



Second Battle of Nipsachuck Battlefield  
Name of Property

Providence County, RI  
County and State

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.	
<hr/>	
<b>Signature of commenting official:</b>	<b>Date</b>
<hr/>	
<b>Title :</b>	<b>State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government</b>

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#### 4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- \_\_\_ entered in the National Register
- \_\_\_ determined eligible for the National Register
- \_\_\_ determined not eligible for the National Register
- \_\_\_ removed from the National Register
- \_\_\_ other (explain:) \_\_\_\_\_

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Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

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#### 5. Classification

##### Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

- Private:
- Public – Local
- Public – State
- Public – Federal

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**Category of Property**

(Check only **one** box.)

- Building(s)
- District
- Site
- Structure
- Object

**Number of Resources within Property**

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
_____	_____	buildings
<u>1</u>	_____	sites
_____	_____	structures
_____	_____	objects
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register \_\_\_\_\_

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**6. Function or Use**

**Historic Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

- DOMESTIC - camp
- AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE – agricultural field
- DEFENSE – battle site
- LANDSCAPE – unoccupied land (swamp)

**Current Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

- LANDSCAPE – forest, conservation area, unoccupied land
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

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## 7. Description

### Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

N/A  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Materials:** (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: \_\_\_\_\_

### Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

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### Summary Paragraph

The Second Battle of Nipsachuck battlefield is located [REDACTED] in a relatively small area (of 58.2 acres/ 23.6 hectares) defined by two natural features, [REDACTED] (Additional Materials, Figure 1). The battlefield in its present physical form conforms to the contemporary accounts of the battle of July 2, 1676, and its archaeological record, consisting of domestic artifacts and military artifacts, most notably lead shot or musket balls, provides a well-defined record of the battle events as they developed across the site.

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### Narrative Description

### Environmental Setting

The battlefield is in an upland area of irregular topography shaped by glacial action and characterized by a variety of smooth-topped hills, swampy areas and limited areas of level ground, drained by the northernmost stretch of the Woonasquatucket River. The hills are typically forested, as are the swamps, predominantly with oak, pine and maple on the drier ground and maple and cedar in the swamps (also, historically, white spruce). The battlefield area

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is bounded by

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]. The [REDACTED] is to the east and to the west is [REDACTED]. This is a rural area marked by increasing suburbanization. A pattern of dispersed farmsteads that date from the late seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries is now augmented by mid- to late twentieth century residential development spread along the pre-existing roadways with a few pockets of recent subdivisions.

The predominant features of the battlefield are [REDACTED] and the adjacent [REDACTED] on the east (Additional Materials, Figure 2). Between them is a narrow piece of level ground, the [REDACTED] is a small, well-defined hill around 1600' in diameter that rises from 300' at its base to a western summit of [REDACTED]. The battlefield includes most of the eastern slope of the hill.

East of [REDACTED], an irregularly shaped wetland that in its entirety extends 4100' from north to south with a width of 1100' at its narrowest point, covering a total area of approximately 118 acres (48 hectares). On its eastern border, the swamp drains via a stream that feeds the [REDACTED] and then flows [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] River. The battlefield encompasses the southern portion of the swamp, which is separated from the northern portion by a large central island that is connected to the western edge of the swamp by a low, narrow (5-10 meters wide) ridge (Additional Materials, Figure 3). This ridge appears to provide an ecological barrier between the swamp's northern and southern halves. Today, the northern half is dominated by cedar, and probably has been for quite some time, as a 1763 land deed references it as a "cedar" swamp.<sup>1</sup> While the southern half is currently dominated by white pine, it was likely dominated by spruce in the seventeenth century. Talcott specifies that the final phase of battle during the Second Battle of Nipsachuck occurred in a "spruce" swamp. Assuming that he could accurately identify tree taxa, the archaeological confirmation of the southern half of the swamp as the seat of the final phase of the Second Battle of Nipsachuck allows us to reasonably infer the historical

<sup>1</sup> Rhode Island Land Evidence, Book 6:62.

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presence of spruce. Subsequent logging probably eliminated any original spruce cover, providing an opportunity for faster growing white pine trees to succeed.

