"Therefore Ye Are No More Strangers and Foreigners": Indians, Christianity, and Political Engagement in Colonial Plimouth and on Martha's Vineyard

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Shortly before the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675, a group of sachems approached English officials in Plimouth, desiring an alliance. They framed their appeal in spiritual terms and quoted Ephesians 2:19. In the King James Bible, this verse reads: "Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." This group of sachems represented Mashpee, Satuit, and several other towns within the jurisdiction of Plimouth. They stated that only some of them had become Christians but that nonetheless they hoped the English would agree to their proposal. They sought English protection since they had "been informed of late that some persons had designed their destruction."[1] The sachems stated that their enemies wanted to harm them because they were "seeking after the knowledge of the true God and his ways."[2] The alliance seems to have been directed against Metacom, who opposed the Christianization of Indians, but it may also have been designed to garner increased protection from land-hungry English colonists. The Indians asked for help against "evil persons" who wanted to destroy them but did not elaborate about the exact nature of the threat to their well-being. Through quoting Christian scriptures, the sachems hoped to establish a bond of commonality with the colonists and convince the English to accept an alliance.

The petition crafted by the sachems from areas surrounding Plimouth reveals that Indians in colonial New England strategically used and engaged Christianity in their diplomatic correspondence. Numerous other court records and petitions likewise indicate that, for Indians in what would ultimately become the southeastern part of Massachusetts, Christianity represented much more than a new set of religious beliefs

and rituals. Throughout the colonial period, it was a means by which Indians hoped to obtain tangible benefits, including diplomatic alliances and financial compensation.[3]

This article shows that politically active Indians in Plimouth Colony and on Martha's Vineyard often expressed adherence to Christianity or used religious terminology while pursuing economic or political objectives. Other historians have amply addressed missionary activity in colonial Massachusetts and surrounding areas, typically directing their attention to how missionaries did their work and the extent to which Christianization altered Indian culture.[4] My primary interest is in how Indians viewed, incorporated, and used Christianity, particularly in regard to their pursuit of political objectives. Spiritual and material concerns simultaneously guided and motivated Indians as they interacted with English officials. Indians' "use" of Christianity reflected a strategic approach to political action that sometimes netted them material benefits and a limited amount of autonomy.[5]

Court documents and petitions pose certain challenges to scholars studying New England Indians.[6] For one thing, English colonists likely transcribed many, if not most, of the documents attributed to Native American authors. How closely translators and transcribers adhered to the intentions and meanings that New England Indians originally desired to communicate is debatable. Furthermore, in the case of petitions, it is possible that missionaries suggested to Indians what scriptures to cite or what words and phrases to use in order to have the maximum effect upon English officials. On the other hand, contextual evidence would suggest that Indians themselves carefully read their Bibles and, at the very least, had the potential to use scripture verses in strategic ways. Missionary records show that Indians studied the Bible and used it as a means to challenge English attitudes regarding baptism, land use, and other issues of spiritual and political significance.[7] So who, in the end, was primarily responsible for writing the Indian petitions sent to English authorities during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries? My belief is that firmly determining the authorship of all of the petitions analyzed in this essay would be impossible.[8] Furthermore, even though Indians collaborated with missionaries when crafting their petitions, such texts can still hold important clues regarding Indian engagement with and use of Christianity.

Court records, like petitions, need to be read carefully by scholars

studying Indian life in colonial New England. Often, though not always, court documents have addressed cases of unusual or deviant behavior. Hence, events described in court records should not be read as reflective of what was normal in everyday society. Furthermore, people who appeared in court had certain agendas that shaped the content and style of their communications. As is the case with defendants and prosecutors today, people lied or hid the truth when they wanted to establish someone's innocence or guilt. What court records from Plimouth and Martha's Vineyard do contain, however, are snapshots of exchanges and interactions regarding dynamic and important events and issues related to race, sex, religion, and finances. More importantly, for the purposes of this essay, they sometimes contain information regarding how Indians incorporated, processed, and utilized elements of Christianity in the political realm. Court records and petitions contain Indian voices and perspectives. Even if those voices were somewhat muted or distorted by English record keepers, they are nonetheless a valuable and unique gateway into the thoughts and feelings of Indians who lived in Plimouth and on Martha's Vineyard.[9]

Indians encountered a variety of assumptions and perceptions when they sent petitions to English officials or appeared in English courts. Scholars have examined how English officials viewed Native Americans. They have found that, in some cases, courts treated Indians similar to how they treated English colonists, while in others Indians faced blatant discrimination and hostility. What is clear is that, over time, English court rulings aided in the process of colonization by indenturing indebted Indians, restricting traditional Indian economic practices, and administering over the appropriation of Indian land by individual colonists.[10] What the documents also reveal, however, is that Christian rhetoric infused, and in a few cases empowered, Indian encounters with English political and legal systems.

THE CONTEXT OF INDIAN POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ENGAGEMENT

English attempts to Christianize Indians living in Plimouth Colony and on Martha's Vineyard developed slowly and rather haphazardly, especially when compared to Catholic missionary enterprises of the same time period.[11] Englishmen from a variety of backgrounds—including educated

ministers and uneducated laypersons—preached to Indians in this region during the 1600s and early 1700s. Initially, during the 1620s and 1630s, the English Puritans hoped and expected that Indians who observed the Puritans' prosperous settlements would actively pursue Christianity. By the 1640s it was clear that this was not happening, and so a few enterprising Englishmen set about to proselytize. While scholars have typically focused upon John Eliot and members of the Mayhew family, numerous other missionaries, including those who worked primarily in Plimouth Colony, have only recently attracted the attention of historians.[12]

