervals the circumference of the siege was of approximately 1,300'-1,500' (Figure 27). For the rest of the night the English poured fire into the swamp resulting on a number of Pequot casualties:

Captain Mason took Order that the Narrow in the Swamp should be cut thro'; Which did much shorten our Leaguer.¹⁵³

By this time night drawing on, our Commanders perceiving on which side of the Swampe the enemies were lodged, gave order to cut through, the Swamp with their swords, that they might the better hemme them round in one corner, which was presently done, and so they were begirt in all night, the English in the circumference plying them with shot all the time by which meanes many of them were killed and buried in the mire, as they found the next day. The Swamp by the forementioned device being reduced to so narrow a compass, that our souldiers standing at twelve-foot distance could surround it, the enemy was kept in all the night.¹⁵⁴

A distance of 12' between 120 English soldiers surrounding the swamp would indicate a circumference of approximately 1500' (Figure 27).

As all the English gunfire was directed into the swamp during this phase of the battle, any archaeological signature associated with the action, such as dropped musket balls and dropped personal items or equipment would be indistinguishable from other actions or deployments. The final phase of encirclement is believed to be in the northern quadrant of the swamp as that is the only other location on the battlefield where there is a

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 130.

concentration of musket balls consistent with actions related to the Pequot breakout the next morning.

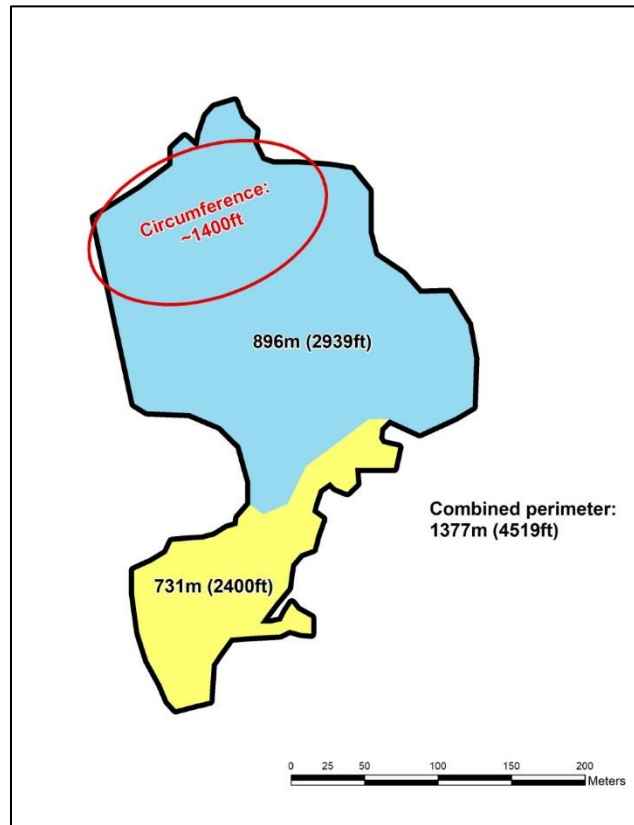


Figure 28. Circumference of Munnacommock Swamp in the Final Phase of the Battle

Phase VII. Pequot Breakout.

The last Phase of the battle may have resulted in potentially the only identifiable archaeological signature of the battle outside of the swamp. English sources indicate that shortly before dawn the Pequot initiated a series of attacks along the quadrant of the swamp where Captain Patrick was stationed:

About half an Hour before Day, the Indians that were in the Swamp attempted to break through Captain Patrick's Quarters' but were beaten back several times; they making a great Noise, as their Manner is at such Times, it sounded round about our Leaguer: Whereupon Captain Mason sent Serjeant Stares to inquire into the Cause, and also to assist if need required; Capt. Traske coming also in to their Assistance: But the Tumult growing to a very great Heighth, we raised our Siege; and Marching up to the Place, at a Turning of the Swamp the Indians were forcing out upon us; but we sent them back by our small Shot. We waiting a little for a second Attempt; the Indians in the mean time facing about, pressed

violently upon Captain Patrick, breaking through his Quarters, and so escaped. They were about sixty or seventy as we were informed.¹⁵⁵

but a little before day-break (by reason of the Fogge that up seth to arise about that time observed to be the darkest time of the night twenty or thirty of the lustiest of the enemy brake through the Besiegers, and escaped away in to the woods, some by violence and some by stealth dropping away, some of whom notwithstanding were killed in the pursuit.¹⁵⁶

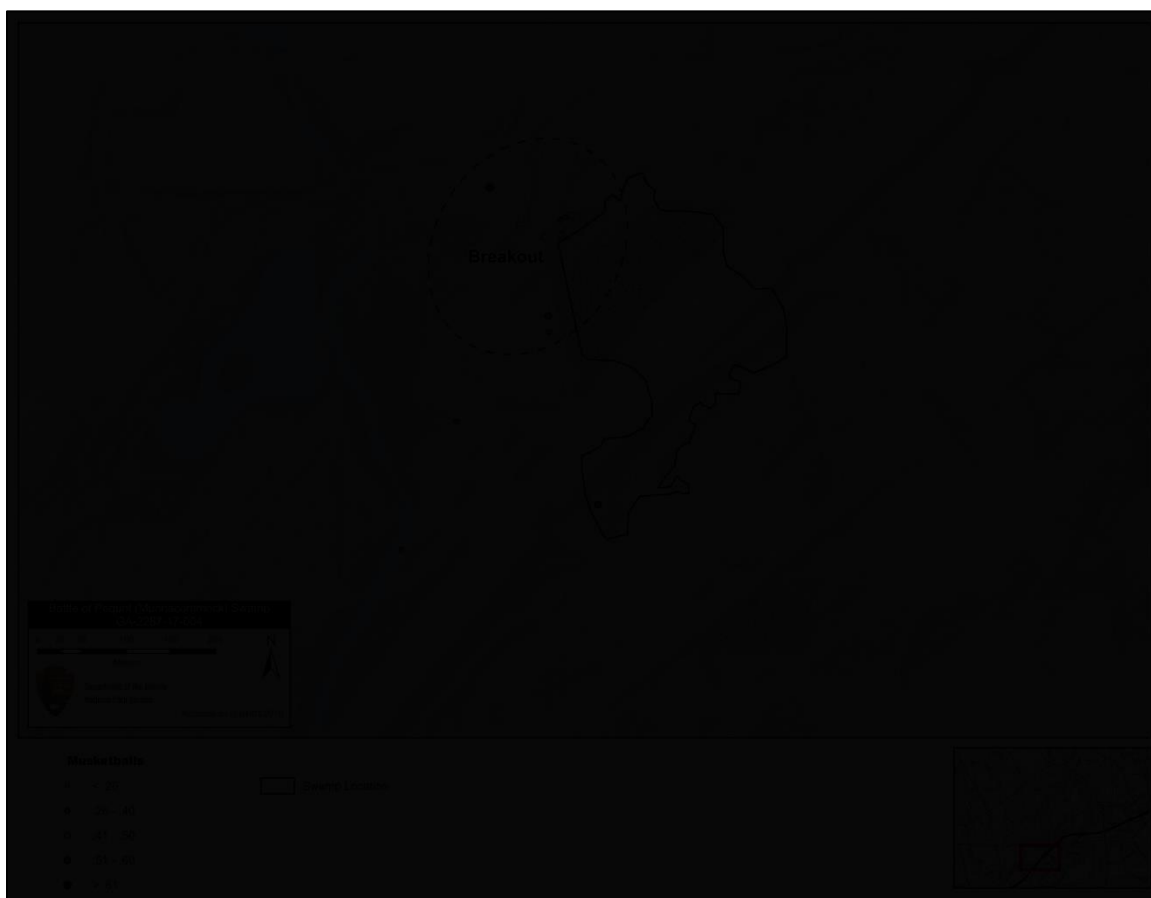


Figure 29. Location of Pequot Breakout and Distributions of Musket Balls.

The description indicates an ebb and flow to the fighting in this quadrant whereby the intensity of the Pequot attacks forced the English back from the margin of the swamp only to have the English force the Pequot back into the swamp, perhaps a number of times. In response to the Pequot attacks, the English redeployed their forces from other

¹⁵⁵ Mason in Prince, *History of the Pequot War*, P. 17.

¹⁵⁶ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 131.

sectors of the swamp to reinforce the area where the Pequot were attacking. It appears as part of a feint the Pequot then ‘faced about’ and redirected their attacks against Patrick’s company breaking through the English lines. Based on these accounts of the final phase of the battle the fighting occurred within a relatively circumscribed sector of the swamp.

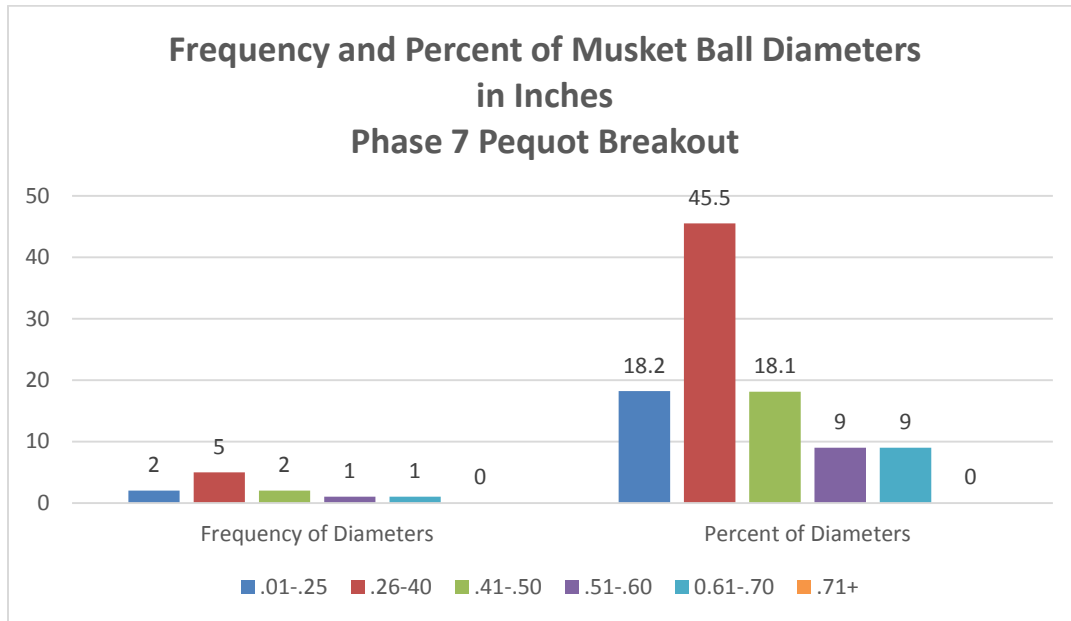


Figure 30. Frequency and Percent of Musket Ball Diameters Phase 7 Pequot Breakout.

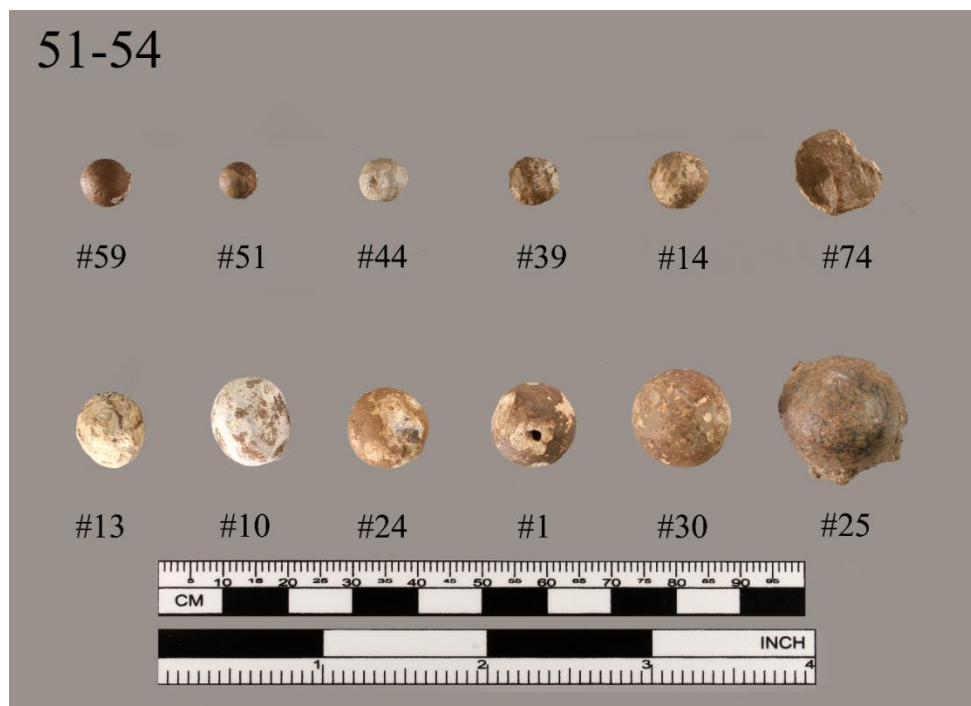


Figure 31. Musket Balls from Breakout. #25 is an Impacted .64 Diameter Musket Ball Recovered Northwest of Swamp.



Figure 32. Area of Breakout, Facing South.

The concentration of musket balls in the western, particularly the northwestern quadrant, of the swamp is likely related to this phase of the battle (Figures 28, 29, 30). The concentration of dropped and impacted musket balls in the northwestern quadrant of the swamp is consistent with the ebb and flow of the battle in the final stages of the battle as the Pequot attacks forced the English away from the swamp and were in return forced back into the swamp by English counterattacks (Figure 31). A single impacted musket several hundred yards northwest of that quadrant of the swamp, and the few musket balls west of the swamp along the Sasqua River may indicate English efforts to pursue the fleeing Pequot after they broke through English lines.

Phase 8. Aftermath.

Once the remaining Pequot escaped or were killed in the swamp the Battle was essentially over. The English describe moving through the swamp to count the dead. At one point they encountered several groups of Pequot who may have been wounded who the English executed.

Diligent search was the next day made in the Swamp for dead Indians, Not many, (as some have made Narration) but seven, and no more could be found.¹⁵⁷

that in the morning entering in to the Swamp, they saw several heaps of them sitting close together, upon whom they discharged their pieces laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets at a time, putting the muzzels of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them, so as besides those that were found dead (near twenty) it was judged that many more were killed and sunk into the mire and never were minded more by friend or foe.¹⁵⁸

VII. Conclusion

The goal of the NPS ABPP “Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp, July 13-14, 1637” Site Documentation grant was to conduct historical followed by a battlefield archeological survey to locate, sequence, and document battlefield actions associated with the 24-hour Battle of Pequot (Munnacommock) Swamp. An additional objective was to engage local officials, landowners, and the interested public in an effort to locate and encourage protection of the battlefield, and, if applicable, to eventually prepare National Register of Historic Places registration forms to nominate the battlefield to the National Register of Historic Places.

The results of the battlefield were mixed. Only two areas of the battlefield yielded battle related objects. The distribution of 61 musket balls in Southport Park is likely associated with the action Mason described when he was descending Mill Hill in pursuit of a group of Natives downhill. The second distribution of musket balls recovered along the western and northwestern quadrants of the swamp is likely associated with the Pequot breakout in the final phase of the battle.

The land use research and battlefield survey indicated that most of the battlefield had been impacted by historic and modern development from house construction, commercial development, and particularly the construction of Interstate 95. With the exception of Southport Park and small sections of the northwest quadrant of the swamp none of the battlefield can be demonstrated to have retained any degree of visual and physical integrity.

¹⁵⁷ Mason in Prince. *History of the Pequot War*. P. 17.

¹⁵⁸ Hubbard, *Narrative of the Trouble with the Indians*. P. 131.