The [REDACTED] is an elongated area of level ground bounded by the eastern base of [REDACTED], measuring approximately 10 acres (4.2 hectares) in area, approximately 460' wide at its middle and 880' in length. It is made up of well-drained fine sandy loams, including an area of Windsor loamy sand, which is suitable for cultivation, as well as the rockier Sutton, Canton and Charlton soils.

### Historical Appearance

Descriptive information on the nature of the locale in the seventeenth century is limited. The first reference of record to the [REDACTED] area was made in the language of the series of land transactions associated with the [REDACTED] Purchase of 1666. This purchase of approximately 2000 acres extended from [REDACTED] on the east, to [REDACTED] at its northwest corner. This deed also refers to Nipsachuck and the "Indian grownd" as marking the western boundary directly south of [REDACTED].<sup>2</sup> In successive land records and references in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the spelling of [REDACTED] varied considerably, including [REDACTED], [REDACTED], up to the present day anglicized [REDACTED]. What remained consistent in the references was [REDACTED] association with grasslands and swamp. Grassy bogs, meadows that formed in eutrophic beaver ponds and other natural meadows that grew in freshwater drainage systems such as existed at [REDACTED] were highly prized by the English colonists, who found them ready sources of fodder for their livestock. The settlers on the [REDACTED] Purchase chose to allot the [REDACTED] meadow lands in shares to insure an equitable distribution of this resource and they recorded their division in a plat map in 1689 (Additional Materials, Figure 4). Though it is difficult to make it conform precisely to today's landscape, the map clearly depicts a chain of meadow land that extends from the vicinity of today's swamp along the stream that drains it and

<sup>2</sup> Rhode Island Land Evidence, Book 2:19.

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the [REDACTED] River. It also indicates the prevalence of white and red oak and pine in the local woodlands.

In addition to meadows, [REDACTED] contained forested swamps populated by cedar and spruce. These species had their own importance as building resources for the colonists which is reflected in subsequent references in land records.<sup>3</sup>

The [REDACTED]-Nipsachuck locale was also a place where Native American residents had planting fields, where they cleared areas of fertile soil (such as the Windsor loam) for their crops.<sup>4</sup> Apart from the planting fields and meadows, it is likely that the majority of the landscape was wooded. However, the ability of the Connecticut forces to conduct a mounted attack around [REDACTED] also indicates that the vegetative cover here was relatively open or, if wooded, free of a dense understory.

The land records and physical evidence make clear that following King Philip's War, the appearance of the landscape here was altered, as the colonial residents harvested trees and cleared additional lands for farming. Neighboring trails became roads and one, the [REDACTED] Road, was extended across the north end of the swamp, using the northern edge of the central island for part of its route. However, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, land that was marginal for farming purposes or not readily accessible gradually returned to woodland and this seems to have occurred within the [REDACTED]-[REDACTED] Swamp locale. Perhaps the only landscape alteration of note in the late nineteenth century was the construction of the [REDACTED] across the southern end of [REDACTED]. Completed in 1873, the [REDACTED] utilized a pair of small peninsulas that reached into the swamp on either side to establish an embankment across the wetland. This embankment remains at the southern edge of the battlefield though no longer in [REDACTED] use.

The battlefield area appears to have remained relatively undisturbed into the twentieth century. For a time a small horse farm was maintained along the eastern side of [REDACTED]. In the

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<sup>3</sup> One example is Hosea Steere's 1772 sale of a "certain piece of cedar swamp in the swamp commonly known by the name of Mattaley" (Root 1890:80).

<sup>4</sup> See 1676 letter by James Fitch in Colonial Wars, Connecticut Archives, Connecticut State Library, Hartford (hereafter CW), 1<sup>st</sup> series, Doc. 80 (1675 – 1775).

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decades after World War II, single family houses were built along [REDACTED],

[REDACTED].

While a number of these house lots extend into the battlefield, the developed portions of the lots are adjacent to the roads and the rear portions have been left in their natural state. The local land trust also acquired portions of [REDACTED] for natural conservation. As a result, the battlefield today possesses remarkable historical integrity and evinces very little evidence that its landscape has been altered since the seventeenth century.

### **The Archaeological Signature of the Battle**

Note: The following description is based upon Kevin McBride's 2013 *Final Report, Battlefield Archaeological Study, Second Battle of Nipsachuck, July 2, 1676*.