Richard Bourne and the Mayhews were among the first to begin proselytizing in this region in the mid-1640s. John Eliot also occasionally visited regions to the south of Boston and provided administrative oversight for the work of others who lived in Plimouth and on Martha's Vineyard. The Mayhews, including Thomas and Experience, were active missionaries well into the mid-eighteenth century. On Cape Cod, Richard Bourne traveled throughout the region but developed a particularly close relationship with the Mashpee Indians that lasted until his death in 1682. His efforts included attempts to protect and secure land for Indians, a strategy that dovetailed well with Indian objectives, as described in more detail in a later section of this essay. Members of the Cotton family, especially John Jr. and his son Josiah, worked in and around Plimouth from the mid-1600s to the mid-1700s.[13]

Other, less well-known individuals also conducted missionary activity in this region. Most of these men were local English ministers who proselytized in nearby Indian villages. For example, Samuel Treat worked in Eastham from 1672 to 1716, William Leverich preached in Sandwich from 1637 to 1662, and Samuel Palmer labored in Falmouth from 1731 to 1775. Such missionaries probably had a variety of motives for preaching to Indians, but it seems clear that earning money was one of the most important. These individuals were often ministers in small communities where English congregations could offer only meager salaries. Competition with Quakers in Sandwich and other Cape Cod communities also cut into the size of these ministers' English congregations, further reducing their income potential. As such, these men frequently complained about their lack of income and readily pursued missionary work and the supplemental funds provided by the English missionary societies. Their level of training and familiarity with Indian languages and customs varied considerably.[14]

Another group that sporadically preached to Indians, especially near the town of Harwich, consisted of rogue laypersons such as George Weekes and Eldad Tupper. There is little documentation regarding the work of such individuals, but they apparently caused some controversy among the English. The notion of uneducated, unsupervised Englishmen taking up ministerial work, even among local Indians, was unsettling to some ministers, who saw this as an encroachment upon a sacred office reserved for seminary graduates. Given the complex and somewhat haphazard nature of English missionary activity, it is likely that Indians in Cape Cod and Plimouth and on Martha's Vineyard encountered both elite and popular forms of English Christianity. What this meant in terms of how Indian Christianity developed is difficult to discern, given the nature of available documents, but some blending of Puritan theology, English folk practices, and traditional Indian spirituality seems to have occurred in many Native American communities.[15]

The methods used by the English missionaries typically involved the delivery of a homily or sermon based upon a Scripture passage followed by question-and-answer sessions. The documents for educated clergy, such as members of the Cotton family, suggest that they preached on a variety of topics, including original sin, the need to pray, and the dangers of drunkenness. Documents (e.g., John Cotton Jr.'s journal) also indicate that Indians of this region asked deep and probing questions about Christianity, in some cases using scripture to challenge certain English practices, such as the appropriation of Indian land. Missionaries (e.g., Josiah Cotton) also offered books, advice, and material goods to Christianized Indians. They also disbursed funds to Native American teachers and magistrates within Christianized Indian communities.[16] There is little information regarding how the lay missionaries such as George Weekes and Eldad Tupper conducted their meetings. Contextual evidence, including a book written by Weekes for an English audience, implies that he used a teaching style for Indians similar to that of other missionaries, but this cannot be firmly deduced from available records. Whether or not the lay missionaries distributed material goods or funds is also unknowable, given the nature of available documentation.[17]

Scholars have identified several reasons why a sizeable minority of Native Americans in colonial New England accepted Christianization. English religion, and the political and material benefits that purported to go with it, appealed especially to smaller tribal groups such as the Mas-

sachusetts and Pennacook. Decimation from disease and the impotence of traditional spirituality in the face of epidemics encouraged Indians, especially among the smaller tribes, to seek new forms of spiritual power. For some, especially those on Cape Cod, the preservation of land and community was also a powerful motivating factor. Missionaries not only tried to create enclaves that were separate and protected but also taught some Indians to read and write in English, enabling them to lobby English officials. Missionaries served as ambassadors, of a sort, communicating back and forth between Indian communities and English officials. In some cases, Christianized Indian leaders served as a check upon the ambitions of traditional sachems. Another reason why some groups chose the path of Christianization was to gain access to English trade goods such as knives, clothing, and other objects. Scholars have estimated that by the 1670s there were nearly 3,500 Christianized Indians on Cape Cod and the islands and a few hundred in and around Plimouth.[18]

At an individual level, it seems that at least some New England Indians sought Christianization in an attempt to improve or preserve their status within their communities. Missionaries wrote of several converts who, before conversion, were of a lower social status. These Indians, such as Hiacoomes, who was one of the first converts on Martha's Vineyard, tried to improve their status, and apparently succeeded to a certain extent, by aligning themselves with English religion. Through their connection with increasingly powerful English neighbors and sometimes through demonstrations of spiritual power (e.g., surviving epidemics), individual Christianized Indians gained respect and status in the eyes of other Native people. Other Christianized Indians followed family members into a new form of spirituality. Generational ties and kinship connections likely motivated many New England Indians who, at least partially in order to maintain harmony and attachment with blood relatives, accepted Christianization.[19]

SPIRITUAL CONNECTIONS IN DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Historians have recognized the ways in which practical concerns affected spiritual decision making among New England Indians. They have also examined, when possible, how an individual Indian such as Hiacoomes used Christianity to enhance his status. However, scholars

have paid relatively little attention to how Christianity motivated and, in some cases, empowered the collective political action of New England Indians during the colonial period. This is somewhat surprising, given how strongly Indians in this region connected what Westerners refer to as "religious" and "political" concerns before the arrival of Europeans.