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Appendix A. Land Use at Pequot Swamp

Introduction

Like so many leafy suburbs in New England, the area of Southport, Connecticut, where the Battle of Pequot Swamp took place has been greatly altered over the past 375 years. The settlement of the English several years after the battle, and the continued division of the area for agricultural usage during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries intermingled houses and farm structures with woodland, and marshes with roadways, pastureland, and orchards. When the railway arrived in 1849 the area's ensuing transformation to a countryside destination and then a suburban idyll became absolute. Subsequent construction of Interstate 95 a century later would seem to have completely obliterated any sign of the swamp that Captain John Mason and his English compatriots encountered on July 13, 1637. However, as one drives through the area, the contours of the high and low grounds are still discernable in places, and some wetlands remain. Against so many odds, aspects of Pequot Swamp have persisted.

This study is reliant on primary sources that include Fairfield Town Records, contemporary maps, newspaper articles, and secondary sources, such as histories of Southport and Fairfield, as well as books on specific aspects, like the construction of roadways in Connecticut. The secondary histories include nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first century interpretations. Pequot Library and the Fairfield Museum and History Center Library (Fairfield Historical Society) have collections pertaining to the area and were great resources. However, the Museum does not have documentation or artifacts from the Battle of Pequot Swamp.

English Settlement and Proprietors of Pequot Swamp (1600-1700)

In her 1927 "An Historical Story of Southport, Connecticut," Charlotte Alvord Lacy presents an evocative depiction of the area that has become known as "Pequot Swamp." She describes a creek that travels inland from present-day Long Island Sound:

After a winding course of perhaps a half mile a dense swamp is reached, spreading through the forest at base of rocky ledges leading up to high hills toward the north and east. This swamp is considerable in area, thickly

wooded and almost impenetrable from the dense growth of underbrush. The wooded tract between the swamp and the river contains several ponds. This broad level of tract of low land bordering the Sound and backed by the far-reaching forests was the chosen home of a peaceable tribe of Indians who called their holdings Sasqua, or Sasquannock, which meant marsh land.

Their wigwams were grouped in the outskirts of the forest. They tilled the fertile soil, growing maize or Indian corn. The forests were abounding in game—deer, foxes, bears, rabbits, etc.¹⁵⁹

When recalling the pursuit of the Pequots in 1637, Captain John Mason provides a contemporary vision of the area where the Battle of Pequot Swamp would take place. “We then hastened our March towards the Place where the Enemy was: And coming into a Corn Field, several of the English espyed some Indians, who fled from them: They pursued them; and coming to the Top of an Hill, saw several Wigwams just opposite, only a Swamp intervening, which was almost divided in two Parts.”¹⁶⁰

The swamp was Munnacommock swamp and the local Sasqua inhabited the village of wigwams. After the Pequot War, the swamp would be referred to as “pequit swamp,” in commemoration of the battle which took place from July 13 through 14 in 1637. Two years after the battle, Deputy Governor of Connecticut, Roger Ludlow, returned to the fertile fields of Uncoway and there founded the town of Fairfield. He purchased the land east of the Sasqua River and west of the Pequonnock River from the Pequonnock Indians.

In the seventeenth century, the area between Sasqua River (now Mill River) and Sasco Creek was called Sasco Fields (now Southport); Pequot Swamp was located within Sasco Fields. In 1669, Fairfield began dividing the area west of the Mill River. Pequot Swamp was located just inland, within Sasco Fields/between the Sasqua River and Sasco Creek. In 1670, the town bought “the last six miles of the Indians: of the Towne Commons: and they having agreed that the Towne shall give them 36 pounds for it.”¹⁶¹ In 1680, these transactions were reconfirmed with new Indian deeds, in order to reaffirm

¹⁵⁹ Charlotte Alvord Lacey. *An Historical Story of Southport, Connecticut*. (Greens Farms, CT: Modern Books and Crafts, Inc., 1927). Pp. 3-4.

¹⁶⁰ John Mason. *A Brief History of the Pequot War: Especially Of the memorable Taking of their Fort at Mistick in Connecticut in 1637*. (Boston: S. Kneeland & T. Green, 1736). P. 15.

¹⁶¹ *Fairfield Town Records*. Vol. A, Sept. 10, Oct. 21, 1670.

Fairfield's ownership of the Sasqua and Pequonnock lands that Ludlow had purchased to create Fairfield.¹⁶²



Figure 1. Detail of 1766 map, showing Sasco River and Mill River. Pequot Swamp was located between the two. The roadway is the King's Road.¹⁶³

The town's agreement with the Indians goes into great detail as to when lands were originally purchased and where the boundaries lie. Each section presents formal, signed acknowledgment from representatives of both the town and the Indians.¹⁶⁴ These documents affirm the legal purchase of the land by the town from the Indians.

To all people to whom these presents shall com Greeting Whereas there have been Severall bills of Sale by us ye Indian propietors unto ye Towne of ffairefield of all ye Lands they poses within their Township bounds except those particular lands hereafter mentioned: Sequestred for or use as by or Genrll: bill of Sale bearing date ye 6th Day of octobr last past may more fully appeare ... Know all men these presents ut Wheres ye Town of Fairfield hath formerly bouth of ye thrue Indian proprieors all ye Land contained within their Township bounds which is Seven miles broad upon ye Sea Coast and from ye Sea at Least twelve miles into ye Country to ye Northward of their bounds bounded on ye East with ye sd Towne boundes¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Thomas Farnham. *Fairfield: the Biography of a Community: 1639-2000*. (West Kennebunk, Maine: Published for the Fairfield Historical Society by Phoenix Publishing). P. 33.

¹⁶³ Moses Park and William Petty Lansdowne, Marquis of. *To the right honourable, the Earl of Shelbourne, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Southern Department. This plan of the colony of Connecticut in North-America*. London, 1766.

¹⁶⁴ *Fairfield Town Records*. Vol. A. October 6, 1680. Pp. 509-16.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*. Pp. 509 & 11.

The center of the Town of Fairfield was approximately two miles east and up the coast from Sasqua River and the location of the Battle of Pequot Swamp and had jurisdiction over the Pequot Swamp area.¹⁶⁶

Granted to John Banks Senr. By the Towne one parcel of Land in Sasscoefield being in quantity five Acres more or less: bounded on the southeast and Northeast with highwayes on the northwest side by a highway on the brow of ye hill next pequit Swamp: on the Southwest with the Land of John Wheler: ther is a highway runs through this parcel of Land at that end next John Wheelers land:

Alsoe in the said field one parcel of land being in quantity two Acres and half being more or Less bounded on the west with the Land of John Barlowe Junr: on the east with the land of Thomas Sherington on the north and south with highwayse ther is a highway runs through the lower end of this parcel¹⁶⁷

The names Banks, Wheeler, Barlow, and Sherington are some of the earliest in Fairfield and often appear in the history of Southport.

In 1673, the Town of Fairfield was still making grants of land that bordered on Pequot Swamp, as newcomers continued to settle in the area.

Also [the Town] hath granted him [Francis Bradle] in the saide field one parsell of land by Pequit swamp being in quantity one Acrew three quarters and four rod more or less bounded on the northwast with the land of John Green: on the southeast with ye land of John Bur on the other sides with highways¹⁶⁸

The increased reference to highways in town records during this period underscores the continued growth of the area and the need for more formal ways of transit/passage.

By the 1680s, Pequot Swamp land was being further divided, whether by inheritance or purchase from the original benefactor of the town's grant. Upon John Bank's death, his property at the Swamp was given to his son Benjamin.

¹⁶⁶ Farnham. P. 14.

¹⁶⁷ *Fairfield Town Records*. Vol. A. Feb. 12, 1669. P. 2.

¹⁶⁸ *Fairfield Town Records*. Vol. A. Jan. 13, 1673. P. 124.

Thes undar wretan parsels of land are all given to beniamin banks by boath his father John banks Sener of fayrfeild deceased his will and deed of gift which deed of gift is dated ye 12 of January 1684 imprimes on parsell of Land lying in sasco field being payd John banks his first decndent thare being in quantity five acres more or less bounded on ye southeast and Northeast with highways on ye Northwst side by a highway on ye brow of ye hill next pequit Swamp on ye Southeast with ye Land of John wheelar thar is a highway runeth throw this parsell of Land on yt sid next John wheeler¹⁶⁹

Later in that decade is the first mention of “horse tavern,” a landmark that exists to this day, albeit in a much abbreviated form due to nineteenth and twentieth century conduits. Horse Tavern Creek used to run through the Pequot Swamp area, its mouth emptying into the harbor.¹⁷⁰

Thees presents testefie ye John bulkley hath resigned up to ye towne fouer acres of Land in Sasco field near the hors tavern bounded on ye South east with a highway on ye Southwest with ye land of mr Samll Wakman on ye Northwest with ye Land of Joseph bulkley on ye Northeast with ye Salt marsh and ye commety appointed to exchange Lands for ye towne have granted to ye sd john Bulkley Six acres of Land in ye woods being by ye sd Johns pastener Lott it is bounded on ye Southeast with ye Common on ye Southwest with ye Land appartang to ye heiers of Thomas Barlow decested on ye Northwest with ye Common on ye Northeast with ye Land of st John Bulkley this Land is in full consederation for his resignation of ye fouer acres of Land in Sasco field as above sd in wenees whear of neer as wee are of ye sd Commety have hear Unto set to our hands this 29th October 1687¹⁷¹

Because its course meandered through the swamp area, touching many properties, Horse Tavern Creek is continually used as a point of reference.

In the 1690s, John Osborn is noted as owning land in the Pequot Swamp area that would be passed down for many years through his family.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ *Fairfield Town Records*. Vol. A. Jan. 12, 1684. P. 380.

¹⁷⁰ Elizabeth Hubbell Schenck tells us that Horse Tavern creek was so-called on account of its use as a place for horses to drink. Elizabeth Hubbell Schenck. *The History of Fairfield, Fairfield County, Connecticut, from the Settlement of the Town in 1639 to 1818*. Vol. I. (Fairfield, CT: The Author, 1889.) P. 46

¹⁷¹ *Fairfield Town Records*. Vol. A. Oct. 29, 1687. P. 305.

¹⁷² John Osborn is said to be the son of Richard Osborn, an English soldier during the Pequot Swamp fight, who returned to settle in Fairfield. Schenck. P. 401.

John osburn hath purchased of John Gruman a parcel of land in sasscoe field commonly so called near the horse tavern with all the privledges and appurtaneces there unto belonging the land is in Quantity foure Acres by Grant with what over plus of mesuer is layed out by the community be it more or less bounded on the southwest with the land appertaining to the heirs of Danll lockwood Deceased on the northwest with a highway on the north East with the land appertaning to the heirs of Left John Bankes Deceased & the highway on the south East with the highway leading to the farms¹⁷³

John Osborne hath purchased of John Bur one percell of upland Lying in Sascoe field Comanly so called in ye bounds of fairfeild & is in quantity four acress be it more or less bounded on ye South & on ye north with ye highway & on ye East & on ye west with ye Land of the saide John Osborne¹⁷⁴

On the above property, John Osborn would build a house that still stands, adjacent to the wetlands in the Pequot Swamp area – present-day Kings Highway West.¹⁷⁵ This was the main roadway and ran east to west through Fairfield, and had originally been an Indian trail.

As the Indians had before them, seventeenth-century settlers to the area would have harvested corn on the land and planted crops like beans and peas that could have grown among the corn stalks. Apple orchards were also common. They would have raised hogs and cattle and assorted fowl.¹⁷⁶

Land Use at Pequot Swamp (1700-1800)

Seventeenth century land use set the stage for the next century. As with land usage in similarly situated New England communities, use of the Pequot Swamp area for agriculture lasted well into the eighteenth century. Properties are transferred on a fairly regular basis and land use remains much the same. However, farther inland on fertile Mill Plain and up Mill Hill, the same hill from which Captain Mason first spied Munnacommock (Pequot) Swamp, additional crops like oats and rye were being grown

¹⁷³ *Fairfield Town Records*. Vol. A. Apr. 18, 1694. P. 345.

¹⁷⁴ *Fairfield Town Records*. Vol. A. Apr. 19, 1695. P. 345.

¹⁷⁵ David Ransom and John Herzan. "National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination: John Osborne House". (National Park Service, Feb. 21, 1986.)

¹⁷⁶ Both *Albion's Seed* (David Hackett Fischer) and *Fairfield, the Biography of a Community* (Thomas Farnham) discuss the agricultural practices of this period.

and milled on one of the two mills along Mill River.¹⁷⁷ From the 1840s, the onion became so popular that Southport became known for its onions. Roadways, like Hulls Highway and Mill Plain Road, provided a direct route to farmland.

The American Revolution, which had such an effect on the Town of Fairfield when the British burned the center of the town in 1779, seems to have had little impact on land usage in the Pequot Swamp area. The new roadways, which intersected the Pequot Swamp, had a greater effect. They allowed for quick transport of goods between farms and harbor. Houses, barns, and blacksmith shops appeared along the roads.

The largest change of land use during the eighteenth century occurred with the growth of the harbor at the mouth of Mill River, present-day Southport Harbor. Although outside our area of study, it is relevant to the growth of Southport through the late eighteenth and into the twentieth century. The harbor was sheltered, fairly shallow, and increasingly easily accessed through roadways built for the transportation of goods to and from the merchant ships. In 1799, dredging of the harbor together with the formalization of the road that would become the first Connecticut Turnpike, encouraged merchants to use the harbor. Ships would transport produce such as corn, oats, rye, cheese, pork, buckwheat, and feathers.¹⁷⁸ Some families, like the Perrys and Bulkleys became exceedingly wealthy due to their endeavors. In the nineteenth century, they built the immense houses which still line Harbor Avenue, the main road along Southport Harbor. However, inland, the Pequot Swamp area remained fairly static in terms of land usage.

Land Use at Pequot Swamp (1800-1900)

A topographical map from 1827 produced by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers details land use in the Pequot Swamp vicinity. This is the earliest detailed map found for the purposes of this study. The map clearly marks orchards, woodland, salt marshes, meadows, pastures, stone walls, rail fences, building structures, and “turnpikes.” On the top portion of the map, a section of the roadway is “corduroy.”¹⁷⁹ Logs were placed

¹⁷⁷ Farnham. P 114.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. P. 115.

¹⁷⁹ Lieut. S. Eastman, U.S. Army. *Treatise on Topographical Drawing*. (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1837.) Plates 1-4. This source documents the topographical meaning of each image on the map.

perpendicular to and across a road for easy transit over a swamp or muddy area.¹⁸⁰ This would seem to indicate that present-day Kings Highway West traversed the Pequot Swamp area. Kings Highway West began as an Indian trail and has alternately been known as Kings Highway, the Boston Post Road, and the Connecticut Turnpike.