The historical narratives of the battle provide limited but basic information on the setting of the battlefield. William Hubbard in his *History* describes how Major Talcott's "Indian scouts on the top of a hill discovered a great number of the enemy that had newly pitched their Station within the semicircles of a Swampe."<sup>5</sup> Talcott adds that it was a "great spruse swamp."<sup>6</sup> Hubbard goes on to say how this "hollow of a swamp" was "just opposite" a hill. In preparing their attack, the Connecticut forces massed at this hill, with the Mohegan and Pequot soldiers stationed at the top and the Connecticut horsemen divided into two troops at the base, one on either side of the hill. Upon a signal being given, the three wings attacked at once, striking the Narragansett camp in the middle and at either end. While some were captured or killed in the camp, others were able to escape, mainly into the swamp. The dragoons then encircled the swamp with some dismounting and pursuing their enemy into the swamp where they killed or captured many more, ending the battle.

The archaeological testing has confirmed this basic layout of the battlefield. Based on the archaeological survey the Narragansett encampment has been identified not as an aggregated village but more of a dispersed collection of domestic areas scattered along the eastern and northern base of [REDACTED]. The archaeological signature is a low density of Native American

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<sup>5</sup> Hubbard 1675: 222

<sup>6</sup> Trumbull 1852: 458

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artifacts. This low density is ascribed to the recent origin of the Narragansett encampment and to the looting of the camp by the Mohegan and Pequot forces. In four areas, light scatters of Narragansett domestic objects were recovered, distributed “in the semi-circle of a swamp.” (Additional Materials, Figure 5). Area 1 yielded eight hand-wrought rose headed nails; Area 2 yielded two sheets of scrap brass and a hand-wrought iron hook; and Area 3 yielded five objects, an incised quahog shell, a cuprous pendant, two gun flints, and a heat-treated flake of English flint. These areas also correlate with high densities of musket balls compared with other areas of the battlefield suggesting the location of the encampments targeted by English-allied forces. Area 4 yielded an unknown cuprous object and a few cuprous fragments (that may be from the same object) manufactured (and riveted) from cut cuprous sheets.

The progression of the battle is reflected in the patterns of associated artifacts, primarily lead shot or musket balls. It began as the two wings of Connecticut dragoons approached the southern and northern quadrants of [REDACTED] while their Mohegan and Pequot allies took positions at the top of [REDACTED] (it is expected but not confirmed that they positioned themselves at the lower summit, which is situated much closer to the battlefield).

The avenues of attack and initial contact with the Narragansett are indicated by the concentration of musket balls along the north and eastern faces of Cat Hill, and along the southern margin of [REDACTED]. A company of the southern wing of dragoons apparently wheeled east in the early phase of the advance to attack a Narragansett encampment (see Figure 5, Area 4) along the southern margin of the swamp, and continued east and north to envelop the eastern margin of the swamp. The other company(s) of southern dragoons continued north a short distance along the eastern slope of [REDACTED] where they encountered a Narragansett encampment at the base of the hill (see Figure 5, Area 3). At that point the southern wing split again, with a company of dragoons wheeling to the west up the east slope of [REDACTED] in pursuit of the Narragansett attempting to escape. Another company wheeled east to pursue the fleeing Narragansett to the edge of the swamp opposite a small island in the center of the southern half of [REDACTED].

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The attack by the northern wing of dragoons did not originate directly from the west along the north face of [REDACTED]. Instead, based on the direction of fire along the northern base of [REDACTED] the dragoons attacked the north face of [REDACTED] from a northwesterly direction (Additional Materials, Figure 6). The avenue of attack was dictated by extremely rocky and swamp terrain along the westerly approach to the north side of [REDACTED], terrain too dangerous for a mounted horse at attack speed as it would have resulted in several broken legs and a disruption of the flow of the attack. While the initial attack by the dragoons may have achieved a degree of surprise, it appears that Narragansett defenders, who may have included women and elders, quickly recovered based on the amount of return fire originating from the base of [REDACTED] that was fired north into the attacking dragoons. The area also contains the highest frequency of dropped musket balls on the battlefield indicating the dragoons (and defenders) were firing and reloading several times during the engagement.