Historians have concluded that Native Americans who lived in New England before the arrival of the English viewed spiritual, diplomatic, and military issues as profoundly linked. Kathleen Bragdon has noted that spiritual well-being was "closely tied to the political, symbolic, and ritual importance of the sachem in southern New England."[20] Sachems could serve simultaneously as spiritual leaders, and sometimes Indians respected sachems for their spiritual as well as political power. In other cases, sachems surrounded themselves with counselors who demonstrated an ability to communicate with Hobbamock, a powerful spiritual figure in New England Indian cosmology. Prayers, chants, and rituals were important aspects of political, military, and diplomatic life in this part of North America before the arrival of English colonists.[21]

The tense and complex diplomatic situation that existed in New England shortly before King Philip's War motivated many Indian leaders to tactfully craft diplomatic petitions and send them to the English. This was especially true for the Wampanoags, a tribal group who lived throughout Plimouth Colony and on Martha's Vineyard. The original treaty agreed to by the English Pilgrims and Wampanoags in 1620 remained largely effective at maintaining the peace until 1660. Massasoit, sachem among the Wampanoags in 1620, agreed to the treaty in part so that the disease-weakened tribe could secure an ally against the rival Narragansetts, who lived to the south in what would become the state of Rhode Island. When Massasoit died in 1660, his sons, Wamsutta and Metacom, also tried to maintain the peace, but Wamsutta's sudden and mysterious death after a meeting with the English left Metacom, who was also known as Philip, as sachem. Some Indians suspected the English of poisoning Wamsutta, and this only added to the increasing tensions caused by English intrusions into Wampanoag territory and spirituality. Metacom and many of his fellow Wampanoags grew increasingly apprehensive as English livestock ate Indian crops, English colonists appropriated Indian lands, and English Christianity threatened the power of traditional Indian religious leaders.[22]

As a result of economic and spiritual dislocations caused by English

colonists, by 1671 many, but by no means all, Wampanoags were pressuring Metacom to attack. Diplomatic stress increased as English observers witnessed Wampanoags sharpening tomahawks and preparing for war. Plimouth leaders summoned Metacom, and he admitted that Indians under his leadership were, in fact, getting ready to fight. The two sides again negotiated an uneasy peace, but several other incidents occurred during the next few years. The most infamous event leading up to King Philip's War was the execution of three of Metacom's associates for the murder of John Sassamon, a Christianized Indian known to have supplied the English with information about Metacom's intentions. By 1675 Metacom was seeking, and in some cases obtaining, alliances with neighboring Indian groups, while many Native Americans, especially Christianized Wampanoag communities, sought to avoid becoming entangled in the conflict. They were particularly eager to avoid English reprisals and often framed their diplomatic statements to the English in spiritual terms.

In the diplomatic appeals sent by Indians to the English before King Philip's War, some sachems frequently used Christian terminology and scriptural evidence to support their proposals. These sachems expressed hope that the English could offer them protection against their rivals, including those Indians allied with Metacom. Many of the sachems who sought alliances with the English came from villages that had been decimated by disease, loss of land, and other negative consequences of contact with colonists. From their perspective, there were real benefits to be gained by forming alliances with the English, including opportunities to obtain literacy and English assistance with the construction of fortifications. Of course, they also hoped to avoid being targeted as "hostile Indians" by suspicious and land-hungry English colonists.[23]

Regardless of their pragmatic reasons for pursuing closer ties with the English, it is clear that at least some sachems thought of their alliances in spiritual as well as political terms. On June 7, 1671, Mr. John, Quaquaquaqnsucke, Sampson, John Quason Taswott, Sachemus, Little Robin, Wahwoonettshunke, and Katenat went to the General Court in Plimouth. They represented several Wampanoag villages on Cape Cod and expressed a desire to form an alliance with the English. In their request, they stated that they were of "one blood" with the English, and they cited Acts 17:26 as evidence for their assertion.[24] They also said that they had previously lived like wolves "as captives under Satan" that fought

and devoured one another. The sachems indicated that they had learned "by the word of God, that it is better to trust in the great God and his strength."[25] Consequently, the sachems stated, "We hope and believe in God; therefore we desire to enter into covenant with the English respecting our fidelity, as Isaiah 11:6."[26] It is unclear precisely who recorded the Indians' request on paper, but there is nothing in or related to the document to suggest that it was falsified in any substantive way. What the text clearly indicates is that, for this group of sachems at least, diplomacy had a spiritual dimension. If nothing else, these Indians used scripture and a profession of Christianity to highlight their common bond with the English. Far from being passive recipients of Christianity, these Indians incorporated and used it for political as well as spiritual purposes.

The sachems who came to Plimouth in 1671 did more than simply seek an alliance with the English and promise fidelity to them. These leaders also sought a guarantee from the General Court that the English would carefully investigate any suspicions of Indian "hostility" before launching any military action. The sachems promised to adhere to their agreement, with God's help. The sachems used a combination of Christian piety and scriptural evidence to try to convince the English to accept their proposal. In the end, it appears as if the agreement was somewhat successful, from the sachems' perspective. During King Philip's War, the English treated Cape Cod Indians relatively better than Native Americans living in areas to the north and west. There were instances of betrayal, harassment, and conflict, but, generally speaking, peace was maintained on the cape.[27] Whether or not this was due to expediency or the colonists' desire to honor their word is debatable. Certainly, being Christianized did little to protect the Natick Indians.[28] On Cape Cod, however, Indians perceived, whether correctly or incorrectly, that ties to Christianity might help secure certain protections and guarantees from the English. That they "used" religion in this way did not necessarily mean that they did not value Christianity in a spiritual sense. Given what we know about precontact Indian attitudes toward spirituality and diplomacy, it is more likely that the sachems were seeking and expecting pragmatic benefits associated with certain spiritual practices and beliefs. In the end, from the sachems' perspective, such a strategy produced positive, if limited, results.[29]

After King Philip's War, leaders of Indian villages continued to engage in dialogue with English officials. At this time, their appeals and

messages reflected a different political situation. Instead of seeking an alliance among equals, the Indians recognized English authority in the region and brought their petitions. Instead of seeking English support against other tribes, Indians wanted colonial officials to intervene in more localized situations. Yet, as before the war, many of their appeals and statements contained spiritual terms and phrases.