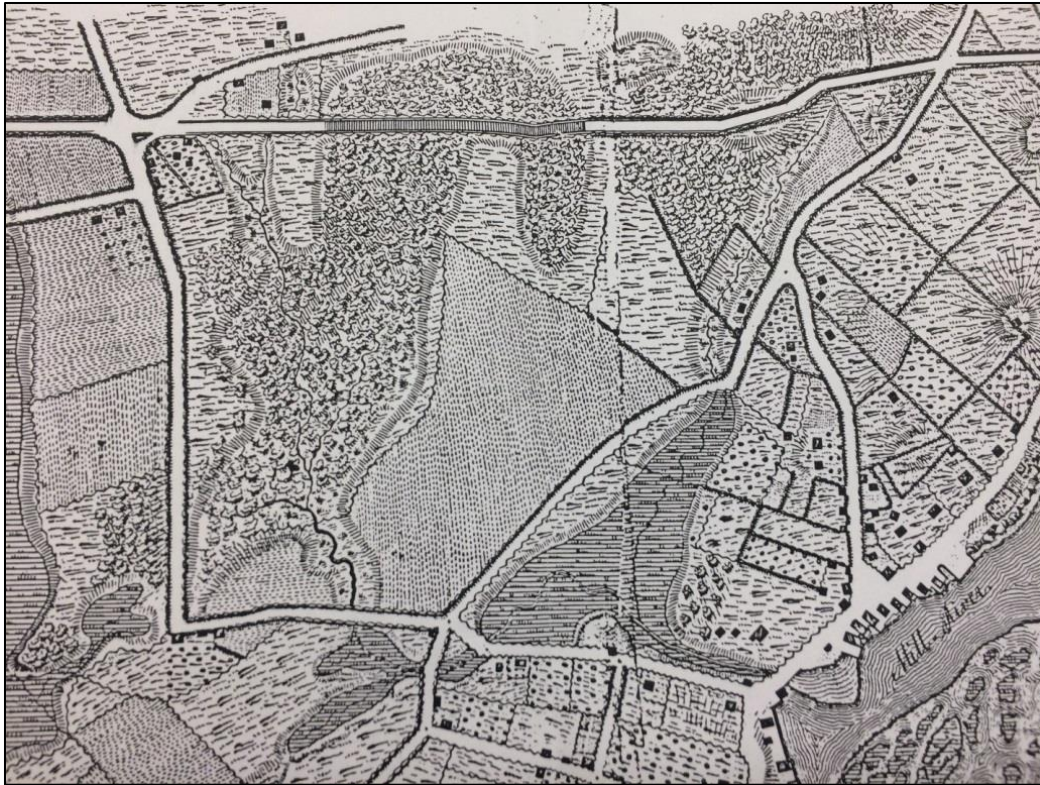


Figure 2. 1827 detail of topographical map showing land usage of Pequot Swamp area to Mill River.¹⁸¹

In Figure 2, the morass of Pequot Swamp is shown to be a wooded dip in the landscape, through which the corduroy road traverses. To its east lie meadows and pastureland. Houses are dotted throughout. A vestige of the triangle of land in the upper left corner is still in existence, as are many of the nearby building structures. The vertical road is present-day Pequot Avenue (which ends at the horizontal West Way in this map)

¹⁸⁰ Cece Saunders. "Corduroy Roads," *Historical Perspectives, Inc.* Friends of the Office of State Archaeology. Spring 2009. http://www.fosa-ct.org/Reprints/Spring2009_CorduroyRoads.htm. Placing logs through a muddy or swampy portion of a road has been commonly used since at least the Roman times. A similar road was constructed across Ash Creek wetlands on the eastern end of Fairfield.

¹⁸¹ Lieutenant Colonel J. Anderson and Lieutenant J. Prescott. *The Harbour Village of Mill River, Fairfield County, State of Connecticut*. Surveyed under Lt Col J. Anderson Topographical Engineer, by Lt Col Anderson & Lt Prescott, Drawn by Lt J. Prescott, 1827. [G3784.S69 1827 B4]

and the road on the left is now called Oxford Road. Horse Tavern Creek meanders southward from the northeast corner towards the harbor.

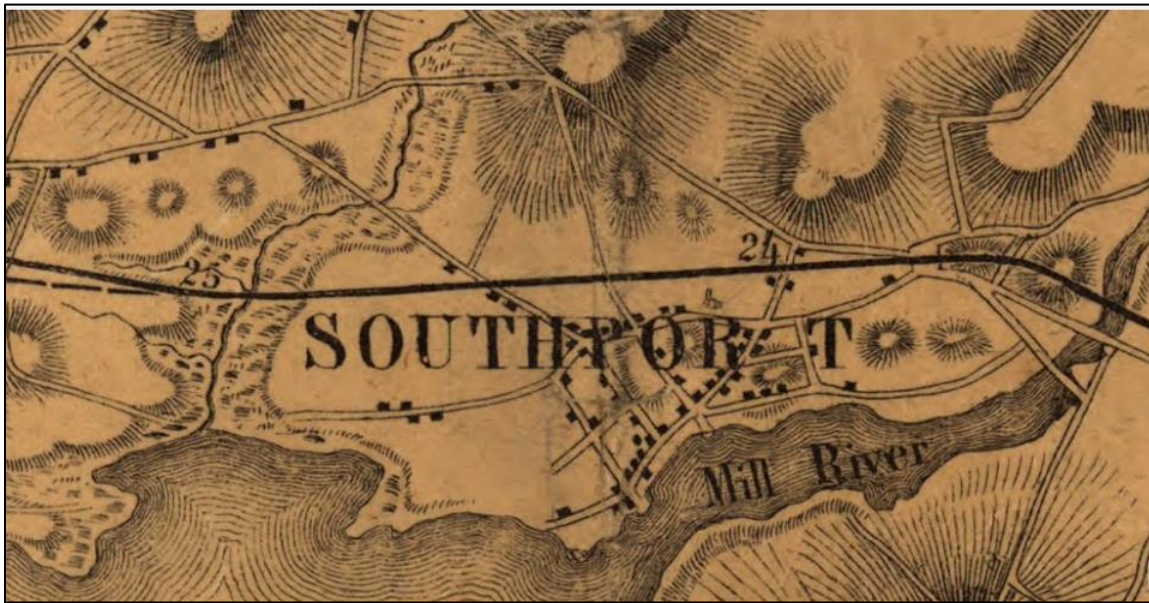


Figure 3. Detail of 1845 map showing the route of the railroad. The tracks pass precisely through the Pequot Swamp area.¹⁸²

Change came quickly in the nineteenth century, even the colloquial “Sascoe Fields” became known as “Southport.”¹⁸³ One of the most impressive houses was the Marquand Mansion, constructed in 1832 on the corner of Pequot Avenue and West Way Road. The house was demolished in 1892 to make way for Pequot Library. Pequot Avenue, which had been excavated in 1835 to allow traffic to traverse a raised portion of the swamp, was further improved.¹⁸⁴ New Yorkers saw the benefits of the Southport idyll, and grand houses began to line the avenue as lakes were drained and sidewalks installed. In 1887, the Sasquanaug Association was created to “improve and beautify the Village of Southport.”¹⁸⁵ This included the burying of Horse Tavern Creek.

¹⁸² Anderson, P. *Detailed topographic strip map showing the coast from New York City to New Haven, Conn.* (New York: Snyder & Black Lithogrs., 1845.)

¹⁸³ Farnham. P. 145.

¹⁸⁴ Schenk. P. 7.

¹⁸⁵ Sasquanaug Association website: <http://www.sasquanaug.org/about.html>. The Association continues to wield influence as to land use in the area.

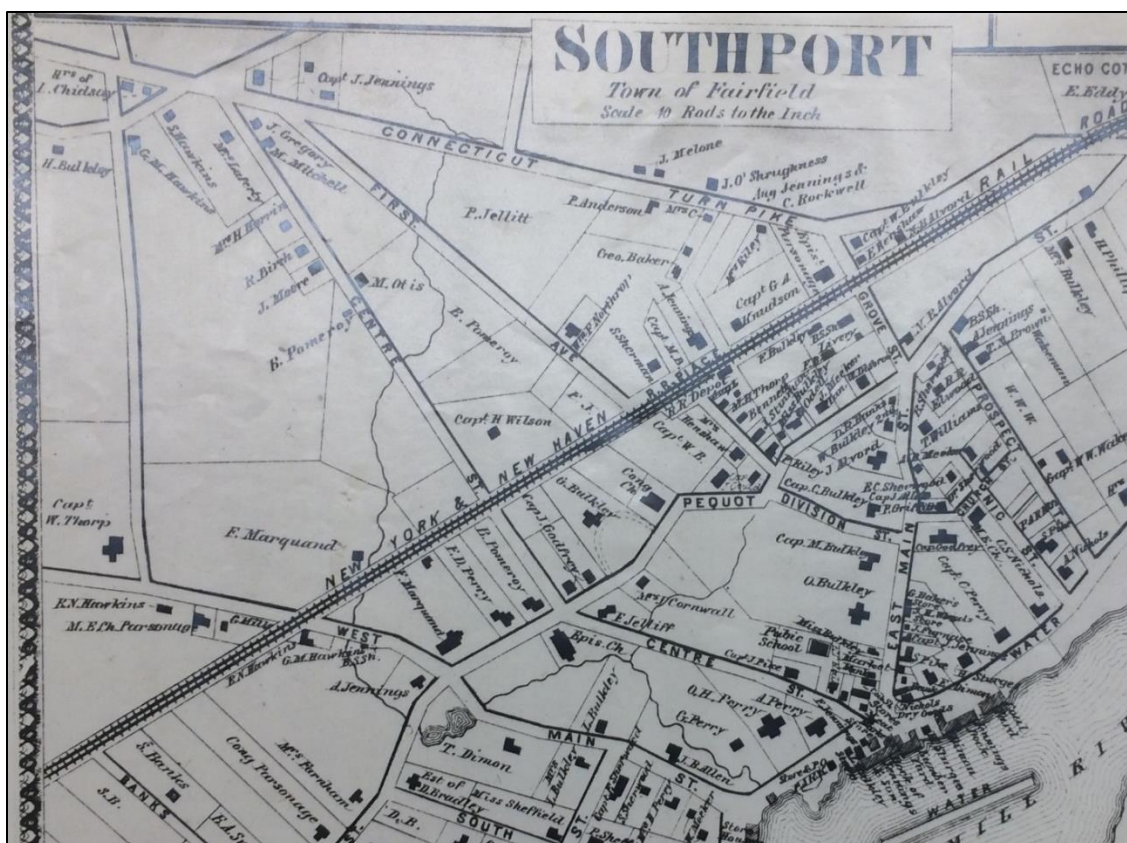


Figure 4. Detail of 1867 map from Beers Atlas.¹⁸⁶

Figure 4 shows an increased division of properties along the railroad and house construction along Pequot Avenue.¹⁸⁷ These properties have large lawns and are not for farming. Gone are the orchards, meadows, and pastures of the 1827 map. Centre [sic] Street has been built to help with transportation of goods from the farms along Hulls Highway, to the northwest, to the wharves along the harbor. Northwest of the railway land owned by Frederick Marquand and the Hawkins family remains swamp and woodland and for agricultural usage. The Connecticut Turnpike, to the north, has become an official route. Horse Tavern Creek is still running fairly freely. Trinity Episcopal Church (ca. 1862) is now at the corner of Centre Street and Pequot Avenue. However, Southport Congregational has yet to be built.

¹⁸⁶ F.W. Beers. "Southport in the Town of Fairfield." *Atlas of New York and Vicinity*. (Maiden Lane, N.Y., F.W. Beers, 1867.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*.

Figure 5 shows the five corners, which became the center of Southport Village. “Highway” denotes the east end of present-day Pequot Avenue.¹⁸⁸ In 1849, the New York and New Haven Railroad opened, connecting New York City to New Haven. Tracks sliced through the center of the Pequot Swamp terrain, dividing properties and upsetting the natural landscape. The railway initiated an era of growth, as travel time between New York and Southport diminished. The popularity of Southport as a countryside destination grew, and so did the need for an actual village center. Shops at the intersection of Pequot Avenue, Main Street, and Rose Hill provided basic necessities.

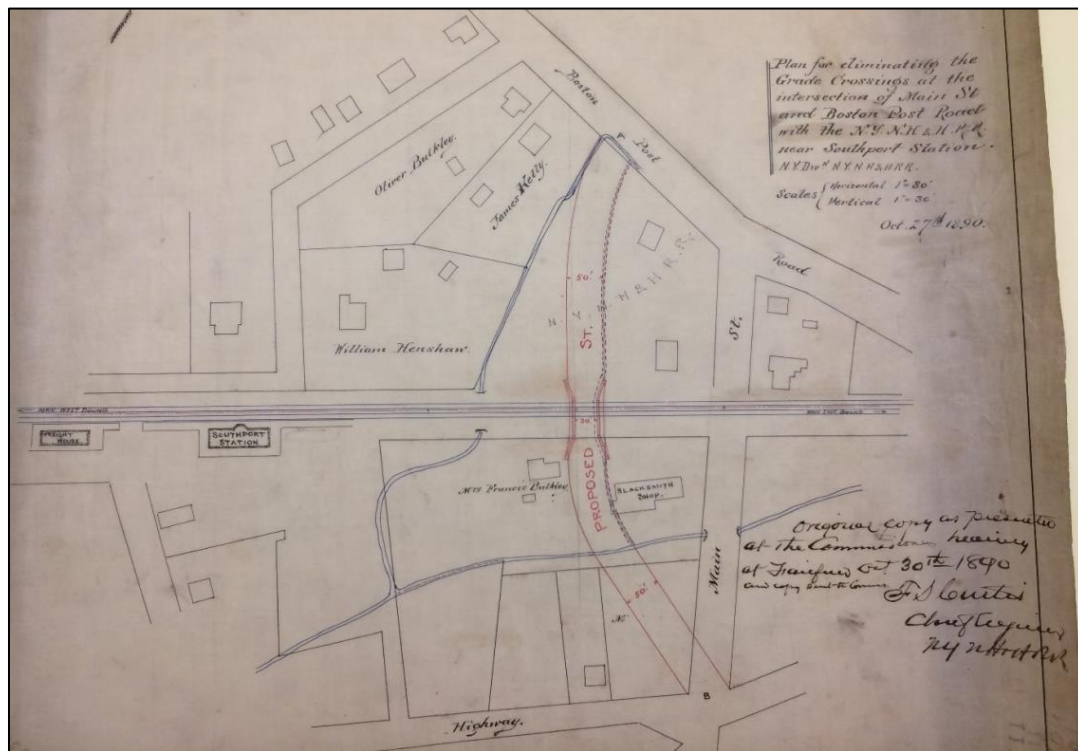


Figure 5. Detail of 1890 map showing conversion of railway tracks from grade crossings.¹⁸⁹

The railway continued to change the area around Pequot Swamp. In 1887, it was decided that “highway” crossings should no longer be at grade to make way for expansion to a 4-track line and for public safety. Works were put in place to create underpasses, which were considered safer means of crossing the busy lines. Landholders

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ New York, New Haven & Hartford Rail Road Co. map, Oct. 1890.

were advised that their properties would be affected by this order. Among those were Josiah Hawkins and Trinity Episcopal Church.¹⁹⁰

Construction of trolley lines connecting Southport with Fairfield and Bridgeport followed quickly in 1894 and with it shops like Carey's confectionary opened along the new village center at the five corners (Figure 5.) The trolley was said to stop at the blacksmith shop on Pequot Avenue.¹⁹¹ This coincided with a drop in maritime traffic to what was too shallow and narrow a harbor for the new age of larger vessels.¹⁹² The trolley helped change the center of commerce from the harbor to Pequot Avenue. A number of shops moved from the harbor to the village. Switzer's Pharmacy, which still exists, made the move along with Disbrow's Grocery Store, and the Jelliff wire manufactory built a two-story brick building along Pequot Avenue in 1906.

Figure 6 shows the Marquand property north of the railroad that has been transferred to Josiah Hawkins, and Pequot Library sits where Marquand's mansion stood. His heirs had the house demolished after his death. The Southport Congregational Church (ca. 1876) now appears, as well as numerous shops and buildings at the Southport Village five corners. Property on the south side of Pequot Avenue, adjacent to Trinity Episcopal Church, has been developed. Horse Tavern Creek is still flowing fairly unconstricted.¹⁹³

Land Use at Pequot Swamp (1900-2000)

The major factors in transformation of land use in the Pequot Swamp area during the twentieth century were the construction of Interstate 95 and further development of wetlands for recreation and housing. The mercantile aspects of the harbor continued their decline, and Southport continued its change into a gentile enclave.

Automobiles have had the most significant effect on the area. A comparison of two aerial views, one from 1934 (Figure 7) and the other from 2017 (Figure 8) show the drastic changes in land usage in eight decades. With greater use of trucks for transportation, Route 1 (or the Connecticut Turnpike), became increasingly congested,

¹⁹⁰ 16th Annual Report of the Railroad Commissioners of the State of Connecticut, to which are added statistical tables compiled from the annual returns of the railroad companies of the state for the year ending September 30, 1888. Pp. 99-100.

¹⁹¹ Southport Chronicle. October 15, 1894.