Mohegan and Pequot forces were deployed in the center of the attack between the northern and southern wings of dragoons. The Mohegan and Pequot began their assault, presumably from the east summit of [REDACTED] and attacked down slope into the Narragansett encampments located at the base of [REDACTED]. The archaeological signature for the Mohegan/Pequot attack consists of a brass aglet, brass bell, and a lead flint wrap for a bifacial native-made gunflint. The distribution of musket balls and other battle-related objects indicates the routes taken by the two wings of dragoons during the pursuit of the Narragansett to [REDACTED]. Their combined action is evidenced by the linear pattern of musket balls originating from the base of [REDACTED] along the east face, east 100 meters to the edge of the swamp opposite the island. In addition, two horse shoes, a button, a folding knife, and a straight knife were found along the edge of the swamp.

The density and distribution of musket balls along the north and east face of [REDACTED] and leading to the edge of [REDACTED] suggests the dragoon attack was not continuous, but a period of time separated the actions along the base of [REDACTED] and those along the edge of the swamp. The frequency and density of musket balls drop dramatically from the initial engagements at the Narragansett encampments along the base of [REDACTED] to the edge of the swamp 150-200 meters away where the density and frequency increases (see Figure 5, Areas 1 &

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3). There were very few musket balls found in the 150-200 meter distance between the encampments and the edge of the swamp. This spatial “gap” in the musket ball distributions equates to a temporal gap as well. If the dragoons were in continuous pursuit of the Narragansett into the swamp one would expect a continuous distribution of musket balls as well. The break or gap in the distribution of musket balls suggests the dragoons did not continue to engage the Narragansett after the initial attack until they reached the edge of the swamp. The dragoon attack was not continuous, but was likely delayed for a short time by Narragansett defenders.

The English and Mohegan and Pequot pursued the Narragansett who managed to escape the initial attack and encirclement to the edge of the swamp. One company of the northern wing of dragoons was intent on preventing the Narragansett from escaping into the northern half of [REDACTED] and quickly moved to drive the fleeing Narragansett to the southern portion of [REDACTED] and to cut the swamp along a narrow natural terrain feature that divides the northern ([REDACTED]) and southern (Mattity Spruce Swamp) halves of the swamp. The terrain feature is just wide enough to allow a few horses abreast to traverse on to the east side of the swamp 100 meters away.

One trajectory of musket balls and other battle-related objects leads from the Narragansett encampment east and slightly north several hundred meters to the elevated terrain feature that separates the two halves of the swamp. A seventeenth-century horseshoe was recovered from the swamp along the south side of elevated terrain feature indicating the feature was used as an avenue of attack and pursuit by the northern wing of dragoons. There were a number of musket balls from the swamp along the east end of the terrain feature as well as north and south of the feature along the edge of the swamp as the dragoons continued their attack when they reached the east side of the swamp. This maneuver, likely planned before the attack and based on the information provided by the Mohegan and Pequot scouts, served to quickly get the northern wing of dragoons across the swamp and in a position to encompass the swamp along the eastern boundary – effectively cutting off an escape route by the Narragansett to the east.

The actions of the rest of the northern wing is indicated by the trail of musket balls that leads from the base of [REDACTED] directly east across the relatively flat [REDACTED] several

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hundred meters to the edge of the swamp and a point closest to the small island in the center of the southern swamp. The Narragansett were clearly trying to reach the safety of the island 100 meters from the western edge of the swamp. They were pursued by the dragoons to the very edge of the swamp as indicated by a heavy concentration of musket balls (mostly small caliber) near the edge of the swamp, as well as two horseshoes just inside the swamp and some dropped and/or discarded equipment and personal items along the edge of the swamp opposite the island. The last category includes a pocket knife, knife blade, button and unidentified hand wrought object. From that point the dragoons dismounted and pursued the Narragansett into the swamp along with Pequot/Mohegan forces.

Companies from the southern wing of dragoons as well as Mohegan and Pequot in the center conducted a similar and complementary maneuver. Shortly after the attack began, a company of dragoons wheeled east along the southern margin of [REDACTED] to attack a Narragansett encampment on a small peninsula (see Figure 6), as indicated by a small but dense concentration of musket balls (see Figure 5, Area 4). This formation continued their attack from this peninsula across a narrow expanse of swamp to the eastern boundary of swamp where they swung north along the east side of the swamp effectively sealing the southern and eastern boundaries of the swamp from any Narragansett attempting to escape.