On September 5, 1694, Hercules, Lawrence, and John Quason sent a message to the court in Massachusetts Bay requesting that the English take action to restore order in their communities. They stated that when their villages, Yarmouth, Monomoy, and Eastham, had been under the separate jurisdiction of Plimouth, a representative had worked as an advocate and leader for the Indians. They wrote that when there was "some discreet person appointed to set with them in their courts, and to direct matters therein," that "the youth and others among said Indians were kept in good order and discipline, and restrained from many enormities and misdemeanors."[30] The petitioners indicated that their communities had been quite peaceable and orderly up until 1691.

After 1691 Massachusetts Bay and Plimouth were merged into a single political entity and established as a royal colony under the leadership of an appointed governor and an elected assembly. The petition sent by Hercules, Lawrence, and Quason suggests that some Indians, particularly the young men, had become rebellious after 1691. The petitioners wrote, "Since the late constitution of this government by their majesties' Royal Charter, the young men of said Indians have imbibed an opinion that their former laws are vacated, and so will yield no obedience thereto."[31] If the petitioners' statement was true, it suggests that Indian youths were well aware of political developments that took place outside their immediate villages. They knew that Plimouth colony had been merged with Massachusetts Bay and presumed that old laws were no longer binding. Hercules, Lawrence, and John Quason wanted Massachusetts Bay to reappoint a representative and reassert the right of local leaders to govern their communities. Presumably, the representative chosen would be one of the three or perhaps a close friend, but the petition does not explicitly mention whom English authorities might appoint.[32]

In addition to raising issues of a political nature, the petition of Hercules, Lawrence, and John Quason also dealt with spiritual and religious concerns. The petitioners made certain to mention that the rebellious Indians in their community observed "no manner of religion among them

as they were accustomed."[33] They also claimed that people were ignoring the Sabbath and engaging in vices such as drinking and stealing.[34] The three petitioners recognized a connection between religious and political realms. They saw Sabbath breaking not only as a signal of spiritual waywardness but as an act of criminal and political significance. They believed that including mention of religious backsliding in their communities would signal to the English a need for political action.

On May 20, 1703, another group of Indian leaders, this time from the town of Eastham, made an appeal similar to that of Hercules, Lawrence, and John Quason. This group also wanted English officials to restore the method of governance that existed while Eastham was under the jurisdiction of Plimouth. They reminded English officials that they had "abandoned all [their] former pagan, idolatrous, superstitious, and methods of government" and "sat for many years very easy under the change of religion and civil order" that the English had directed them in.[35] They threatened, however, that if the English did not return to the "former methods of civil order," then "immorality, irreligion, and ancient idolatry and customs will return on us like a flood if not timely prevented and suppressed."[36] What motivated petitions like those sent by Hercules, Lawrence, John Quason, and the leaders of Eastham is unclear. It may have been that they had something to gain from their requests, such as a degree of power and respect within their communities. Perhaps they wanted the English to select them as liaisons and representatives. What their petition suggests is that a struggle for power and influence existed in Native American villages at this time. Some members of the communities wanted to pursue close ties with the English and Christianity, while others apparently were seeking to separate themselves from the colonists and perhaps return to traditional ways of living. What is clear is that these Indian leaders believed that it was important to mention spiritual and religious issues when dealing with English officials. Apparently, they believed that the English would respond favorably if religious concerns motivated American Indian appeals and petitions.

Other petitions sent by Indians to English officials also show that Native Americans were seeking ways to benefit from Christianization. In one case, Indian leaders from Mashpee wanted English colonists to stop indenturing American Indians who were in debt. In 1700 they asked the English to make it illegal for Indians to indenture themselves without

the approval of two English justices of the peace. When making their request, the representatives from Mashpee stated, "We are a people that do own the Great Jehovah and his son our Lord Jesus Christ and do attend upon his worship on the Lord's day, and at other seasons."[37] They also promised to remain in subjection to the English and reminded the officials that their village had provided valuable military support during past conflicts. Their appeal met with some success, for the English passed a law similar to the one requested by the Mashpees shortly thereafter. Unfortunately, the law seems to have had little impact upon the frequency of Indians becoming indentured due to indebtedness.[38] Yet the petition reveals that the leaders of Mashpee felt that expressing adherence to Christianity was just as important as other diplomatic measures when seeking concessions from English officials in Boston.

Sometimes, Indian political action involved complaining to English officials about specific individuals. In one dramatic instance, residents of Aquinnah (Gayhead) on Martha's Vineyard sharply criticized the commissioners of the New England Company for appointing Elisha Amos as a judge and magistrate over their community. In this document, which scholars conclude was written by an Indian named Zachary Hossueit, residents stated that Amos had "robbed us of our gardens and also our fresh meadows and our land."[39] They feared that if the English went ahead with their appointment of Amos, the community at Aquinnah would lose all of its land. To buttress their argument, this group of American Indians closed their letter by quoting Job 34:30, which reads: "That the hypocrite reign not, lest the people be ensnared."[40] Zachary Hossueit and other leaders at Aquinnah, like other Indians familiar with Christianity, used their knowledge of scripture as a way of attempting to further their political objectives, in this case preserving a land base for their community. Clearly, Indian engagement with Christianity in the political and diplomatic realm was assertive, active, and pragmatic.

Spirituality, Economy, and Land among Indians in Plimouth and on Martha's Vineyard

Contact with English colonists led to significant disruptions in traditional American Indian economies in Plimouth and on Martha's Vineyard. Communities and families constantly adjusted their work habits and routines to deal with deaths from disease, destruction from wars,

and the loss of land and other natural resources. Yet, as other scholars have shown, Native Americans, particularly in terms of their economic strategies, were resilient and remained culturally distinctive in the face of these challenges. Even as individuals and communities had to adapt to and sometimes incorporate elements of English economic patterns, they remained uniquely "Indian" throughout the eighteenth century. For example, even as Indian women gave up certain agricultural practices, they continued to engage in traditional industries and crafts such as basket making. And even as some Indians sold land to purchase livestock, others struggled to retain a land base for themselves and their descendants.[41]

Native American economic adaptations not only related to material objects and physical resources but also involved a spiritual dimension. Land use, for example, was tied to a whole array of cosmological issues. Before Europeans arrived, a host of beliefs, rituals, and spiritual values guided Indian land use in colonial New England. Spiritual leaders helped communities perform ceremonies and use land in a way that maintained material and spiritual balance.[42] Certainly, as numerous scholars have shown, contact with the English, which sometimes involved incorporating elements of Christianity, led to significant changes in Indian beliefs about and approaches to land and land use.[43] Yet, as the following paragraphs show, some Indians, including those who expressed an adherence to Christianity, continued to connect land with spiritual aspects of life. Christianization certainly did not erode Indians' desire to protect or preserve their land base.