¹⁹² Farnham. P. 205.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

despite having been widened in 1925. The need was apparent for a more efficient road. In 1952, the Federal Highway Commission authorized use of federal funds for construction of interstate highways, making them more accessible for states to build. In 1956, the Federal Highway Act further eased states' burdens with the inauguration of a trust fund to pay for highway construction. The planning and building of Interstate 95 is a direct result.¹⁹⁴ Town records show mass requisition of lands along the roadway from 1955-1958.¹⁹⁵ As well as slicing through the remnants of Pequot Swamp and causing dramatic trauma to the landscape, the project displaced hundreds of residents.



Figure 6. Detail of 1896 map of Southport.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Connecticut Department of Transportation 100 Year History. *Managing Travel in Connecticut: 100 Years of Progress*. (Hartford: Connecticut Department of Transportation in Cooperation with the Federal Highway Administration: July 1995. P. 46.

¹⁹⁵ *Fairfield Town Records*. Grantee: 1948-1958, A-D.

¹⁹⁶ George Palmer. *Map of Southport, Conn.* 1896.



Figure 7. Aerial Survey, ca. 1934.¹⁹⁷

The 1947 Westford Drive development of modest Cape Cod houses was the first housing complex built in Southport. Carved out of land previously owned by the Hawkins family, the horse shoe shaped road lies between the railroad and Interstate 95.¹⁹⁸ These houses remain modestly priced in an area that has some of the most costly real estate in the United States.¹⁹⁹ Subsequent housing developments have been priced for a higher market. The Southgate Condominium Association constructed 16 units at 405 Center Street in 1992. In 2001, a partnership of Southport residents formed a development corporation to build 28 high-end housing units on 4.4 acres just off I-95. The aim was to prevent an office tower from being constructed.²⁰⁰ In the early 2000s, the land surrounding the historic John Osborn House was divided for development. Three contemporary houses were built on the property, in close proximity to the historic home. The 26 units comprising Pequot Landing were built around the same time, ca. 2003-2006.

¹⁹⁷ Fairchild Aerial Survey of CT 1934 photograph 05490 CT State Archives

¹⁹⁸ Several of the Westford Street houses were built in 1950 and one in 1963. Town of Fairfield IQS online search: <https://www.searchiqs.com/ctfai/Login.aspx>

¹⁹⁹ This assertion is reliant on comparisons of real estate listings in Trulia, Zillow, and New York Times listings.

²⁰⁰ Lisa Prevost. "Promises Foreclosed." *New York Times*. Sept. 16, 2007. P. 11.

Built precisely within the Pequot Swamp area, these units occupy a portion of a 7.6 acre property, much of which is designated wetlands.

Wakeman Boys and Girls Club moved to their present location on Center Street, adjacent to the railroad in 1954. At the time, the property had been farmland. When the Club installed a turf field in 2005, any remnants of Pequot War era material would likely have been destroyed. The prevalence of parking lots in the area is also an indication of the significance of the car to the development of the swampland. Both Trinity Episcopal and Southport Congregational churches have large paved parking lots, As do train station (north and southbound), shops in the village, restaurants along Old Post Road, Pequot Library, Wakeman Boys and Girls Club, and the condominiums. All of these parking lots have impacted the swamp.

In Figure 8, Interstate 95 can be seen to cut through some of the remaining swamp area.²⁰¹ Although hugely diminished from its seventeenth century size, swampland persists and is visible in this image. The largest tracts belong to the Town of Fairfield, Pequot Landing, Trinity Church, the Sasquanaug Association, Southport Congregational Church, Aspetuck Land Trust, and the Southport Conservancy. These properties are slated to be preserved in perpetuity. However, other lands, like the house at 75 Chester Place, which is being built on open land (that was sub-divided in the 1970s).²⁰² The property sits at the corner of Pequot Avenue near the village center, which has also undergone change over the past century.

Southport Village retains its intimate scale of one- and two-story buildings.²⁰³ The Jelliff building is now offices and an antiques shop. Switzer's Pharmacy still exists, as does the post office. The train station has been transformed into a high-end restaurant. However, the Driftwood Sandwich Shop and Horseshoe Café maintain a more modest clientele. Several clothing and jewelry shops have opened in existing buildings and a Chase Bank now sits at the northeast corner of Pequot Avenue and the Old Post Road. Up the Old Post Road and to the east is Southport Park, a ten-acre open space maintained by Aspetuck Land Trust, a local land conservation group.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Town of Fairfield. Town Hall, Fairfield, CT. Fairfield Historic District Commission. Approved notes: Aug. 13, 2015.

²⁰³ The Southport conservancy, Sasquanaug Association, and Fairfield Historic Commission all work to maintain the character of Southport, as they perceive it.



Figure 8. 2017 Google Map of the Pequot Swamp area.²⁰⁴

Table 1. Table of Land Usage at Pequot Swamp: Dates and Major Actions

| Usage | Date | Major Actions |
|--------------------|-----------|--|
| Battlefield | July 1637 | Battle of Pequot Swamp |
| English settlement | 1669-70 | Fairfield purchases land between Mill River and Sasco Creek for dispersal among settlers |
| Domestic/farming | ca. 1690 | John Osborn House constructed |
| Mainly farming | 1827 | Topographical map |
| Domestic | 1832 | Marquand house constructed |
| Roadway | 1835 | Part of Pequot Avenue excavated |
| Mass transit | 1849 | New York – New Haven railroad opens |

²⁰⁴ Google Map of 06890. 2017.

| | | |
|---------------------|-----------|---|
| Religion | 1862 | Trinity Episcopal Church opens on Pequot Avenue |
| Religion | 1876 | Southport Congregational Church built of stone on Pequot Avenue |
| Recreation | 1887 | Pequot Library opens on Pequot Avenue |
| Mass transit | 1890 | Conversion of railroad tracks |
| Mass transit | 1894 | Trolley lines installed along Route 1 to Pequot Avenue |
| Shop | 1894 | Carney's confectionary opens in Southport Village (along with other shops) |
| Manufacturing | 1906 | Jelliff wire manufactory opens |
| Roadway | 1925 | Route 1 widened |
| Domestic | 1947 | Westford Road developed with Cape Cod houses |
| Recreation | 1954 | Wakeman Boys & Girls club opens new clubhouse on Center Street (and fields) |
| Roadway | 1958 | Interstate 95 opens |
| Domestic | 1992 | Condominiums open on Center Street |
| Domestic/Recreation | 2003-2006 | Pequot Landing built with wetlands integrated into plan |
| Domestic | 2003-2014 | Houses adjacent to John Osborn house |
| Recreation | 2005 | Wakeman Boys and Girls Club constructs turf fields along Center Street |
| Domestic | 2007 | Southport Village Partners builds condo units by Old Post Road |
| Recreation | 2012 | Southport Park open space opens to the public |

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Appendix B: Quinnipiac Campaign Primary Source Excerpts

The following primary source excerpts are transcribed exactly as they appear in the original document and are presently in order of when they were published.

Philip Vincent, *A True Relation of the Late Battell Fought in New England, Between the English, and the Salvages: With the Present State of Things There*. M.P. for Nathan Butter: London, 1637.

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...They pursued the remnant threescore miles beyond the Country (till within 36 miles of the Dutch plantations on Hudsons river) where they fought with them, killed fortie or fiftie besides those that they cut off in their retrait, and tooke prisoners 180, that came out of a Swampe and yielded themselves upon promise of good quarter. Some other small parties of them were since destroyed, and Captaine Patrick with 16 or 18 brought 80 Captives to the Bay of Boston. The newes of the flight of Sassacus their Sagamore, is also confirmed. He went with forty men to the Mowhacks, which are a cruel bloodie Caniballs, and the most terrible to their neighbors of all these nations: but will scarce dare ever to carrie armes against the English, of whom they are sore afraid, not daring to encounter white men with their hot-mouth'd weapons, which spit nothing else but bullets and fire.

...These cruell, but wily Mowhacks, in contemplation of the English, and to procure their friendship, entertaine the fugitive Pequest and their Captaine, by cutting off all their heads and hands, which they sent to the English, as a testimony of their love and service.

John Underhill, *Newes from America; or, a New and Experimentall Discoverie of New England; Containing, a True Relation of their War-like Proceedings there Two Years Last Past, with a Figure of the Indian Fort, or Palizado*. J.D. for Peter Cole: London, 1638.

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...The forces
which were prepared in the Bay were ready for to set
forth: my selfe being taken on but for 3 moneths, and
the souldiers willing to returne to the Bay, we imbar-
qued our selves, & set to sayle; in our journey we met
with certaine Pinaces, in them a 100 able and we ap-
pointed souldiers under the conduct of one Captaine
Stoughton, and other inferior officers; and in compa-
ny with them one M. John Wilson, who was sent to in-
struct the Company; these falling into Pequeat river,
met with many of the distressed Indians, some they
slew, others they tooke prisoners.

Edward Johnson, *A History of New-England From the English planting in the Yeere 1628 untill the Yeere 1652*. Nath Brooke: London, 1654.

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...the Lord (who would have his people know their work was his, and
he onely must order their Counsels, and war-like work for them)
did bring them timely supply form the vesels, and also gave
them a second victory, wherein they slew many more of their e-
nemies, the residue flying into a very thick swamp, being unac-
cessible, by reason of the boggy holes of water, and thick bushes;
the English drawing up their company beleaguered the swamp,
and the Indians in the mean time skulking up and down, and as
they saw opportunity they made shot with their Arrowes at the
English, and then suddainly they would fall flat along in the wa-
ter to defend themselves from the retaliation of the Souldiers
Muskets. This lasted not long, for our English being but a small
number, had parted themselves far asunder, but by the providence
of most high god, some of them spyed an Indian with a
kettle at his back going more inwardly into the swamp, by which
they perceived there was some place of firm land in the midst
thereof, which caused them to make way for the passage of

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of their Souldiers, which brought this warre to a period: For al-
though many got away, yet were they no such considerable num-
ber as ever to raise warre any more; the slaine or wounded of
the English were (through the mercy of Christ) but a few: One
of them being shot through the body, neere about the breast, re-
garding it not till of a long time after, which caused the bloud
to dry and thicken on either end of the arrow so that it could
not be drawne forth his body without great difficulty and much
paine, yet did he scape his life, as may appear by one passage which

I shall here relate: thus it came to passé, As Souldiers were
uppon their march, close by a great thicket, where no eye could
penetrate farre, as it often falls out in such wearisome ways,
where neither men nor beast have beaten out a path; some
Souldiers lingering behind their fellowes, two Indians watching
their opportunity, much like a hungry hauke, when they sup-
posed the last man was come up, who kept a double double
double distance in his march, they sudden and swiftly snatched
him up in their tallens, hoising him upon their shoulders, ran into
the swamp with him; the Souldier unwilling to be made a Pope
by being borne on mens shoulders, strove with them all he could
to free himself from their hands; but, like a carefull Comman-
der, one Captaine Davenport, then Lieutenant of his company,
being diligent in his place to bring up the reare, coming up
with them, followed with speed into the swamp after him, having
a very severe cutlace tyed to his wrist, and being well able to
make it bite fore when he set it on, resolving to make it fall foul
on the Indians bones, he soone overtook them, but was preven-
ted by the buckler they held up from hitting them, which was
the man they had taken; It was matter of much wonder to see
with what dexterity they hurled the poore Souldier about, as if
they had been handling a Lacedaemonina shield, so that the nimble
Captaine Davenport could not, of a long time, fasten one stroke
upon them; yet, at last, dying their tawny skin into a crimson co-
lour, they cast downe their prey, and hasted thorow the thic-
kets for their lives. The Souldier thus redeemed, had no such hard

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hard usage, but that he is alive, as I suppose, at this very day:
The Lord in mercy toward his poore Churches having thus de-
stroyed these bloody barbarous Indians, he returnes his people
in safety to their vessels, where they take account of their priso-
ners: the Squawes and some young youths they brought home
with them, and finding the men to be deeply guilty of the crimes
they undertook the warre for, they brought way onely their
heads as a token of their victory. By this means the Lord strook
a trembling terror into all the Indians round about, even to this
very day.

Thomas Stanton, 1659 05 04 Testimony, "Papers of William Samuel Johnson,"
Connecticut Historical Society, Reel V, Volume III.

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Loveing frend I reseved yrs dated may ye 4th / 59 / by john minor...
...Certainly ye wel know ye english did posess all

Those parts as conquered lands for from new haven to Sashquakatt wee ded
persue ym ye pequots killed divers att new haven & att Cupheag onely one
house or ye carcass of one wee found att milford with out inhabitants att the
Cutting of ye pequots / all there friends & confederates fled alsoe being undr
the Same condemnation with ym / tis true some att paquanock did formerly
stand out but ye pequets did kill severall of ym & Conquered ye Country Soe
brought all ye Indians att long Island & ye may now there tributaries from pequit
to accomhett beyond Hudsons River ye English Conquering ye pequots Conquered
them alsoe & tooke Captives from Sashquahet poquanocke for thay Severall of ym
lived wth ye pequots in time of there prosperity & fought against ye English
alsoe att sashquakett / paquannock Indians fought against us likewise / some
of there wome are att Nevis & in ye bay as Captives to this Day...

Lion Gardener, *Leift Lion Gardiner his relation of the Pequot Warres. 1660.* Trinity
College Library, Watkinson Trumbull Room, QUATRO 091.17 G2 Manuscript.

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Then 3 dayes after the fight came waia dance Next
broth^r to the old Sachem of long Ilan and hauing
been rcommended to me by Mior Gibbons he
came to know if we were angrie with all Indeans, I
answered No, but only with such as has kild English-
men, he asked me wheth^r they y^t liued upon long
Iland might cum to trade with us, I Said no, nor we

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with them for if I should send my boate to trade for
corne and you haue pequits with you and if my
boat should cum into sum crik by reason of bad
weath^r they might kill my men, & I shall thnke
y^t you of long Iland haue done it, and So we may
kill all you for y^e pequits but if you will kill all
the pequits y^t come to you and send me th^r heads
yⁿ I will giue to you as to weakwash and you
shall haue trade with us, then, Said he I wil goe to
my broth^r, for he is the great Sacehm of all long
Iland and if we may haue peace and trade with
you we will giue you tribute as we did the pequits,
then I said if you haue any Indeans y^t [7] haue
killed English you must bring th^r heads also, he
answered not any one, and said that Gibbons my
broth^r would haue tould you if it had been so, So
he went away and did as I had said and sent me 5
heads, 3. & 4. heads for w^eh I paid them y^t brought
them as I had promised Then came Captaine

Stoten with an armie of 300 men from y^e bay to
kill the pequits, but they wear fled beyond New
hauen to a swamp, I sent Wequash after them
who went by Night to spie them out and y^e armie
folloed him, and found them at y^e great Swamp
who killed sum and tooke oth^rs and y^e rest
fled to y^e Mowhakues with th^r Sachem the y^e
Mohakues cut off his hed & sent it to Harford
for then they all fered us....., but before

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they went to y^e great swamp they sent Tho Stanton
ouer to long Island & Shelt^r Iland to find pequits
theare but there was none of y^e Sachem waiaandancet
y^t was a plimmoth w y^e Comish^rs weare there and
set there last, I say he had kild so many y^e pequits
and sent th^r heds to me y^t they durst not cum there
and he and his men went with y^e English to y^e
swamp and thus y^e pequits weare queld at y^t time,

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..., but our New England
12 penne chronacle is stuffed with a cattalgoue of
y^e names of Some as if they had deserued Imortall
fame but the right New England Millitarie worthies
are left out for want of roome as Major Mason
Captain undrill lieftennant Sielley &c who under-
tooke the desparate way and designe to Mistick fort
and kild 300 burnt the fort and tooke many prison-
wers, thought they are not once named but honest
Abraham thought it no shame to name the confed-

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erates y^t helped him to warre when he redeemed his
both^r lot, but uncas of Mistik and Waiaandance at
y^e great Swamp, and euer since yo^r trustie frend is
forgotten and for our sakes persecuted to this day
with fire and sword...

Thomas Prince ed., John Mason, *A Brief History of the Pequot War: Especially Of the memorable Taking of their Fort at Mistick in Connecticut In 1637*. (Written ca. 1660)
S.Kneeland & T.Green: Boston, MA, 1736.