The Connecticut dragoons and Mohegan/Pequot soldiers were successful in encircling the southern half of [REDACTED], but there is little evidence in the archaeological or historical record that details the final phase of the battle in the swamp. It was impossible to conduct metal detector surveys in the swamp given the high water table and depth of the swamp “muck” below the surface of the water. The only evidence of the final phase of the battle was the recovery of two musket balls on the small island in the center of the southern swamp. The metal detector survey of the eastern boundary of the swamp recovered only a light distribution of battle-related objects including several musket balls, and a pewter button. Given the nature of the attack, it is possible that the remains of slain Narragansett may lie within the swamp.

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## 8. Statement of Significance

### Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

### Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- B. Removed from its original location
- C. A birthplace or grave
- D. A cemetery
- E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- F. A commemorative property
- G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

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**Areas of Significance**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

ARCHAEOLOGY – Historic Aboriginal and Non-aboriginal

ETHNIC HERITAGE – Native American

MILITARY

**Period of Significance**

1675-1676

**Significant Dates**

July 2, 1676

**Significant Person**

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

Quaiapen, Sunk Squaw of the Narragansett Tribe

**Cultural Affiliation**

Narragansett

**Architect/Builder**

**Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph** (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

Under Criterion A the Second Battle of Nipsachuck is significant in the overall conduct of King Philip’s War because it marked the end of organized resistance to the colonists in Narragansett Country. It is also significant as a demonstration of the English colonial forces’ acquired mastery of military tactics, including the use of combined English and Indian forces and mounted troops, which enabled them to reverse earlier losses and bring the war to a successful close. Under Criterion B, the battle also marked the death of Sunk Squaw Quaiapen, a major figure in Narragansett society and the last of the ruling Narragansett sachems to be killed in combat during the war. The battlefield also possesses significance under Criterion D for its

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potential to further elucidate the nature of the battle, and the evolution of the tactics and materiel of King Philip's War. In addition, further archaeology has the potential to yield significant information on Native use of interior lands in the Narragansett basin before as well as after European arrival, and the particular role that Nipsachuck played as a place of habitation, agriculture, ceremony and refuge.

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**Narrative Statement of Significance** (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

Note: The following narrative draws upon Kevin McBride's 2013 *Final Report, Battlefield Archaeological Study, Second Battle of Nipsachuck, July 2, 1676*.

The Second Battle of Nipsachuck (Battle of [REDACTED]) on July 2, 1676 was the culminating action of Connecticut's six-month campaign against the Narragansett during the latter half of King Philip's War (late December 1675 – early July 1676). It began one hour after dawn when a force of 300 Connecticut dragoons (mounted infantry) and 100 Mohegan and Pequot allies led by Major John Talcott enveloped and attacked the village of the Narragansett Sunk Squaw Quaiapen, killing and capturing over 170 men, women, and children in the three-hour battle. Though historically referred to as a battle, the military asymmetry between attackers and defenders presents a scene that would be considered a massacre according to modern sensibilities. It was carried out according to a carefully coordinated plan involving a simultaneous multi-headed attack by the dragoons and their Native allies. Known to be the only horse-mounted attack of King Philip's War, it represented a far more devastating approach than the English had taken in the early months of the war. In their early engagements, such as the First Battle of Nipsachuck (August 1, 1675), English forces were less aggressive and less organized, and did not leverage Native allies effectively.

The Second Battle of Nipsachuck illustrates English tactics (particularly among Connecticut's foot soldiers and dragoons) that had become more complex, sophisticated, and effective, as well as the aggressive attack and pursuit strategy employed by Connecticut forces throughout the war. Connecticut was the only colony to field fully integrated units of Colonial and Native soldiers throughout the war; a strategy that greatly contributed to the overall success of Connecticut's King Philip's War effort.