In both precontact and Christianized Indian societies, land had both a spiritual and an economic significance.[44] When Christianized Indians in colonial Plimouth and on Martha's Vineyard conducted land transactions, they often invoked Christian terminology. Land transactions provided an opportunity for Christianized Indians to reaffirm both their commitment to Christianity and their affiliation with the English. In some cases, they simply included opening statements or greetings in the name of God or Christ. For example, when recording a land transaction with two Indians named Peter and Thomas Hunter, Josias opened by saying "to all Christian people to whom these presents shall come."[45] It is possible that deciding to enter such statements into the record reflected a strategy or desire to emphasize connections between the legal and spiritual aspects of land. By including such terms in their land transactions, Indians may have been trying to invoke spiritual as well

as legal authority upon their exchanges to prevent future alterations by English colonists.

One complex piece of evidence suggests that Indians in this region felt there was strategic value in mentioning God in documents related to land. The text is known as "Mittark's Will," and although it has a contested history, it suggests that invoking the authority of God was an important tactic when Wampanoags were trying to preserve a land base on Martha's Vineyard. The authorship of "Mittark's Will" is uncertain, but the Indians of Aquinnah claimed that it was the last will and testament of a sachem named Mittark who had died in 1683. In "Mittark's Will," Mittark and other leaders of the Indian community had indicated that no one, including Mittark's sons, had any right to sell land to the colonists. Indians from Aquinnah submitted the will to an Indian commission in Barnstable in 1703 as evidence that a recent land transaction was illegal. After Mittark's death, his son Joseph had sold land to an English colonist for a small sum of money, and the Aquinnah Indians wanted the sale to be voided by an English court. The Aquinnah Indians argued that "Mittark's Will" had specifically prohibited Joseph from selling land; hence, the sale was null and void. English officials refused to recognize the document because another Indian named Jonah Hossueit testified that he had helped create the text long after Mittark's death as part of an Indian conspiracy to try to annul Joseph's sale of the property after the sale had already been completed. Scholars remain uncertain if the document was authored by Mittark before his death or fabricated by Indians after his death, or if it was an accurate reflection of Indian oral testimony recorded years after Mittark and the other sachems had spoken their wishes.[46]

Regardless of precisely who authored it, "Mittark's Will" reveals that Indians strategically invoked the name of God when trying to prevent transfers of land to the English. After proclaiming the intention to forever preserve Indian land and prevent its sale, the text reads, "We say it before God. It shall be so forever."[47] Although their exact motivations for including such a statement will forever remain a mystery, the author or authors of the text may have had a variety of reasons. The clause may have been seen as a way of preventing the English from altering or voiding such agreements, since English Christians would presumably think twice before offending God. It also may have helped communicate the seriousness and solemnity with which the sachems communicated when trying to protect their land. By invoking the name of God, these

Indians might have been trying to reinforce the eternal and unchanging nature of the document's stated intent—to prevent the sale of Indian land to the English. Regardless of their motivation, it is clear that the Native American author or authors felt that using spiritual terminology was necessary when addressing the issue of land and land use. Ultimately, the strategies employed by the Aquinnah Indians in regard to "Mittark's Will" were, by and large, successful. The existence of "Mittark's Will" helped unite the Aquinnah community in its opposition to the land sale. Yes, English authorities did reject the legal validity of the will and endorsed Joseph's sale of the land, but the English purchaser was so frustrated by the Indians' united opposition and legal maneuvering that he sold the land to the missionary New England Company. Although the company's track record with the Aquinnah Indians was mixed, it did prevent the sale of Indian land to English colonists for decades thereafter. This greatly facilitated the Wampanoags of Aquinnah in their quest to maintain their community's integrity.[48]

Missionaries may have been influential in encouraging Indians to use biblical phrases and Christian terms in documents related to land. Richard Bourne and his son Shearjashub, in particular, were often legal witnesses to many transactions. Given Richard Bourne's record of helping American Indians secure their land, he probably worked with them as they composed many of their legal documents. Typically, the texts simply read, "Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of Richard Bourne," but it is unclear if he in fact transcribed them for Indians according to their wishes or was merely an observer to the proceedings.[49] Some land transactions and deeds indicate that an Englishman in fact wrote the text according to the Indians' wishes, but many surviving documents often leave the author's identity a mystery.[50] Regardless, missionaries, particularly Bourne, were central to Native American land transactions. It is likely they shaped, to a certain extent, Indian strategies and beliefs regarding the sale or retention of various lands in and around their communities.

Discrimination in English Courts and Opportunities for Resistance

Just as issues related to land involved religious concerns, Indian appearances in English criminal court cases also sometimes involved a spiritual

element. Several scholars have extensively examined court records from colonial New England. In many instances, the focus has been on the discriminatory manner in which English courts treated Indian defendants and plaintiffs.[51] In other instances, scholars have seen Indian criminal activity as a sign of declension and poverty within Native American communities.[52] Yet most, if not all, such studies have neglected the way in which court cases reflected the complex spiritual and religious aspects of life in colonial New England. They also have largely ignored the role religion played in determining guilt or establishing sentences for Indian defendants. In some instances, courtrooms often served as sites of religious and spiritual negotiation.