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Immediately the whole Body of Pequots repaired to

that Fort where SASSACOUS the Chief Sachem did reside; charging him that he was the only Cause of all the Troubles that had befallen themp and therefore they would Destroy both him and his; But by the Intreaty of their Counsellers they spared his Life; and consulting what Course to take, concluded there was no abiding any longer in their Country, and so resolved to fly unto several Parts. The greatest Body of them went towards MANHATANCE: And passing over Connecticut, they met with three English Men in a Shallop going for Saybrook, whom they slew: The English Fought very stoutly, as themselves Confessed, Wounding many of the Enemy.

About a Fortnight after our Return home, which was about one Month after the Fight at MISTICK, there Arrived in PEQUOT RIVER several Vessels from the MASSACHUSETS, Captain Israel Stoughton being Commander in Chief; and with him about One hundred and twenty Men; being sent by that Colony to pursue the War against the Pequots: The Enemy being all fled before they came, Except some few Straglers, who were surprised by the Moheags and others of the Indians, and by them delivered to the Massachusetts Soldiers.

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Connecticut Colony being informed hereof, sent forthwith forty Men, Captain Mason being Chief Commander; with some other Gent, to meet those of the Massachusetts, to consider what was necessary to be attended respecting the future: Who meeting with them on the Massachusetts in Pequot Harbour; after some time of consultation, concluded to pursue those Pequots that were fled towards Manhatance, and so forthwith arched after them, discovering several Places where they Rendezvoused and lodged not far distant from their several Removes; making but little haste, by reason of their Children, and want of Provision; being forced to dig for Clams, and to procure such other things as the Wilderness afforded: Our Vessels sailing along by the Shore. In about the space of three Days we all Arrived at New Haven Harbour, then called Quinnypiag. And seeing a great Smaok in the Woods not far distant we supposing some of the Pequots our Enemies might be there; we hastened ashore, But quickly discovered them to be Connecticut Indians. Then we returned aboard our Vessels, where we stayed some short time, having sent a Pequot Captive upon disco-

very, we named Luz; who brought us Tydings of the Enemy, which proved true; so faithful was he to us, though against his own Nation. Such was the Terror of the English upon them; that a Moheage Indian named Jack Eatow going ashore at that time, met with three Pequots, took two of them and brought them aboard.

We then hastened our March towards the Place where the Enemy was: And coming into a Corn Field, several of the English espied some Indians, who fled from the: They pursued them; and coming to the Top of an Hill, saw several Wigwams just opposite, only a Swamp intervening, which was almost divided in two Parts. Serjeant Palmer hastening with about twelve Men who were under his Command to surround the smaller Part of the Swamp, that so He might prevent the Indians flying: Ensign Danport, Serjeant Jeffries & c. entering the Swamp,

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intended to have gone to the Wigwams, were there set upon by several Indians, who in all probability were deterred by Serjeant Palmer. In this Skirmish the English slew but few: two or three of themselves were Wounded: The rest of the English coming up, the Swamp was surrounded.

Our Council being called, and the Question propounded, How we should proceed, Captain Patrick advised that we should cut down the Swamp; there being many Indian Hatchets taken, Captain Traske concurring with him; but was opposed by others: Then we must pallizado the Swamp; which was also opposed: Then they would have a Hedge made like those of Gotham; all which was judged by some almost impossible, and to no purpose, and that for several Reasons, and therefore strongly opposed. But some others advised to force the Swamp, having time enough, it being about three of the Clock in the Afternoon: But that being opposed, it was then propounded to draw up our Men close to the Swamp, which would much lessened the Circumference; and with all to fill up the open Passages with Bushes, that so we might secure them until the Morning, and then we might consider further about it. But neither of these would pass; so different were our Apprehensions; which was very grievous to some of us, who concluded the Indians would make an Escape in the Night, as easily they

might and did: We keeping at great distance, what better could be expected? Yet Captain Mason took Order that the Narrow in the Swamp should be cut thro'; Which did much shorten our Leaguer. It was resolutely Performed by Serjeant Davis.

We being loth to destroy Women and Children, as also the Indians belong to that Place: whereupon Mr. Tho. Stanton a Man well acquainted with the Indian Language and Manners, offered his Service to go into the Swamp and treat with them: To which we were somewhat backward, by reason of some Hazard and Danger he might be exposed unto: But his importunity prevailed: Who going to them, did in a short time return to us, with near Two Hundred old Men, Women and Children; who

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Delivered themselves to the Mercy of the English. And so Night drawing on, we beleaguered them as strongly as we could. About half an Hour before Day, the Indians that were in the Swamp attempted to break through Captain Patrick's Quarters' but were beaten back several times; they making a great Noise, as their Manner is at such Times, it sounded round about our Leaguer: Whereupon Captain Mason sent Serjeant Stares to inquire into the Cause, and also to assist if need required; Capt. Traske coming also in to their Assistance: But the Tumult growing to a very great Heighth, we raised our Siege; and Marching up to the Place, at a Turning of the Swamp the Indians were forcing out upon us; but we sent them back by our small Shot.

We waiting a little for a second Attempt; the Indians in the mean time facing about, pressed violently upon Captain Patrick, breaking through his Quarters, and so escaped. They were about sixty or seventy as we were informed. We afterwards searched the Swamp & found but few Slain. The Captives we took were about One Hundred and Eighty; whom we divided, intending to keep them as Servants, but they could not endure that Yoke; few of them continuing any considerable time with their Masters.

Thus did the Lord scatter his Enemies with his strong Arm! The Pequots now became a Prey to all Indians. Happy were they that could bring in their Heads to the

English: Of which there came almost daily to Winsor, or Hartford But the Pequots growing weary hereof, sent some of the Chief that survived to mediate with the English; offering that If they might but enjoy their Lives, they would become the English Vassals, to dispose of them as they pleased. Which was granted them. Whereupon ONKOS and MYANTONIMO were sent for; who with the Pequots met at Hartford. The Pequots being demanded, How many of them were then living? Answered, about One Hundred and Eighty or Two Hundred. There were then given to ONKOS, Sachem of MONHEAG, Eighty; to

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MYANTONIMO, Sachem of NARRAGANSETT, Eighty; and to NYNIGRETT, Twenty, when he should satisfy for a Mare of Edward Pomroye's killed by his Men. The Pequots were then bound by COVENANT, That none should inhabit their native Countyr, nor should any of them be called PEQUOTS any more, but MOHEAGS and NARRAGANSETTS for ever. Shortly after, about Forty of them went to Moheag; others went to Long Island; the rest settled at Pawcatuck, a Place in Pequot Country, contrary to their late Covenant and Agreement with the English.

Anonymous Account in Increase Mather, *A relation of the troubles which have hapned in New-England by reason of the Indians there from the year 1614 to the year 1675*. John Foster: Boston, MA, 1677.

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Upon this notable victory Sassacus his heart failed him, his men of war being many of them cut off, so that he fled his Countyr, breaking down his Forts, and burning his Wigwams himself, he marched away by land, with some men, women and Children, their good being sent away in Cannoos. The English at Say-brook had notice of the Cannoos and an advantage to stop their passage, but Capt. Kilpatrick delayed until the opportunity was gone, so that Sassacus with his routed train coming up to the Cannoos six miles from Saybrook Fort, was transported over the River, and fled towards Quinipiack. Being now enraged he solicited his men of War, that they might go, and fall upon the English at Connecticut, but some of them not consenting, that design of his was not put into execution; he therefore fled to the Mohawks, who (being as is supposed excited thereto by the revengfull Narragansets) cut off his head.

Many of the Pequots before Sassacus his death returned to their country again; but souldiers being sent from Massachusetts the returned Pequots were presently distressed, ours ran sacking their country, and settling a garrison therein, quickly came back to Saybrook, with one of the Pequot Sachims, and other Indian Captives. After which a supply of men from Connecticut, coming to the Massachusetts Soldiers, they sailed westward in pursuit of the Pequots who were fled that way, sailing along to the westward of Monowuttuck, the

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wind not answering their desires, they cast Anchor, where two Sachems from Long Island came to them, desiring peace and promising to deliver up whatever Pequots should fly to them for shelter, some scattering Pequots were then taken and slain, as also the Pequot Sachem, before expressed, had his head cut off, whence that place did bear the name of Sachems head. Being come near to Quinipiack observing a smoak, it was conjectured that the Enemy might be thereabouts, whereupon Indians were set on shore to hunt after them, but they could find no more then two, one of which was the Sachems son of that place, supposed to be Confederate with the Pequots. They promised to conduct the English to the Enemy, but failed in performance. After that they took another Indian Captive, who likewise engaged to lead the English upon the Pequots, but he directed them into quite contrary way, for which his life was deservedly taken from him. But an Indian called Luz, who was before taken Captive by our Souldiers in the Pequot country, with two other Indians that were his kinsmen, promised if the English would give him, and his kinsmen their lives, He would conduct them to the Enemies the sought after. He did so, the Pequots with other Indians belonging to those parts, were found near a Swamp, into which they did betake theselves for safety, upon the approach of the English Souldiers. After a while, and Indian came out of the Swamp unarmed, with a present of Wampam, The English declared to him that they came not to take away the lives of the Indians nor their goods, if they would deliver up the murtherers that were amongst them. After which ninety nine came forth with their Sachim, who offered as a present all the Estate he had to dispose of, that was nothing but the Coat on his back, being a Bears Skin. He was sent into the Swamp again to signify to the Pequots there lurking, that if they would bring forth the murderers it should be better for them, which they would not do, but at last professed they had lived togheter, and they would dye together.

There were about seventy or eighty Indians in the Swamp, amongst whom there were twelve murderers. So then the English beset the Swamp; and shot in upon them, and the Indians at them, some of which were furnished with Guns. One in special that was climbing up

a Tree to shoot at the English, was espied by a Souldier, who sent a Bullet into him before the other could make his shot. In the night time the Indians brake away. Diligent search was the next day made in the Swamp for dead Indains, Not many, (as some have made Narration) but seven, and no more could be found. As for the Captives

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a Guard was appointed to look after them, they were charged upon priril of their lives not to attempt running away; yet one of them betook himself to his heels, but a Souldier shot after him, and killed him, which struck a Terror into the rest of the Captives, that no man durst make an offer to escape. These things do I find related by Anonymus.

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Only I remember Capt. Davenport (that good man who was afterwards Commander of the Castle at Boston, and there slain by lighening) once told me, that himself, with two or three more, engaged with no lesse that thirty Indians, and that there were seventeen arrows shot into his Coat, but having on a Coat of Male, none of those arrows hurt him, only one that happened to strike where he was not defended by his Coat.

Also he rescued a poor souldier, that was in extream danger of being devoured by those Wolves; For two Mastive-Indians that lay in ambush, as a party of souldiers passed by, supposing they had been all past, snatched hold of him whom they thought to be the last man, and were running away with him upon their shoulders, Capt. Davenport followed them with his drawn Cutlash, but still as he lifted up his hand to strike at them these Gigantine Salvages held up the poor man they were running away with, whereby for a while they sercured their won bodyes from the blow, until a last missing the Englishman, Capt. Davenport smote one of the Indians, whereupon they threw Down their prey, and ran for their lives.

But to be serious, That which Governour Winthrop writeth in his Letter, published by Mr. Morton, is very memorable, viz. that in one fight, though the Indians coming up close to our men, shot their Arrows thick upon them, so as to pierce their hat brims, and their Sleeves, and Stockings, and other parts of their Cloaths, yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them, as that (excepting three that rashly ventured into a Swamp after them) not one of them was wounded.

William Hubbard, A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England, form the first planting thereof in the year 1607. But chiefly of the late Troubles in the two last

years, 1675 and 1676. To which is added a Discourse about the Warre with the Pequods In the year 1637. John Foster: Boston, MA, 1677.

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This service being thus happily accomplished by these few hands that

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Came from Connecticut, within a while after, the Foreces sent from the Massachusetts under the conduct of Captain Stoughton as Commander in chief arrived there also, who found a great part of the work done to their hands, in the surprisal of the Pequods Fort as aforesaid, which yet was but the breaking of the nest, and the unkenneling those salvage Wolves, for the Body of them, with Sassacous the chief Sachem (whose very mane was a terror to all the Narrhagansets) were dispersed abroad and scattered all over their Country....

The rest of the Enemy being first fired out of their strong hold, were taken and destroyed, a great number of them, being seized in the places where they intended to have hid themselves, the rest fled out of their own Country over Connecticut River, up toward the Dutch Plantation...

....our

Souldiers went by Water towards New Haven, whether they heard, and which in reason was most likely) they bent their course? Soon after they were informed of a great number of them, that had betaken themselves to a neighbouring place not far off, whither they might hope it was not like they should be pursued; but upon search they found fifty or sixty Wigwams, but without any Indians in any of them, but heard that they had passed along toward the Dutch Plantation, whereupon our Souldiers that were before, all embarked for Quillepiack, afterwards called New Haven, and being landed there, they had not far

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to march unto the place where it was most probable they should either find or hear of them; according in their march they met here & there with sundry of them, who they slew or took prisoners, amongst whom were two Sachems, whom they presently beheaded; to a third that was either a Sachem or near a kin to one, they gave his life upon condition that he should goe and enquire where Sassacous was, and accordingly bring them word; this Indian overlooking all other national or natural obligations, in consideration of his life that was received on that condition, proved very true and faithful to those that sent him, his order was to have returned in three dayes, but not being able within so short a time to make a full discovery of the business, & also find a handsome way to escape, he made it eight dayes before he returned, in which something fell our not a little remarkable, for those he was sent to discover, suspecting at the last by his withdrawing himself that he came for a Spye, pur-

sued after him, so as he was forced to fly for his life, and getting down to the Sea-side he accidentally met with a Canooe a little before turned adrift, by which means he paddled by some shift or other so farr out of the harbor, that making a sign he was discerned of some on board one of the Vessels that attended on our Souldiers, by whome being taken up he made known what he had discovered: But after he was gone Sassacous suspecting (and not without just cause) what the matter was, made his escape from the rest with twenty or thirty of this men to the Mohawkes, by whome himself and they were all murhtered afterward, being hired thereunto by the Narrhagansets, as was confidently affirmed & belived.

The rest of the Pequots from whome Sassacouse had made an escape, shifted every one from himself, leaving but three or four behind them (when a party of our Souldiers accordeing to the direction of him that was sent as a spy came upon the place) whom would not or could not tell them whither their Company were fled; but our Souldiers ranging up and down as providence guided them, at the last, July 13, 1637, they lighted upon a great number of them, they pursued in a small Indian town seated by the side of a hideous Swamp (near the place where Fairfield or Stratford now stand) into which they all slipt as well Pequods as natives of the place, before our men could make any shot upon them, having placed a Centinel to give warning, Mr. Ludlow and Capt. Mason with half a score of their men hapned to discover this crew. Capt. Patrick and Capt. Traske with about an hundred of the Massachuset Forces came in upon them presently after the alarm was given; such Commanders as first hapned to be there gave special order that the swamp should be surrounded (being about a mile in Compas) but Lieutenant Davenport belonging to Capt. Traks his Company, not hearing the word of Command, with a dozen more of his Company in an over eager pursuit of the enemy rushed immediately in to the Swamp, where they were very rudely enteratined by those evening wolves that were newly kenneled there in, for Leift. Davenport was sorely wounded in the Body, John Wedgwood of Ipswich in the belly, and was laid hold on also by some of the Indians, Thomas Sherman of the said Ipswich in the neck, some of their neighbors that ventured in with them were in danger of the Enemies arrows that flew very thick about them, others were in as much hazard of being swallowed by the miery boggs of the Swamp wherein they stuck so fast, that if Serjeant Riggs of Roxbury had not rescued two, or three of them they had fallen into the hands of the enemy; but such was the strength and courage of those that came to the rescue, that some of the Indians being slain with the Swords, their friends were quickly relieved, and drawn out of the mire and danger.