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For the Narragansett, the battle marked both an extensive loss of lives and, notably, the death of Quaiapen, the last of the principal Narragansett sachems to be killed or captured by the English. Her death effectively ended Narragansett resistance in the war and evidence indicates it may have also marked the suppression of a Narragansett attempt to seek peace with the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

#### Brief History of the King Philip's War (1675-1676) and the Role of the Narragansett

King Philip's War (June 1675 – August 1676), sometimes called the First Indian War, Metacom's War, Metacomet's War, or Metacom's Rebellion, was an armed conflict between dozens of Native American tribes and bands who inhabited (and still do) present-day southern New England, and English colonists from the colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, and Plymouth, and their Native American allies (principally Mohegan, Pequot, Tunxis, and Western Niantic of Connecticut and Christian Indians in Massachusetts). The war is named after the Pokanoket sachem Metacom, known to the English as "King Philip," as the war began in Plymouth Colony, homeland of the Pokanoket.

King Philip's War began on June 24 and June 25, 1675 in Swansea, Massachusetts (then Plymouth Colony). On the 24<sup>th</sup>, a Swansea colonist fired on a few Natives who were believed to be looting empty farmhouses, killing one. On the following day, a group of Metacom's men attacked and killed several English in Swansea. This action was also partly retaliation for the execution of three Pokanoket men hung by Plymouth Colony several months earlier and it initiated a sequence of events that engulfed New England in a full-scale war within six months. By August, the conflict spread to Nipmuc bands of central Massachusetts and northeastern Connecticut and the Pocumtuck of central Connecticut River Valley. By the end of 1675, the majority of Native peoples of central and western Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and eastern Maine were at war with the English.

Dozens of frontier towns in central Massachusetts and the Connecticut Valley were attacked and burned during the war, as were settlements in Providence Plantations, Plymouth Colony and eastern Massachusetts. Colonial authorities estimated that 600 English were killed and 1,200 houses burned during the war. A minimum of 3,000 Native men, women, and

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children were battle casualties, and thousands more died from disease, starvation, and exposure or were sold into slavery.<sup>7</sup> The conflict is often referred to as the deadliest in American history.<sup>8</sup> The war in southern New England ended when English soldiers and their Native allies killed Metacom at Mount Hope in present-day Bristol, RI on August 12, 1676. The war continued in northern New England (primarily on the Maine frontier) until a treaty was signed at Casco Bay in April of 1678.

One of the most important events in the war was a preemptive attack on December 19, 1675 by the United Colonies (Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Plymouth) on the Narragansett in South Kingstown, Rhode Island. Frustrated with Narragansett overt and covert support of the Pokanoket and other Wampanoag bands under Metacom, the United Colonies sent an army of 1,000 soldiers and 150 Mohegan and Pequot allies against the Narragansett fortified encampment of almost one thousand people from several Narragansett bands. As many as six hundred Narragansett died in the attack, which is known as the Great Swamp Fight, and hundreds more may have died from exposure in the severe winter weather. Several of the principal sachems of the Narragansett may have been in the fort (and survived) including Pessicus, Canonchet, and Quaiapen. The English suffered more than 170 wounded and killed in the action and many more died from exposure during the retreat in blizzard conditions or from their wounds months later.

The attack on the Narragansett drew the most powerful Native group in southern New England into direct conflict with the English. It also exposed the lack of training, cooperation, and logistical support among the United Colonies in such a large-scale operation during the first half of the war; a situation that was rectified in subsequent months. More importantly, the attack exposed settlements at Stonington and Norwich on Connecticut's eastern frontier to reprisals from Narragansett country. While some of the Narragansett leaders, such as Pessicus, Canonchet, Pomham, Panoquian, and Quaiapen and their bands, fled into Nipmuc country and the Connecticut River Valley, many other Narragansett stayed in their country to protect their stored supplies of corn, and to keep pressure off their leaders who retreated north and west to continue

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<sup>7</sup> Brodhead 1855: 243-244.

<sup>8</sup> Leach 1958.

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the fight.<sup>9</sup> For a short while both Massachusetts and Connecticut conducted separate military operations in Narragansett country against the remaining bands, but Massachusetts Bay forces increasingly focused their attention on their vulnerable settlements in central Massachusetts and the Connecticut River Valley.

Although Connecticut conducted many military operations against the northern enemy in central Massachusetts and the Connecticut River Valley throughout the fall, winter, and spring of 1675-1676, the Connecticut War Council increasingly turned their attention east to Narragansett country and potential attacks from that quarter on the settlements at Norwich and Stonington. For the six-month period between late December 1675 and late July 1676, Connecticut dragoons with Mohegan and Pequot from New London County fielded a military presence in Narragansett country.