Sometimes, court cases reveal Indian resistance to Christianization. In one instance, English officials suspected a Native American of taking advantage of English preoccupation with worship on the Sabbath. Tom Nopye, whom witnesses observed lurking near Edward Sturgis's home in the town of Yarmouth on a Sunday, refused to cooperate with English officials regarding a case of stolen goods from the house. There was not enough evidence to convict Nopye of a crime, and he admitted to no wrongdoing, but the court made it abundantly clear that they suspected him of stealing. Consequently, the court, because of Nopye's insolence, sentenced him to be whipped for breaking the Sabbath. They also ordered him to locate and bring forth the thief or pay back the money to Edward Sturgis, the Englishman who owned the house. The case reveals that at least some Indians in Yarmouth did not respect the Sabbath according to English standards. This was particularly true if Nopye was in fact guilty of committing a crime on a Sunday, which was supposed to be a holy day set apart for God. It also suggests that the English were willing to enforce Sabbath violations as a way to punish individuals suspected, but not proven guilty, of criminal behavior. In this situation, there was a religious and spiritual dimension to an otherwise ordinary criminal court proceeding.[53]

In other cases, court records show that individual Indians used Christianity to obtain tangible benefits. One account states that on June 1, 1680, the Plimouth General Court heard a case concerning Isaac. He had fought against the English during King Philip's War but wanted the court to grant him the right to own a gun. The court responded favorably to his request for several reasons, including that "he did return to

the English [side] again, and has since done them good service, and does carry very well, and gives good grounds of hope that he is religiously affected."[54] Did Isaac display evidence of a newfound adherence to Christianity simply so that he could legally use firearms? The documents provide no definitive answer to this question. What is clear, however, is that English courts viewed religion as a significant factor when considering certain Indian requests and petitions. It should come as no surprise, then, that in their cases and petitions Indians presented their requests by using Christian terminology and emphasizing their Christian piety.

There is one court case in which an Indian tried to defend herself, and did achieve limited success, by playing into certain English attitudes and assumptions and by using religious piety as a defense. On March 5, 1685, the Plimouth General Court heard a case involving an Indian woman named Betty. The record states:

> At this court an Indian squaw, named Betty, was indicted for killing her husband, named Great Harry, with a stone. At the first, being examined by the honored Mr. John Walley, she denied it, but afterwards owned the fact, but said she did not intend to kill him, but by throwing of a stone at a bottle of liquor and missing the bottle, she hit the said Indian, her husband, on the side of his head, whereof he died.[55]

Whether Betty's statement was true or she fabricated it to avoid conviction, it is clear that she felt it would benefit her case. By claiming to attack a bottle of liquor, she was claiming higher moral ground than if she admitted to seeking to harm her husband. She also likely knew that English officials would believe such an account, since English missionaries and court officials frequently complained about Indian families consuming alcohol. Instead of appearing as a violent, out-of-control spouse, Betty presented herself as a righteous woman attempting to drive vice and sin from her household. She hoped that the English would look more favorably upon a woman who was attempting to stop the sin of drunkenness. In the end, her strategy only partially succeeded, as the court found her guilty of homicide, not in the first degree, but by misadventure. The records do not indicate how the court decided to punish her for her offense.[56]

CONCLUSION

Court cases affecting Indians involved an interconnected assembly of spiritual, political, and economic issues. Even seemingly simple instances of criminal conduct had a religious dimension to them that most scholars have ignored. Similarly, diplomacy and spirituality were intertwined both before and after King Philip's War in Plimouth and on Martha's Vineyard. In certain respects, texts produced by English courts reveal that missionaries were somewhat successful in convincing Indians to incorporate elements of Christianity into their lives.

Court records and petitions that relate to life in Plimouth and on Martha's Vineyard indicate that Indians did not passively accept Christianity. Through a variety of means, including written petitions and carefully framing their testimony in criminal cases, Indians resisted, incorporated, and used elements of Christianity to achieve certain goals. In some cases, their strategies resulted in their obtaining certain benefits from English officials in the form of alliances, monetary payments, legal protection, and leniency. Of course, these accomplishments took place in a colonial context in which the English appropriated Indian land, stripped Indians of their political authority, and enslaved Indian children. Nonetheless, Indians proved quite capable of utilizing words associated with English spirituality to seek and sometimes achieve economic, political, and diplomatic goals.

NOTES

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1. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff and David Pulsifer, eds., *Records of the Colony of New Plimouth*, 12 vols. (Boston: W. White, 1855–61), 5:70–71.

2. Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Records*, 5:70–71.

3. Other scholars have investigated similar instances of activism among politically disempowered groups. For studies that focus upon religion as an inspirational force behind political activism among African Americans, see Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum*

South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Cornel West, *Prophecy Deliverance! An African-American Revolutionary Christianity* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1982); Kenneth Hill, "Politics and Participation in the Black Church," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 14 (Summer 1990): 123–35. For studies that examine connections between spirituality, politics, and diplomacy among American Indians, see Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); David Silverman, "The Church in New England Indian Community Life: A View from the Islands and Cape Cod," in *Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience*, ed. Colin Calloway and Neal Salisbury (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2003), 264–85; Barry O'Connell, ed., *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, a Pequot* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992); Kim McQuaid, "William Apess, a Pequot: An Indian Reformer in the Jacksonian Era," *New England Quarterly* 50 (1977): 605–25; Donald M. Nielsen, "The Mashpee Indian Revolt of 1833," *New England Quarterly* 58 (1985): 400–420; James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 277–346; Bernd C. Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind: Indian Missionary-Writers in Antebellum America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997); David Murray, *Forked Tongues: Speech, Writing, and Representation in North American Indian Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991). Scholars such as O'Connell and Clifford have already recognized the connection between spirituality and politics among Christianized Indians living in nineteenth-century Massachusetts. I am arguing here that this tendency dated back to the precontact period and persisted during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

4. Richard Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land Holding and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650–1790* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); David Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600–1871* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); James Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 100–124; Harold Van Lonkhuyzen, "A Reappraisal of the Praying Indians: Acculturation, Conversion, and Identity at Natick, Massachusetts, 1646–1730," *New England Quarterly* 63 (1990): 396–428; Charles L. Cohen, "Conversion among Puritans and Amerindians: A Theological and Cultural Perspective," in *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith,* ed. Francis J. Bremer (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993), 233–56; William S. Simmons, "The Great Awakening and Indian Conversion in South-

ern New England," in *Papers of the Tenth Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1979), 215–17.