But the Indians of the place, who had for company sake run with their Guests the Pequods, into the swamp, did not love their friendship so well as to be killed with them also for company sake, wherefore they began to

bethink themselves that they had done no wrong to the English, and desired a parly which was granted, & presently understood by the ear of Thomas Stanton an exact Interpreter then at hand, upon which the Sachem. Of the place with several others their wives and children, that like better to live quietly in their wigwams then be buried in the Swampe came forth and had their lives granted them: after some time of

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ther parley with these, the interpreter was sent in to offer the like terms to the rest, but they were Possessed with such a spirit of stupidity and sullenness that they resolved rather to sell their lives for what they could get there, and to that end began to let fly their arrows thick against him as intending to make his blood some part of the price of their own, but through the goodness of God toward him, his life was not to be sold on that account, he being presently fetched off.

By this time night drawing on, our Commanders perceiving on which side of the Swampe the enemies were lodged, gave order to cut through, the Swamp with their swords, that they might the better hemme them round in one corner, which was presently done, and so they were begirt in all night, the English in the circumference plying them with shot all the time, by which meanes many of them were killed and buried in the mire, as they found the next day. The Swamp by the forementioned device being reduced to so narrow a compass, that our souldiers standing at twelve foot distance could surround it, the enemy was kept in all the night; but a little before day-break (by reason of the Fogge that upseth to arise about that time observed to be the darkest time of the night) twenty or thirty of the lustiest of the enemy brake through the Besiegers, and escaped away in to the woods, some by violence and some by stealth dropping away, some of whom notwithstanding were killed in the pursuit; the rest were left to the mercy of the Conquerors, of which many were killed in the Swamp like sullen dogs, that would rather in their self willedness and madness sit still to be shot through or cut in pieces, then receive their lives for the asking at the hand of those into whose power they were now fallen: Some that are yet living and worth of credit doe affirm, that in the morning entering in to the Swamp, they saw several heaps of them sitting close together, upon whom they discharged their pieces laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets at a time, putting the muzzels of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them, so as besides those that were found dead (near twenty) it was judged that many more were killed and sunk into the mire and never were minded more by friend or foe; of those who were not so desperate or sullen to sell their lives for nothing, but yielded in time, the male Children were sent to the Bermudas, of the females some were distributed to the English towns, some were disposed of among the other Indians to whom they were deadly enemies as well as to our selves.

John Mason, Connecticut Archives, RG001, Miscellaneous Papers, Series I, Volume I, Part I. 1659 09 20

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...The pequots being Stirred & provoaked
by forses Send frm ye Mattasuesets
fell upon us frequently Invaadinge our
quarters killing many our people especially in
yt bloody massacre at weathersfield....

....God suceedinge us in our
undertakings were Enabled & did expel
the body of ye enymy out of their
Countyr without ye assistance or charge
Of the Mattasesets neither did we ever
Afterwards send for helpe or advise of y
Mattasesets. foer we assted wth 40 men
in persuite of ye Enymy when ye enymy
returned to pequet Country We beate ym
out upon our owne account wth:out any
Advise to yr Mattasusets...

The Pequots were destroyed & fled there
Country before we Combined with yr Mattasusets
what was done before ye came there &
our pasinge wth ym: was properly noe pt of
their war.

Jo. Mason

English and Native Testimony, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Volume IX, 5th Series. Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1885.

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Testimony of Captain Olmstead and Sergeant Tibballs About the Pequots.

The testimony of the said Thomas Tibball of Milford, Sen., aged seventy or thereabouts, testifieth that he being a soldiers in the Pequit War, being in pursuit of the Pequits, which Capt. Omstead and amny others soldiers they pursued them as far as Sasqua; and find the Pequits and Sascoe Indians together, there was many shots passed between those Indians and the English against them, whereby several of the English were

wounded, and afterwards they went into the Pequit Swamp, so called; and after a parley between the English and them there was about eight or nine score came forth and surrendered themselves to the mercy of the English. And those Indians that came forth out of the swamp we took them and brought them away captives, and further saith not.

Capt. Richard Omstead, of Norwark, aged seventy-six Years of age, or thereabouts, being at the same fight, testified as is above written.

Sworn in court, Sept. 20, 1683, as attest.

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Testimony of Netorah Concerning Pequot Captives.

Upon the examination of the Indian Netorah in the Court, he owned that the Pequit Indians came to them as they fled before the English, and that the Sasqua and the Paquamuck Indians went into the swamp along with them; and the English offering of them quarter, they came out of the swamp and resigned themselves and their deer-skins and wampum to them....

...All which the aforesaid Netorah testifies, as appears by these two interpreters then present, and subscribing thereto this 21st of September, 1683.

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Indian Testimony Concerning Pequot Lands

The Indians testify; by name, Quontoson, aged seventy years of thereabouts; Tussawacombe, aged sixty years of age; Winnepoge, aged sixty years of age; Craucreeco, aged sixty-two years of age; Hetora, aged fifty-seven years of age; Nonopoge, aged fifty-eight years of age; That in the Pequit War, when the Pequits fled and the English pursued them, they coming this way being many in number and they but few, Sasaqua and Poquonock Indians fled into the swamp Munnacommock with the Pequits, now called the Pequit Swamp, in Fairfield bounds, and did there join with the Pequits, and fight against the English. Whilst in the swamp, Mr. Thomas Stanton being with the English made a speech, and told the Sasqua and Poquonock Indians that the Pequits were the English great enemies, and that, if they, the Sasqua and Poquonock Indians, would come forth and peaceably sur-

render themselves to the English mercy, they should have their lives. Whereupon they came forth and surrendered themselves, with wampum, skins, and their land. Then the English told them that they should have sufficient lands for themselves and theirs to live upon. Four of whom were personally in the swamp, and the other two, Winnepoge and Nonopoge, were not.

Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*. Volume I 1628-1641. Boston, MA: Press of William White, 1853.

[200] August 1637

The Court did intreat the magistrats to treat wth the elders about a day of thanksgiving upon the returne of the souldiers, & the souldiers to bee feasted by their townes.

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It was referd to the counsel to take order about the Indian squaws./

[Sidebar: Disposing of ye Indian squaws]

[216] November 20, 1637

A Declaration, sent the Coppey to Conecticut, about the Pecoits Country, & Quonapiack

Whereas it hath pleased the Lord, of his great mcý, to deliver into o^r hands o^renemies, the Pecoits & their allies, & that thereby the lands & places w^{ch} they possessed are by just title of conquest fallen to us, & o^r friends & assotiats, upon the river of Conectecot, & wherasw, by subdewing those o^r enemies, not onely o^rselues & o^r said assotiats have obtained rest & safety, but oportunity is also given for peacable habitation to all such as shall hereafter inhabite the lands of o^r said enemies, both at Pecoit & Quinapiack, & the parts beyond towards the Dutch, wee do hearby declare the just right & title s^{ch} o^rselues & o^r said assotiats upon Conecticot have to all the said lands & territories....

[253] [Date: 1638 2/3]

It was ordered, that 3L 8sh^s should bee paid Leiften^t Davenport for the psent, for charge disbursed for the slaves, w^{ch} when they have earned it, hee is to repay it back againe. [Sidebar: Leift Davenport to keep ye slaves]

J. Hammond Trumbull, *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*. Hartford, CT: Brown & Parsons, 1850.

[10]

June 2^d, 1637. A Generall Corte Att Harteford

It is ordered y^t there shalbe sent forth 30 men out of the sev^rall plantacons in this River of Conectecott to sett downe in the Pequoitt Countrey & River in place convenient to maynteine o^r right y^t god by Conquest hath given to us, & Lieftenn^t Seely shall have the Comande of them. The men are to be raised 14 out of Harteford, ten out of Windsor, 6 out of Wythersfeild.

It is ordered y^t 60 bushells of Corne shal be p^rvided for the designe aboues^d, Windsor 20, Harteford 28, Wythersfeild 12, 1^{hh} of Pease, 2 bushells of Oatemeale, 150 pounce of Beefe, 80lb of Butter, (vizt) Windsor 30. Wythersfeild 30, Harteford 20, fish.

26 June 1637, Harteford Gen^rall Corte

It is ordered that 10 men more shalbe levied out of the plantacons aforesaide to goe in the designe ag^t the Pequoitte as an addition to the form^r 30, (vizt) 5 out of Harteford, Windsor 3, Weathersfeild 2.

It is ordered y^t Mr. Haine & Mr. Ludlowe shall goe to the mouth of the River to treat & conclude wth o^r frendes of the Bay either to joine wth their forces in p^rsecutinge o^r designe against o^r enemies or if they see cause by advise to interprise any Accon accordinge to the force we have. And to parle wth the bay aboute o^r setting downe in the Pequoitt Countrey.

It is ordered y^t there shalbe 1 hogg p^rvided at Wythersfeild for the designe in hande, w^{ch} is conceived to be Nathaniell Footes, 20lb of Butter, half C of Cheese; Harteford 20lb of Butter, half hundred of Cheese; Windsor 1 Ram goate, 20lb of Butter, half C of Cheese, 1 gallon of stronge Water; Harteford 1 C of beefe from Mr. Whittinge, Windsor 3 bushells of mault, 2 from Wythersfeild, Mr Wells 2.

John Winthrop, James Kendall Hosmer, Ed., *Winthrop's Journal "History of New England" 1630-1649*. New York, NY: Barnes & Noble Inc, 1909.

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Capt. Stoughton and his company, having pursued the Pequots beyond Connecticut, and missing of them, returned to Pequot River, where they were advertised, that one hundred

of them were newly come back to a place some twelve miles off. So they marched thither by night, and surprised them all. They put to death twenty-two men, and reserved to sachems, hoping by them to get Sasacus, (which they promised). All the rest were women and children, of whom they gave the Naragansetts thirty, and our Massachusetts Indians three, and the rest they sent hither.

A pinace, returning, took a canoe with four Indians near Block Island. We sent to Miantunnomoh to know what they were, and after we discharged all save one, who was a Pequod, whom we gave Mr. cutting to carry into England.

There were sent to Boston forty-eight women and children. There were eighty taken, as before is expressed. These were disposed of to particular person in the country. Some

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of them ran away and were brought again by the Indians our neighbors, and those we branded on the shoulder.

...

Mr. Stoughton, with about eight of the English, whereof Mr. Ludlow, Capt. Mason and [blank] of Connecticut, were part, sailed to the west in pursuit of Sasacus, etc. At Quinepiack, they killed six, and took two. At a head of land a little short they beheaded two sachems; whereupon they called the place Sachem's Head. About this time they had given a Pequod his life to go find out Sasacus. He went, and found him not far off; but Sasacus, suspecting him, intended to kill him, which the fellow perceiving, escaped in the night,

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and came to the English. Whereupon Sascus and Mononotto, their two chief sachems, and some twenty more, fled to the Mohawks, But eighty of their stoutest men, and two hundred others, women and children, were at a place within twenty or thirty miles of the Dutch, whither our men marched, and, being guided by a Divine Providence, came upon them, where they had twenty wigwams, hard by a most hideous swamp, so thick with bushes and so quagmiry, as men could hardly crowd into it. Into this swamp they were all gotten. Lieut. Davenport and two or three more, that entered the swamp, were dangerously wounded by the Indian arrows, and with much difficulty were fetched out. Then our men surrounded the swamp, being

a mile about, and shot at the Indians, and they at them, from three of the clock in the afternoon till they desired parley, and offered to yield, and life was offered to all that had not shed English blood. So they began to come forth, now some and then some, till about two hundred women and children were come out, and amongst them the sachem of that place, and thus they kept us two hours, till night was come on, and then the men told us they would fight it out; and so they did all the night, coming up behind the bushes very near our men, and shot many arrows into their hats, sleeves, and stocks, yet (which was a very miracle) not one of ours wounded. When it was near morning, it grew very dark, so as such of them as were left crept out at one place and escaped, being (as was judged) not above twenty at most, and those like to be wounded; for in the pursuit they found some of them dead of their wounds. Here our men gat some booty of kettles, trays, wampum, etc., and the women and children were divided, and sent some to Connecticut, and some to the Massachusetts. The sachem of the place, having yielded, had his life, and his wife and children, etc. The women, which were brought home, reported that we had slain in all thirteen sachems, and that there were thirteen more left. We had now slain and taken, in all, about seven hundred. We sent fifteen of the boys and

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two women to Bermuda, by Mr. Peirce; but he, missing it, carried them to Providence Isle.

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5.] Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone came, with Mr. Wilson, from Connecticut by Providence; and, the same day, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Pincheon, and about twelve more, came the ordinary way by land, and brought with them a part of the skin and lock of hair of Sasacus and his brother, and five other Pequod sachems, who, being fled to the Mohawks for shelter, with their wampum, being to the value of five hundred pounds, were by them surprised and slain, with twenty of their best men. Mononottoh was also taken, but escaped wounded. They brought news also of divers other Pequods, which had been slain by other

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Indians, and their heads brought to the English; so that now there had been slain and taken between eight and nine hundred. Whereupon letters were sent to Mr. Stoughton and the rest, to call them all home.

Glenn W. LaFantasie, *The Correspondence of Roger Williams*, Volume I, 1629-1653. Madison, WI: University Press of New England, 1988.

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To John Winthrop, 31 July 1637

...Sir I here yet not of any of the runaway Captives at amongst

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our neighbours. Yesterday I heard that 2 scapt from them to the Pequot. If any be or doe come amongst them I suppose they shall be speedily returned, or I shall certifie where the default is.

Sir I desire to be truly thanckfull for the Boy intended. His Father was of Sasquaokit where the last fight was: and fought not with the English as his mother (who is with you and 2 children more) certied [certified] me. I shall endeavor his good, and the common [good], in him. I shall appoint some to fetch him: only I request that you would please to give a name to him.

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To Governor John Winthrop, 20 August 1637

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...Miantunnomu...

..., he saith, all my company were disheartened, and they all and Cutshamoquene desired to be gone; and yet, saith he, two of my men (Wagonckwhut and Maunamoh) were their guide to Ses-quankit from the river's mouth.

John Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers, Volume III 1631-1637*. Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943.

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Daniel Patrick to the Governor and Council of War in Massachusetts

...and heering a ruemore of Pequots dispersion, alsoe having taken canoes laden with al sorts of Indean howsell stuff passage by the rivers mouth I guest a probbabilitie of it, and resolute to take 10 men with the pinace and goe observe the motion and posture of Pequote river, but before I went Cobbine beets and 2 or 3 more weare cut of cominge downe in a shallop from Quenechtequed, the Dutch yacht brought us worede, whoe had bine to carry home our captive mades. Captane Underhill and I went out and founde the shallope ruined,

and the INdeans fled. next day being come home, one of the slane men came driving by saybrooke, stuck with 3 or 4 arrows, his cloths one, his bandeleors about hime, and his sworde under his arme readye drawne, being one of Mr. Michaels men.....

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Narreganset Sachems, whoe blamed the baye of procrastination, informd us of the Pequots desertinge there Cuntrye, as never to returne in there Judge-ments, of there flight at present to Quinnopiage, which I witness to, having seene, and as I sayd taken 2 of there Cannoes, but then not acquainted with there intended progress, that ther cheyfe eandevor for a while till after waye made to the mowhoake....

...40 or 50 Pequots remayne at

longe Iland, 300 fitt for fight at quinnopiage. Nowe if those at Quinnopiage avoyde to the Owhoake, or if but 50 mile above the River townes, as some thinke, what will you doe with or where will you imploye our 200 men.

Narregansets this 19 of June 1637

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Roger Williams to John Winthrop

New Providence this 4th of the weeke, mane [ca. June 21, 1637]

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He relateds that there is now ridign below 3 pinnaces (the names of the M[aste]rs Quick, Jiglies and Robinson): and the 2 Shalops as also that the other whereof – Jackson of Salem is m[aste]r was in Company with them ...Sir I heare our lo[ving] friends Mr. Stoughton Mr. Traske etc. are on their way and 160 the intended number) with them. I hope the Continuance of the number will be seasonable, if not for Pursuit of Sascous and the Pequots (of whome it is said that they are gone farr and finally) yet for the quelling of their Confederates the Wunnashowatuckoogs and Monashackotoogs etc. who live nearer to you on the westward etc.

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Israel Stoughton to John Winthrop

Honored Sir, By this Pinnacle being Giggles, you shall Receive 48or 50 women and Children, unlesse there stay anywhere to be helpful, etc....

At present Mr. Haynes, Mr. Ludlo, Capteyne Mason and 30 men are with us in Pequid River, and we shall the next weeke joyne in seeing what we can do against Sasacos, and an other great Sagamore: momomattuck: Here is yet good ruff worke to be done. And how deere it will cost is unknowne: Sasacos is resolvd to sell his life and so the other with their Company as deere

as they cann: but we doubt not but god will give him to us; we are in a faire way. one of the former that we toke (or that were taken to our hands in a great measure) is a great Sachim, the 3rd of the pequids: whom we reserve for a help, and find Gods providence directed it well, for we are al cleere he is like to do us good: yet we are farr from giving him any assurance of life we see so much worke behind that we dare not dismiss more men yet:

we hope to find a way to bring them in plentifully, and to get the Murderers too: and to make their assosiats tributary if they still adheare to them: for we heare of a great Number up the Country among the Neepenetts: but we shall not deale with them without your advice, unless more remotely.

...
we have settled on a place for our randavooze: not full to our Content but the best we could for present: upon the Mouth of Pequid River, on the Noanticot side, where we have 200 acres corne if not 2 or 300 neere at hand, and a curious spring of water within our pallizado, and may by great Gunns Command the River.

So the Charg of keeping this fort need not be great, seeing Corne, water and Wood are so neere at hand: and fishing etc.

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Daniel Patrick to Increase Nowell

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...Sasseous is at longe Ilande, and mamenatucke at quenepiage, or lately gone to the Mowhoake. Moheegins and Narregansets I doubt will not longe agree, nor will Neantucke next to Narregansets willingly be brought under his subiectione; wee goe the first winde for longe Ilande to salute Sasseous....

From Pequott this 6 of Julye 1637

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Richard Davenport to Hugh Peter

...the same eveing in the sixt day of the weeke²⁰⁵ wee went toward Long Iland and sent in a shallop with an Indian to espy our enemy Sasacoos: but hee not being there wee had a Sachem came aboard us who tould us hee was gone thence to Quenepiacke and that himself would goe to bee out guide to find him out: which motion wee accepted of hee also promising his willingness that as Long Iland had payd tribute to Sasacas hee would procure it to us. The next day being the lords day wee came to a harbor about 3 leagus short of quenepiak where wee lay that day that morning 4 Indians went out for spyes who tooke 2 pecott Indians whom after examination with 2 prisoners more wee put to death that night and called the place Sacheme head: the second day of the week we came to que-ne-piacke

²⁰⁵ DN Note: The 6th Day being Saturday

and coming into the harbor wee saw a smoake on the shore and speedily landed and sent out spys who speedily returned and tould us they were Conet-ecutt Indians and brought downe 4 Indians with them: upon the nuse wee repayrd to the barks.

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Yet the Counsell thought meet to send my selfe with 20 men to see the truth: which a little before day I did upon one side of the River found noe signe of Indians but wading over the River after 2 houres seeking wee found som scouting pecotts it pleased god to deliver to our hands 7 of them one sachem 5 wee slew 2 women wee brought aboard haveing taken all by Running and in an extreame Raine.

As soone as wee got aboard that day about 12 of Clocke wee were all landed on the other side to pursue Sasacoos that afternoone; the next day and the 5th day wee marched after them and haveing found the base Cowardlines of the Indians being out of hope of the enemy wee fell to cutting downe all the Corne in which time wee took in the corne a Pecott man very poore and weake hee tould us of som squaws that were not farr of: at the same instant some of our Indians tould us they hear som cutting wood another way: whereupon part of the Company went to the one and part to theother: it pleased god to lead my Captain one way and my selfe another way with Captain Patricke: and Leiutenant Seilley with my Captain: it was our day to lead and after 2 miles march wee came where they were and suddenly coming to the place theire wigwams being upon the edge of the swamp as soone as ever they saw us they tooke the swamp. It pleased god it was not very great, and our Company did surround it:

For my part I judged best while the terror was upon them to fall in upon them and calling a file of men entered the swamp: overtook a man and a sachem Child and thrust him through with my pike twice: going further, I perseued I had but 3 me with mee and suddenly one of [them] cryed out Leiutenant they kill mee they kill mee: with that I saw him haveing four stout Rougus upon him downe the lord helped mee soone to make three of them repent their Closing, the fourth held him still and soe sheltred himself with the Englishman that I could not come to make a thrust at him yet after som tryall the lord gave him his wound in the belly and soe left his prey: all which time a Crew stood shooting upon mee at 12 foot distance they stook eleven arroos in my Coat and hat and Cloths and flesh: onely 2 in my flesh: now all had left mee but god stood to mee and after this they left mee and runn and I retreated having onely a halfe pike and my Cutles: upon our shooting the Rest of our Company came thither and found us about the swamp and the Indians in it: then they got a Pecott and came to parley Sasacuos was gone: and all their women came out about ninescore it was and is lamentable to see into what condicion they have rough themselves all seeking one anothers Ruine and every one crying out of each other: then were wee that were hurt sent to the pinaces about six leagus: and coming

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again with them wee found the Company also well: many Indians killd and som runn away in the night: by what default I known not: yet I hope in mercy.

my owne wounds are one in the left arme through the arme close in the arme pitt which head was taken out in the under side my Arme with great paine the other is on the right side my brest which was through my Coat: which is not deepe 3 dayes I was in exceeding paine haveing the mussles hurt...

the souldiers that are hurt two of Ipswich Tho: Sherman and Jon. Wedgwood whom god saved by mee the other Edw: Shorthose of Charles-Towne....

...wee are now in

the way to Pecott with almost 100 Indian women and Children aboard Goodman Jackson and 45 souldiers when I know more you shall heare More: my Captain and Tho: Lauthoup salute you ..

Richard Davenport

[Ca. July 17, 1637]

Conetecut men have had their equall share in women and treys the princes treasurers are run from him with his wampum and hee and Momonottuk with 20 men are fled to the Mowhoak: wee have Momonotuk squaw and children

I pray tell my Colonell Mr. Ludlow is well who was at this business and narrowly mist a shott with an arrow.

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John Winthrop to William Bradford

Worthy Sir,...

...About 80 of our men haveing costed along towards the dutch plantation, (some times by water, but most by land) mett hear, and ther, with some pequents, whom they slew or tooke prisoners, 2 sachems they tooke, and hebeaded And not hearing of Sassacous (the cheefe sachem) they gave a prisoner his life, to goe and find him out. He wente and brought them word wher he was, but Sassacouse suspecting him to be a spie, after he was gone fled away, with some 20 more, to the Mowakes; so our men missed of him. Yet deviding them selves, and ranging up and downe, as the providence of God guided them (for Indeans were all gone, save 3 or 4 And they knew not whither to guid them, or els would not) upon the 13 of this month, they light upon a great company of them viz. 80 strong men, and 200 women, and children, in a small Indean towne, fast by a hideous swamp, which they all slipped Into before our men could get to them. Our captains were not then come together, but ther was mr. Ludlow, and Captaine Masson, with some 10 of their men, and Captaine Patrick with some 20 or more of his; who shoot- ing at the Indeans, Captaine Trask with 50 more came soone in at the noyse;

then they gave order to surround the swampe, it being about a mile about; but Leutenant Davenporte, and some 12 more, not hearing that command, fell into the swampe among the Indeans. the swampe was so thicke with shrub woode, and so boggie with all, that some of them stuck fast, and received many shott. Leutenant Davenport was dangerously wounded about his arme hole, and another shott in the head, so as fainting, they were in great danger to have been taken by the Indeans; but Sargante Rigges, and Jeffery

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and 2 or 3 more rescued them, and slew diverse of the Indeans, with their swords. After they were drawne out, the Indeans desired parley; and were offered (by Thomas Stanton, our Interpretour) that if they would come out, and yeeld them selves, they should have their lives all that had not their hands in the English blood; wherupon the sachem for the place came forth, and an old man or 2 and their wives and children; and after that some other women and children, and so they spake 2 howers, till it was night. then Thomas Stanton was sente into them againe, to call them forth; but they said, they would sell their lives their, and so shott at him so thicke, as If he had not cried out, and been presently rescued, they had slaine him. Then our men cut of a place of the swampe with their swords, and cooped the Indeans into so narrow a compass, as they could easier kill them throw the thickets, so they continued all the night, standing about 12 foote one from another, and the Indeans coming close up to our men, shot their arrows so thicke, as they pierced their hats, brims, and sleeves and stockins, and other parts of their cloaths, yet so miraculously did the lord preserve them, as not one of them was wounded, save those 3 who rashly went into the swampe. When it was nere day, It grew very darke, so as those of them which were left, dropt away between our men, though they stood but 12 or 14 foote asunder; but were presently discovered, and some killed in the pursute. Upon searching of the swampe the next morning, they found 9 slaine, and some they pulled up, whome the Indeans had buried in the mire; so as they doe thinke that, of all this company, not 20 did escape, for they after found some, who dyed in their flight, of their wounds received. The prisoners were divided, some of those of the river, and the rest to us; of these we send the male children to Bermuda, by mr. William Peirce, and the women and maid children are disposed about in the townes. There have been now slaine and taken in all about 700. The rest are dispersed, and the Indeans in all quarters so terrified, as all their friends are afraid to receive them. 2 of the Sachems of Long Island came to mr. Stoughton and tendered them selves to be tributaries, under our protection. And 2 of the Neepnett Sachems have been with me to seeke our friendship. Amonge the prisoners we have the wife and children of Mononotto, a woman of a very modest countenance and behaviour. It was by her mediation that they 2 English maids were spared from death, and were kindly used by her; so that I have taken charge of her. One of her first requests was that the English would not abuse her body and that her children might not be taken from her. Those which were wounded were fetched of soone by

John Galopp who came with his shalop in a happie houre, to bring them victuals, and to carrie their wounded men to the pinnass, wher our cheefe

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surgeon was, with mr. Willson, being aboute 8 leagues of.

Jo: Winthrop

the 28 of the 5 month 1637

The captains reporte, we have slaine 13 sachems; but Sassacouse and Monotto are yet living.

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Possession House this 4th day of the

Week: Mo: 6th [ca. August 23, 1637]

...there came some Mohegens to the house, and brought the [hands] of a reat Sachem, as they said greater then Sasacus, hee being Momonotuk Sann, a mighty fellow for curradge, and one that I know by some experience his desperateness in the swamp: for as I gather by the description of him, and also the Indians report that slew him that hee sayd hee kild one in the swamp, shooting him in the belley; and another he killd with arrows, which was my selfe, but, blessed be God, wee all live. 2 days after this, the same Indians kild another, who was then runn away from Sasacus: hee sayd hee thought that Sasacus was kild; for that Monowhoak had beset

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the wigwam where they were, and soe fell upon them, and this man lying at the doore ran away: but what credit to give to it wee knew not. 2 days since I went up to the head of this river with 20 men to cut corne or gather beans, and coming thither I found a great company of Mohegens, who were returned to their countrey, about 500 of men, wo[men] and children. They were som what fearefull at first, but after spoke with us and loveingly intertained us. They tell for certain that Sasacus is killd, as the former suspected, and 40 men with him, and some women. 6 men are escaped, whereof Momoonotuk is one. I perseau the Indians would bee glad to make women of all the Pecotts now, except the sachems and capt. and murtherers: but them they would kill....

Appendix C: Battle of Munnacommock Swamp Artifacts

| Site 51 - | Field ID | | Description | Period | |
|-----------|----------|--|--|---------------|--|
| 2 | 11 | | unidentified tube / bead, possibly pewter pipe stem. | possible 17th | |
| 2 | 12 | | cuprous tube one end squared, incised lines on ends | possible 17th | |
| 2 | 36 | | unidentified pb alloy, possible 21st century bird band | | |
| 2 | 37 | | cuprous coin Bank of Upper Canada George Half Penny Token | 1850-1857 | |
| 2 | 38 | | dropped musket ball 15.5 g / 0.56 dia | 17th | |
| 2 | 39 | | possible impacted pb 1.4 g / 0.25 dia | possible 17th | |
| 2 | 40 | | possible impacted pb 1.4 g / 0.25 dia | 21st | |
| 2 | 41 | | unidentified cuprous fragment thimble band fragment | | |
| 2 | 42 | | unidentified pewter/lead 3.4 g / 0.34 dia | unknown | |
| 2 | 43 | | unidentified ferrous hand wrought, possible tool handle | unknown | |
| 2 | 44 | | cuprous thimble likely non 17th | non 17th | |
| 2 | 45 | | unidentified pb 0.06 g / 0.19 dia white metal modern | 21st | |
| 2 | 46 | | possibly modern alloy | 21st | |
| 2 | 47 | | unidentified flattened lead sheet 22.9 g modern | 21st | |
| 2 | 50 | | unidentified cuprous modern | 21st | |
| 2 | 51 | | cuprous nail | unknown | |
| 2 | 56 | | silver with decoration, see SF-59 | 20th century | |
| 2 | 57 | | possible buckle fragment , mends with SF-61 appears modern | research | |
| 2 | 58 | | unidentified cuprous, | | |

| | | | | | |
|----|-----|--|--|---------------|--|
| | | | similar to SF-57 | | |
| 2 | 59 | | unidentified silver, see SF-56 | | |
| 2 | 60 | | unidentified pb modern fishing weight stamped "1" | 21st | |
| 2 | 61 | | fragments of buckle/key/bottle opener, same as SF-57 appears modern | | |
| 2 | 191 | | 1 modern lead slag | non 17th | |
| 53 | 9 | | impacted musket ball 8.2 g / 0.45 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 86 | | impacted pb 3.5 g / 0.34 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 87 | | unidentified pb, flattened modern | 21st | |
| 53 | 88 | | unidentified metal, cuprous, appears embossed, possible 1/4 coin | non 17th | |
| 53 | 89 | | unidentified cuprous, cast. Possible bell or candlestick fragment. | non 17th | |
| 53 | 90 | | impacted musket ball 3.5 g / 0.34 dia Direction of fire NE -> SW | 17th | |
| 53 | 91 | | pewter religious devotional medal 14.8g ca. 1400-1900 | non 17th | |
| 53 | 95 | | 1 impacted pb 5.9 g / 0.40 dia | possible 17th | |
| 53 | 96 | | Possible cast ferrous kettle fragment | 21st | |
| 53 | 97 | | 1 impacted pb 1.4 g / 0.25 dia, 2 facets | 17th | |
| 53 | 98 | | 1 dropped pb 2.0 g / 0.28 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 99 | | 1 metal unidentified disk, J. Mottet & Co. Olive Oil Seal ca.1903 | 20th | |
| 53 | 100 | | 1 unidentified ferrous hand wrought | | |
| 53 | 101 | | 1 unidentified pb molten slag | non 17th | |
| 53 | 102 | | 1 unidentified cuprous/ferrous possible bolster, has wood preserved inside | non 17th | |
| 53 | 103 | | 1 unidentified pb 1.5 g / 0.26 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 111 | | possible musket ball, tail from drip? 1.2 g / 0.24 dia | | |

| | | | |
|----|-----|--|-----------------|
| 53 | 112 | modern lead .30s 2.4 g / 0.30 dia | 21st |
| 53 | 113 | cu finger ring possible costume jewelry | 19th/20th |
| 53 | 114 | 2 unidentified ferrous cast or heavily degraded | 21st |
| 53 | 115 | possible impacted .30s , SE -> NW 4.0 g / 0.36 dia | possible 17th |
| 53 | 116 | drilled lead square 12.8 g | possible 17th |
| 53 | 117 | possible impacted .20's , SE->NW 1.3 g /0.24 dia modern | 21st |
| 53 | 118 | dropped .20's musket ball 1.9 g / 0.28 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 119 | impacted with sprue .50's musket ball 10.3 g / 0.49 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 120 | impacted .30's musket ball 2.2 g / 0.29 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 121 | dropped .50's musket ball 16.2 g / 0.56 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 122 | kaolin pipe stem 5/64 -6/64 dia bore, diamond shaped cross section | possible 17th |
| 53 | 123 | impacted .20's musket ball 2.0 g / 0.28 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 124 | dropped .20's musket ball 1.9 g / 0.28 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 125 | dropped .20's musket ball 1.7 g / 0.27 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 126 | modern pewter | 21st |
| 53 | 127 | lead slag | 21st |
| 53 | 128 | unidentified pb molten 8.0 g | non 17th |
| 53 | 131 | dropped pb 2.0 g / 0.28 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 132 | modern lead | 21st |
| 53 | 133 | dropped pb 1.9 g / 0.28 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 134 | impacted pb 13.8 g / 0.54 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 135 | 2 fe straight knife rattail tang, hand wrought, pin in handle end | likely non 17th |
| 53 | 136 | impacted pb 1.4 g /0.25 dia modern | 21st |
| 53 | 137 | impacted pb with sprue 10.4 g / 0.49 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 138 | impacted pb 0.5 g / 0.18 dia | non 17th |