5. Scholars who have studied missionary work in other colonial contexts have also found that people and groups engaged new religious ideas and systems in multiple ways, often achieving political and diplomatic objectives by incorporating elements of different religions into their own. See Paul Stuart Landau, *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1995); John and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution,* vol. 2, *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

6. Numerous scholars have utilized these sources when studying New England Indians. See Ann Marie Plane, *Colonial Intimacies: Indian Marriage in Early New England* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2000); Plane, "'The Examination of Sarah Ahhaton': The Politics of 'Adultery' in an Indian Town in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," *Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife* 16 (1991): 14–23; Yasuhide Kawashima, *Puritan Justice and the Indian: White Man's Law in Massachusetts, 1630–1763* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1986); Kathleen Bragdon, "Crime and Punishment among the Indians of Massachusetts, 1675–1750," *Ethnohistory* 28 (Winter 1981): 23–32; O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*; James P. Ronda, "Red and White at the Bench: Indians and the Law in Plimouth Colony, 1620–1691," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 110 (1974): 200–215; Daniel Mandell, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996); Douglas Winiarski, "A Question of Plain Dealing: Josiah Cotton, Native Christians, and the Quest for Security in Eighteenth-Century Plimouth Colony," *New England Quarterly* 77 (September 2004): 368–413.

7. Travers Len Travers, ed., "Notes and Documents: The Missionary Journal of John Cotton, Jr., 1666–1678," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 109 (1997): 52–101.

8. Even authors who study one or two texts in depth have recognized the difficulty in establishing the authorship of documents from this time period attributed to Indian authors. See Helen Jaskoski, ed., *Early Native American Writing: New Critical Essays* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1–12; Ives Goddard and Kathleen Bragdon, eds., *Native Writings in Massachusett* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988). Also, recent scholarship has suggested that the entire notion of authorship has been nebulous and continually negotiated. See Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

9. For more on the challenges associated with using court records and other written sources when studying American Indian history, see Frederick Hoxie, "Towards a 'New' North American Indian Legal History," *American Journal*

of Legal History 30 (October 1986): 351–57; Neal Salisbury, "'I Loved the Place of My Dwelling': Puritan Missionaries and Native Americans in Seventeenth-Century New England," in *Inequality in Early America*, ed. Carla Gardina Prestana and Sharon V. Salinger (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), 119–21; Jaskoski, *Early Native American Writing*.

10. See Kawashima, *Puritan Justice*; Ronda, "Red and White"; Bragdon, "Crime and Punishment"; O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, 38–42, 65–90; Margaret Ellen Newall, "The Changing Nature of Indian Slavery," in *Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience*, ed. Colin Calloway and Neal Salisbury (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2003), 106–36; Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*, 70–116.

11. Neal Salisbury, "Embracing Ambiguity: Native Peoples and Christianity in Seventeenth-Century North America," *Ethnohistory* 50 (Spring 2003): 247–59; Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 2001), 197–99; James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Neal Salisbury, "Religious Encounters in a Colonial Context: New England and New France in the Seventeenth Century," *American Indian Quarterly* 16 (Autumn 1992): 501–9.

12. Winiarski, "A Question"; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*; O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*; Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*; Van Lonkhuyzen, "A Reappraisal"; Cohen, "A Reappraisal"; Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*.

13. For recent work on Richard Bourne, see Silverman, "The Church." For recent work on the Mayhews, see Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*; and Ann Plane, "Falling 'into a Dream': Native Americans, Colonization, and Consciousness in Early New England," in Calloway and Salisbury, *Reinterpreting New England Indians*, 84–105. For recent work on the Cottons, see Winiarski, "A Question"; Sheila McIntyre, "John Cotton, Jr.: Wayward Puritan Minister?," in *The Human Tradition in Colonial America*, ed. Ian K. Steele and Nancy L. Rhoden (Wilmington DE: SR Books/Scholarly Resources Inc., 1999), 119–39; and Mark A. Peterson, "The Plymouth Church and the Evolution of Puritan Religious Culture," *New England Quarterly* 66 (December 1993): 582–93. The best overview of Eliot's missionary work remains Cogley's *John Eliot's Mission*.

14. Some older surveys of Massachusetts history address the lives of these missionaries. See Henry Krocker Kittredge, *Cape Cod, Its People and Their History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930); Simeon Deyo, ed., *History of Barnstable County, Massachusetts, 1620–1890* (New York: H. W. Blake, 1890); Donald G. Trayser, *Barnstable: Three Centuries of a Cape Cod Town* (Hyannis: F. B. and F. P. Goss, 1939); see also chapter 4 of my doctoral dissertation for a more recent analysis: Jason Eden, "Negotiating a New Religious World: English Missionar-

ies and American Indians in Colonial Southeastern Massachusetts" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2006).

15. Older historical works that address rogue lay missionaries in colonial New England include Josiah Paine, *A History of Harwich, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, 1620–1800, Including the Early History of That Part Now Brewster, with Some Account of Its Indian Inhabitants* (Rutland: Tuttle Publishing Company, 1937), 406–7, 558–61; J. M. Bumstead, "A Caution to Erring Christians: Ecclesiastical Disorder on Cape Cod, 1717 to 1738," *WMQ* 28 (July 1971): 413–38; Gustavus Swift Paine, "Ungodly Carriages on Cape Cod," *NEQ* 25 (June 1952): 181–98; Frederick Freeman, *The History of Cape Cod, the Annals of Barnstable County and of Its Several Towns, Including the District of Mashpee* (Boston: George C. Rand and Avery, 1858), 95. For a more recent but brief analysis of Tupper, see Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*, 123–26. Douglas Winiarski, "Native American Popular Religion in New England's Old Colony, 1670–1770," *Religion and American Culture* 15 (Summer 2005): 146–86. For a more up-to-date and detailed analysis of George Weekes, see chapter 3 of my doctoral dissertation, "Negotiating a New Religious World."