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|----|-----|--|--|---------------|--|
| 53 | 139 | | 1 unidentified cuprous | possible 17th | |
| 53 | 140 | | 1 impacted pb possible cylindrical shot 12.7 g / 0.52 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 141 | | 1 impacted pb 29.2 g / 0.69 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 142 | | 1 ferrous hand wrought loop | non 17th | |
| 53 | 143 | | 2 ferrous hook shaped fragments modern | 21st | |
| 53 | 144 | | 1 impacted pb 2.0 g / 0.28 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 145 | | modern lead | 21st | |
| 53 | 146 | | 1 cuprous unidentified, possible eyeglass pad. | 21st | |
| 53 | 147 | | 1 impacted pb shot 1.6 g / 0.26 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 148 | | modern lead | 21st | |
| 53 | 149 | | 1 impacted pb 9.8 g / 0.48 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 150 | | 1 impacted pb 9.3 g / 0.47 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 151 | | 1 cu ring, similar to shotgun shell, has fiber inside modern | 21st | |
| 53 | 152 | | 1 pb 0.8 g / 0.21 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 153 | | 1 rolled cuprous ring with attachment, curtain ring | non 17th | |
| 53 | 154 | | 1 cuprous flat strip, broken folding knife scale see 59-40 #556-566 (17th) | non 17th | |
| 53 | 155 | | 1 impacted pb 4.1 g / 0.36 dia, has sprue | 17th | |
| 53 | 156 | | 1 dropped Pb 2.4 g / 0.30 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 157 | | lead slag | 21st | |
| 53 | 158 | | 1 impacted pb shot 2.5 g / 0.30 dia | non 17th | |
| 53 | 159 | | 1 impacted pb shot 0.3 g / 0.15 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 160 | | 1 dropped pb shot 0.8 g / 0.21 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 161 | | 1 impacted pb shot 3.5 g / 0.34 dia | 17th | |
| 53 | 162 | | 1 iron ball 28.8 g | non 17th | |
| 53 | 163 | | 1 unidentified pb, drilled/holed? 2.2 g / 0.29 dia | non 17th | |

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|----|-----|--|----------------|
| 53 | 164 | 1 unidentified cu fragment | possible 17th |
| 53 | 165 | 1 melted pb or ball? 13.6 g / 0.53 dia modern | 21st |
| 53 | 166 | 1 dropped? Pb 1.8 g / 0.27 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 167 | 1 impacted pb 0.9 g / 0.22 dia | non 17th |
| 53 | 168 | 1 impacted pb 1.8 g / 0.27 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 169 | 1 cuprous copper alloy mount, modern | 21st |
| 53 | 174 | 1 fe hand wrought axe modern, possible 17th. | unknown |
| 53 | 175 | 1 dropped pb 10.5 g / 0.49 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 176 | 1 unidentified cuprous ring perforated, same as SF-181 | needs research |
| 53 | 177 | 1 unidentified ferrous fastener | non 17th |
| 53 | 180 | 1 square pb | non 17th |
| 53 | 181 | 3 cuprous fragments, same as SF-176 modern | non 17th |
| 53 | 189 | 1 impacted pb 1.5 g / 0.26 dia | non 17th |
| 53 | 190 | 1 poss. pewter button | non 17th |
| 53 | 192 | 1 impacted pb 9.8 g / 0.48 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 193 | 1 dropped pb with sprue 0.5 g / 0.20 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 194 | lead slag | non 17th |
| 53 | 195 | 1 impacted pb 1.6 g / 0.26 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 196 | 1 impacted pb 2.5 g / 0.30 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 197 | 1 possible pewter button | unknown |
| 53 | 198 | 1 possible pewter button | unknown |
| 53 | 199 | 1 possible pewter button buckle fragment. Iron traces | unknown |
| 53 | 200 | 1 impacted pb 2.2 g / 0.29 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 201 | 1 dropped pb 0.5 g / 0.20 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 203 | 1 impacted lead musket ball 7.8 g / 0.44 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 204 | 1 impacted pb 8.6 g / 0.46 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 205 | 1 dropped pb 1.9 g / 0.28 dia | 17th |

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|----|-----|--|---------------|
| 53 | 209 | 1 impacted pb modern 3.6 g / 0.34 dia | 21st |
| 53 | 210 | 1 unidentified ferrous, possible point, likely modern | 21st |
| 53 | 211 | 1 unidentified cuprous possible buckle modern | 21st |
| 53 | 212 | 1 impacted pb 0.7 g / 0.20 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 213 | 1 possible impacted pb or melted 2.5 g / 0.30 dia | |
| 53 | 214 | 1 impacted musket ball 9.7 g / 0.48 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 215 | 1 impacted musket ball 10.2 g / 0.48 dia sprue | 17th |
| 53 | 216 | 1 impacted musket ball 3.3 g / 0.33 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 217 | 1 dropped musket ball 10.1 g / 0.48 dia sprue | 17th |
| 53 | 218 | 1 dropped musket ball 3.3 g / 0.33 dia sprue | 17th |
| 53 | 225 | impacted 40s with casting sprue 8.0 g / 0.45 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 226 | possible coin, complete, very worn. modern | 21st |
| 53 | 227 | 1 impacted ball pewter ? 2.0 g / 0.28 dia modern | 21st |
| 53 | 228 | 1 ferrous hand wrought wire, twisted together with end loop | non 17th |
| 53 | 229 | 1 possible axe fragment research | possibly 17th |
| 53 | 230 | 1 unidentified cuprous unknown object, likely 20th C. pencil end. Same as SF-4 | |
| 53 | 231 | 1 unidentified cuprous, possible button? research | possible 17th |
| 53 | 232 | 1 possible pewter button, modern slag | 21st |
| 53 | 233 | 1 cuprous wire safety pin, see 59-40 #1588 | post 1849 |
| 53 | 235 | 1 impacted lead ball fragment, melted, modern | 21st |
| 53 | 243 | impacted musket ball 7.1 g / 0.43 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 244 | impacted musket ball 3.6 g / 0.34 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 245 | modern lead | modern |
| 53 | 246 | impacted musket ball 2.7 g / 0.31 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 247 | impacted musket ball 2.1 g / 0.28 dia N to D direction of | 17th |

| | | | |
|----|-----------|---|----------------|
| | | fire | |
| 53 | 248 | possible impacted 1.4 g / 0.25 dia modern | 21st |
| 53 | 249 | quarter copper penny | non 17th |
| 53 | 250 | 1 impacted ball 1.6 g / 0.26 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 220 (500) | 1 impacted 20s 1.6 g / 0.26 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 221 (501) | 1 impacted 20s 1.9 g / 0.26 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 222 (502) | 1 impacted 20s 2.4 g / 0.30 dia | 17th |
| 53 | 223 (503) | 1 impacted 30s 5.3 g / 0.39 dia | 17th |
| 54 | 10 | dropped musket ball, with casting flaw and sprue, 10.4g / 0.49 dia | 17th |
| 54 | 13 | molten pb | non 17th |
| 54 | 14 | molten pb | non 17th |
| 54 | 15 | calcined bone | precontact |
| 54 | 16 | molten pb | non 17th |
| 54 | 17 | quartz flake | precontact |
| 54 | 18 | modern flashing | 21st |
| 54 | 19 | cuprous coin, large, Spanish Reale, Portuguese, Philip III Mary I 1717-86 | 18th |
| 54 | 20 | cuprous coin, small 16.75mm dia. | |
| 54 | 21 | impacted musket ball 9.0 g / 0.46 dia | 17th |
| 54 | 22 | cuprous square nail, square head likely 1700-1900 | |
| 54 | 23 | pewter ring tin alloy finger ring, traces of gold gilt | non 17th |
| 54 | 24 | impacted musket ball 5.3 g / 0.39 dia | 17th |
| 54 | 25 | impacted musket ball 2.6 g / 0.31 dia | 17th |
| 54 | 26 | unidentified cuprous, modern | 19th-21st |
| 54 | 27 | unidentified cuprous | needs research |
| 54 | 28 | 19th c. ruler part | non 17th |
| 54 | 29 | cuprous tack upholstery circular shank, faint raised | possible 17th |

| | | | |
|----|----|--|---------------|
| | | seam | |
| 54 | 30 | unidentified cuprous fishing rod line guide modern | 20th/21st |
| 54 | 31 | cuprous scrap, 2 pieces mend | possible 17th |
| 54 | 32 | split quartz cobble | precontact |
| 54 | 33 | split quartz cobble | precontact |
| 54 | 34 | unidentified cuprous | unknown |
| 54 | 35 | impacted musket ball 9.3 g / 5.47 dia | 17th |
| 54 | 48 | impacted musket ball 23.4 g / 0.64 dia | 17th |
| 54 | 49 | 5.4 g lead, bowl shaped, has lip | unknown |
| 54 | 62 | unidentified cuprous, possible parasol latch/button. | 21st |
| 54 | 63 | unidentified cuprous alloy modern | 21st |
| 54 | 64 | unidentified cuprous, threaded modern | 21st |
| 54 | 65 | dropped musket ball 50s 17.5 g / 0.58 dia | 17th |
| 54 | 66 | unidentified cuprous object lighting pull chain end modern | 21st |
| 54 | 67 | pewter button | possible 17th |
| 54 | 68 | 2 iron knife blade frags (mend) pewter bolster hand wrought | 19th century |
| 54 | 69 | unidentified object, unid material. Cuprous 19th/20th furniture fixture. | |
| 54 | 70 | unid cuprous threaded knob (Tfalls #165) 18/19th candle ejector? | |
| 54 | 71 | unidentified ferrous link hand wrought | unknown |
| 54 | 72 | unidentified ferrous/cuprous hand wrought iron | possible 17th |
| 54 | 73 | cu button | 19th century |
| 54 | 74 | impacted musket ball 1.6 g / 0.26 dia | 17th |
| 54 | 75 | ferrous .50s ball modern | 21st |

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|----|-----|---|---------------|
| 54 | 76 | ferrous wire very finely twisted from reverse point in middle | unknown |
| 54 | 77 | unidentified pewter | research |
| 54 | 78 | possibly pewter | |
| 54 | 79 | pb shot impacted(eroded from tidal estuary bank) 1.6 g / 0.26 dia | 17th |
| 54 | 80 | pb strip 5.9 g modern | 21st |
| 54 | 81 | pb bar 33.5 g wedge with circular impression modern | 21st |
| 54 | 82 | pb bar, rounded with slit, possible fishing weight. 7.6 g | |
| 54 | 83 | unidentified ferrous hand wrought | possible 17th |
| 54 | 84 | ferrous tack, possible furniture tack | possible 17th |
| 54 | 85 | cuprous fragment modern | 21st |
| 54 | 170 | 1 cu rod, 2.2 mm long, barbell, possible kettle part. | unknown |
| 54 | 171 | 1 unidentified cu fragment, heavy gauge ~1.6 mm thick looks decorated | unknown |
| 54 | 172 | lead slag | 21st |
| 54 | 173 | 1 melted pb 4.5 g / 0.37 dia | non 17th |
| 54 | 185 | 1 unidentified cu | non 17th |
| 54 | 186 | 1 ferrous tool, Cast. Draft animal yoke/yoke evener hardware | 19th century |
| 54 | 187 | 1 impacted pb 1.9 g / 0.28 dia | 17th |
| 54 | 188 | 1 flat pb fragment | non 17th |
| 54 | 206 | 1 impacted pb 1.0 g / 0.22 dia | 17th |
| 54 | 207 | 1 pewter tack. some iron staining | research |
| 54 | 208 | 1 unidentified cu fragment, two small gold flecks noted, possible clasp fragment. | unknown |

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|----|------|--|--|-----------------|--|
| 54 | 237 | | 1 cuprous fragment | possible 17th | |
| 54 | 238 | | 1 cuprous fragment complete bolster, diamond stamp design | non 17th | |
| 54 | 239 | | 1 unidentified lead, modern | 21st | |
| 54 | 240 | | 1 unidentified lead, modern | likely non 17th | |
| 54 | 241 | | 1 cuprous square or scrap, modern | 21st | |
| 54 | 242 | | 1 cuprous ring/collar | non 17th | |
| 54 | 81-2 | | unidentified ferrous, possible shovel handle, surface find cast | | |
| 55 | 1 | | unidentified cuprous modern shell jacket | 21st | |
| 55 | 2 | | molten pb modern | 21st | |
| 55 | 3 | | Possible natural copper ore, Native copper. | non 17th | |
| 55 | 4 | | unidentified cuprous, possible 20th C. eraserless pencil cap end, Same as SF-230 | | |
| 55 | 5 | | modern slag | 21st | |
| 55 | 6 | | modern slag | 21st | |
| 55 | 7 | | molten pb modern | 21st | |
| 55 | 8 | | unidentified ferrous alloy, container leg /stand. Possible chafing dish leg. | 18th/19th | |
| 55 | 52 | | possible pewter | unknown | |
| 55 | 53 | | possible pewter | unknown | |
| 55 | 54 | | cuprous fragment modern flashing | 21st | |
| 55 | 55 | | cuprous fragment modern flashing | 21st | |
| 55 | 92 | | pewter button | possible 17th | |
| 55 | 93 | | cuprous ring 1.6 cm dia, possible child's finger ring, no gilding present | needs research | |
| 55 | 94 | | pb bar 63.6 g | non 17th | |
| 55 | 104 | | 1 impacted pb 2.2 g / 0.29 dia with sprue | 17th | |

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|----|-----|--|--|----------------|--|
| 55 | 105 | | cuprous ring possible finger ring 1.85 cm dia | needs research | |
| 55 | 106 | | 1 cast rod, powder horn plug or 18th century pewter syringe | needs research | |
| 55 | 107 | | 1 unidentified pb Washer? Flint Wrap? | non 17th | |
| 55 | 108 | | 1 cuprous Frag | possibly 17th | |
| 55 | 109 | | 1 poss pewter button fragment lead, imprinted circle in center | needs research | |
| 55 | 110 | | 1 unidentified cuprous, possible modern wristband. | 21st | |
| 55 | 129 | | unidentified flat pb with hole 11.6 g modern | 21st | |
| 55 | 130 | | unidentified pb 6.6 g / 0.42 dia modern | 21st | |
| 55 | 178 | | 1 unidentified pb melted or impacted | non 17th | |
| 55 | 179 | | 1 large cuprous fragment | non 17th | |
| 55 | 182 | | modern slag | 21st | |
| 55 | 183 | | 1 cuprous fragment, possible flashing | non 17th | |
| 55 | 184 | | 1 unidentified pb/pewter | non 17th | |
| 55 | 202 | | 1 unidentified cu collar | non 17th | |
| 55 | 219 | | 1 cuprous parasol decorative outer ferrule with wood | 19th century | |
| 55 | 236 | | 1 impacted ball, modern | non 17th | |