16. Winiarski, "A Question"; Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 49–77; Len Travers, ed., "Notes and Documents: The Missionary Journal of John Cotton, Jr., 1666–1678," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 109 (1997): 52–101.

17. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*, 123–26; Bumstead, "A Caution," 432; Freeman, *History of Cape Cod*, 95; George Weekes, *Ebenezer, or, A Faithful and Exact Account of God's Great Goodness to Mr. Ebenezer Taylor, of Yarmouth on Cape Cod* (Boston: T. Fleet, 1728).

18. Silverman, "The Church"; Taylor, *American Colonies*, 197–99; Winiarski, "Native American Popular Religion"; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission.*

19. Richard Cogley, "Two Approaches to Indian Conversion in Puritan New England: The Missions of Thomas Mayhew, Jr. and John Eliot," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 23 (Winter 1995): 44–60; James P. Ronda, "Generations of Faith: The Christian Indians of Martha's Vineyard," *William and Mary Quarterly* 38 (July 1981): 369–94; Hilary Wyss, "'Things That Do Accompany Salvation': Colonialism, Conversion, and Cultural Exchange in Experience Mayhew's *Indian Converts*," *Early American Literature* 33 (1998): 39–44.

20. Kathleen Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1500–1650* (Norman: Oklahoma State University Press, 1999), 154.

21. Bragdon, *Native People,* 200; Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 43–44.

22. Eric B. Schultz and Michael J. Tougias, *King Philip's War: The History and Legacy of America's Forgotten Conflict* (Woodstock VT: Countryman Press,

1999), 1–57; Philip Ranlet, "Another Look at the Causes of King Philip's War," *New England Quarterly* 61 (March 1988): 79–100; Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), 21–68; Nathaniel Philbrick, *Mayflower: A Story of Courage, Community, and War* (New York: Viking, 2006), xii–236.

23. Schultz and Tougias, *King Philip's War*, 11–39; James D. Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675–1676* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 55–74.

24. Richard F. Whalen, *Truro: The Story of a Cape Cod Town* (Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2002), 58–60; Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Records*, 5:66–67; Acts 17:26 (KJV) reads: "And [God] hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation."

25. Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Records,* 5:66–67.

26. Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Records,* 5:66–67. The first part of Isaiah 11:6 (KJV) reads: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid."

27. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries,* 103–8; Silverman, "The Church," 270–71; Drake, *King Philip's War*, 116–23; Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*, 23.

28. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*.

29. Schultz and Tougias, *King Philip's War*, 75; Simeon Deyo, ed., *History of Barnstable County, Massachusetts, 1620–1890* (New York: H. W. Blake, 1890), 63–66.

30. Petition from Hercules, Lawrence, and John Quason to Massachusetts, September 5, 1694, Massachusetts Archives Collection, 30:353, Massachusetts Archives, Boston.

31. Petition from Hercules, Lawrence, and John Quason, 30:353.

32. Petition from Hercules, Lawrence, and John Quason, 30:353.

33. Petition from Hercules, Lawrence, and John Quason, 30:353.

34. Petition from Hercules, Lawrence, and John Quason, 30:353.

35. Petition from Eastham Indians, 30:491.

36. Petition from Eastham Indians, 30:491.

37. Petition from Mashpee Leaders to Massachusetts, 1700, Massachusetts Archives Collection, 30:456, Massachusetts Archives, Boston.

38. Newall, "The Changing Nature," 123–24.

39. Although the text itself is not dated, contextual evidence related to Elisha Amos and the community at Aquinnah (Gay Head) suggests that the community presented the letter during the 1720s or 1730s. Goddard and Bragdon, *Native Writings,* 1:225.

40. Goddard and Bragdon, *Native Writings,* 1:225; Job 35:30 (KJV).

41. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, 93, 157–61; Silverman, *Faith and Bound-*

aries, 130–222; Joshua Micah Marshall, "A Melancholy People: Anglo-Indian Relations in Early Warwick, Rhode Island, 1642–1675," *New England Quarterly* 68 (1995): 402–28; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

42. Bragdon, *Native People*, 43–45, 137–39; O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees,* 14–22.

43. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*; Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence,* 180–202.

44. Bragdon, *Native People*, 43–45, 137–39; O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees,* 14–22.

45. Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Records,* 12:233–34.

46. David Silverman, "'We Chief Men Say This': Wampanoag Memory, English Authority, and the Contest over Mittark's Will," in *Early Native Literacies in New England: A Documentary and Critical Anthology,* ed. Kristina Bross and Hilary Wyss (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 166–73; Goddard and Bragdon*, Native Writings*, 1:96–97.

47. Goddard and Bragdon*, Native Writings*, 1:96–97.

48. Silverman, "We Chief Men."

49. Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Records,* 12:226–28, 241–42.

50. Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Records,* 12:226.

51. Bragdon, "Crime and Punishment," 23–31; Lyle Koehler, "Red-White Power Relations and Justice in the Courts of Seventeenth Century New England," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 3 (1979): 1–32; Plane, *Colonial Intimacies*; Kawashima, *Puritan Justice*.

52. See Winiarski, "A Question," 386–96; Newall, "The Changing Nature," 106–36; David Silverman, "The Impact of Indentured Servitude on the Society and Culture of Southern New England Indians, 1680–1810," *New England Quarterly* 74 (2001): 622–66.

53. Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Records,* 5:238–39.

54. Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Records,* 6:65.

55. Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Records,* 6:153–54.

56. Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Records,* 6:153–54.