#### *Narragansett Campaign: January – August 1676*

The Second Battle of Nipsachuck is best understood in the context of Connecticut's overall political and military objectives during the war, and more specifically the goals and objectives of Connecticut's campaign against the Narragansett in the wake of the Great Swamp Fight. The campaign appears to have had political, as well as military, objectives. In December 1675, Connecticut, and to a much lesser extent Massachusetts Bay, sent several expeditions into Narragansett country to put pressure on the Narragansett and prevent them from regrouping after the Great Swamp Fight. The Commissioners of the United Colonies sent two letters to the Connecticut Council on January urging them to vigorously pursue the Narragansett:

No doubt but it will be difficult for you, all things considered, to rayse so many new forces, but how it will be avoyded, we see not, for we cannot but thinke, should there be too long a cessation after we have made such a beginning, or should we proceed with too weake a hand, the enemy being now conjoynd & so numerous, there will be more advantage & tyme lost than will easily be ever recovered again.<sup>10</sup>

We had a deep sense of the necessity that the present opportunity for the subduing of the enemy be vigorously prosecuted, they being now united into one body; for that, if

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<sup>9</sup> Hubbard 1677:453.

<sup>10</sup> Trumbull 1852: 391.

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through any neglect or slackness on o" part, they have again the benefit of the warme spring to scatter, Wee may feare that the event thereof will be that the lives & habitations of multitudes of the English must go for their lives.<sup>11</sup>

During this period, Connecticut did not send a large force consisting of hundreds of dragoons into Narragansett Country, as they frequently did into the Connecticut Valley or Nipmuc country. Instead the War Council relied heavily on smaller troops of 60-80 dragoons and Mohegan and Pequot to maintain on the pressure on Narragansett Country. When Major Talcott's force of 300 dragoons and 100 Pequot and Mohegan attacked Quaiapen's village at the Second Battle of Nipsachuck, it was the largest English force to enter Narragansett country since the Great Swamp Fight.

Thomas Minor of Stonington, a veteran of the Pequot War and Lieutenant of dragoons for New London County during King Philip's War, participated in more than a dozen expeditions into Narragansett country between January and August 1676. Between March and early July, the dragoons sent expeditions into Narragansett country every other week. The Narragansett who chose to remain on their lands were under continual attack from Connecticut dragoons and their Native allies. These forces killed, captured, or drove away hundreds of Narragansett men, women, and children and recovered hundreds, if not thousands, of bushels of stored corn and beans with devastating effects on the Narragansett.

The captured supplies eased the strain on the local commissaries, who often struggled to feed and equip Connecticut troops, and additionally denied the Narragansett desperately needed food supplies. When Narragansett sachem Canonchet (Nanonanto) was captured by a force of Mohegan, Pequot, and New London dragoons (Minor was present) at Coweeset (six miles south of Providence on the western side of Narragansett Bay) and executed in Stonington in early April 1676, it was said he had returned from the Connecticut Valley to recover seed corn to plant at Squakheag (Northfield, Massachusetts).<sup>12</sup>

Connecticut's incursion did not prevent the Narragansett from carrying on the war in Rhode Island in early 1676, as they destroyed the English settlements along the west side of

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

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Narragansett Bay up to and including Providence and Rehoboth. However, the expeditions sent against the Narragansett during this period accomplished several important objectives; militarily, they killed or captured hundreds of the enemy and denied them a safe haven, prevented attack from that quarter on the settlements at Norwich and Stonington, and denied the Narragansett badly needed food supplies while supplementing their own.

### *Political Aspects of Connecticut's Military Strategy*

Connecticut's military efforts had significant political motivations as well. Defeat of the Narragansett would substantially bolster their case in their territorial dispute with Rhode Island by claiming Narragansett territory by the doctrine of Right of Conquest. The Connecticut tactics employed in the Narragansett Campaign may have been intended to accomplish more than simply eliminate the enemy threat – perhaps the desired outcome was to eliminate the Narragansett entirely in order to remove them from the landscape for English settlement and land claims. Throughout the 1660s and 1670s, Connecticut and Rhode Island were involved in a bitter and sometimes violent dispute over the boundary between the two colonies and Connecticut's claims to large areas of Narragansett country.<sup>13</sup> While King Philip's War put a temporary hold on the dispute, it was renewed a few weeks after the war ended.<sup>14</sup> On August 22, 1676, Connecticut War Council ordered the following letter to be published in Hartford, New London and in Narragansett country:

Foreasmuch as all the lands in Narragansett country doe lye and are circumscribed within the known limits of our [Connecticut] charter, viz. from Narragansett Bay on the &c...which have been and are now recovered out of the hands of the Indian enemies that had victorized over or caused the people to desert all those lands which they had possessed themselves of, formerly...and the tract or territory more exposed to devastation, and so is now become a vacuum domicilium; but this late recovery being obtained by conquest and success of war unto ourselves and our confederates. – the Council seems cause to declare unto all such person or persons there, upon the said deserted or vanquished lands in that country, that all such shall make their application to the government of this colony...<sup>15</sup>

### *Narragansett Peace Overtures*

<sup>13</sup> The Massachusetts Bay Colony was also desirous of securing control over the Narragansett Country.

<sup>14</sup> Trumbull 1852: 473-475, 526-541.

<sup>15</sup> Trumbull 1852: 473-474.

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Historians have suggested that Connecticut's attack on Quaiapen's village at [REDACTED] was a direct attempt by Connecticut to derail her peace overtures to the United Colonies and thereby further Connecticut's claim to Narragansett country by right of conquest.<sup>16</sup> The first peace overtures by the Narragansett were just before the Great Swamp Fight, but were dismissed as a delaying tactic so the Narragansett could move their women, children, and supplies to safety. Following the Great Swamp Fight, many of the principal Narragansett sachems including Pessicus, Canonchet, Pomham (Panoquian), Canonicus and, at times, Quaiapen withdrew to the Connecticut Valley to regroup and decide what course to take against the English. Some of the Narragansett sachems favored approaching the English for peace terms; others were committed to continue the fight against the English. Hubbard stated "Canonechet and Panoquian, said they would fight it out to the last man, rather than become servants of the English."<sup>17</sup>

Several messages were exchanged between the Narragansett sachems and the English in late December and early January, but with little prospect of achieving any lasting results. Hubbard reported that on January 12 another messenger came from Canonicus "desiring the space of a month longer, wherein to issue the treat, which so provoked the Commander of our forces, that they resolved to have no more treaties with the enemy, but prepare to assault them, with God's assistance, as soon as the season would permit."<sup>18</sup> Hubbard also reported the "rest of the winter was spent in fruitless treaties about a peace, both sides being well wearied with the late desperate fight, were willing to refresh themselves the remaining part of the winter with the short slumber of a pretended peace at least with a talk or a dream thereof".<sup>19</sup> On March 11, the Commissioners of the United Colonies issued a letter to the respective Colonial governments stating:

Wee are well informed that the enemy hath given it out that they keep some English which they have taken captive in order to Towcanchason their making of peace and for that end our council have it in consideration to commission two or more meet persons...to embrace & improve all ...the enemy are far the greatest part of them weary of the war, as well as the English, only the youngest and their pride and fear of slavery have propose for a peace...<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Jennings 1976: 320-321.

<sup>17</sup> Hubbard 1675: 453.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid: 145.

<sup>20</sup> CW, 1<sup>st</sup> series, Doc. 45 (1675-1775).

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In response, the Connecticut War Council sent a reply to the Narragansett sachems on March 28 through a Narragansett councilor named Towcanchason/Watawaikeson, described as a trusted advisor to Pessicus and Quaiapen. Towcanchason was called upon on a number of occasions in the winter and spring of 1676 to be an intermediary between the English and Narragansett sachems during the peace process. As noted below, Towcanchason continued to serve as an emissary as he accompanied Quaiapen in her journey to Nipsachuck in the summer of 1676.

In their reply to the Narragansett sachems, the Connecticut War Council offered to exchange prisoners and “hear any propositions that they may have to make unto us; and if any of the sachems desire to treat with us, they shall have liberty to come to us and go away without any molestation.”<sup>21</sup> No immediate reply from the sachems is apparent, perhaps because Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay continued to attack the Narragansett and other tribes in the Connecticut Valley and Nipmuc and Narragansett territory during this period, under instructions from the Commissioners of the United Colonies to: “put the greatest dread upon the enemy...so also prudently to embrace and improve all opportunities for obtaining a peace, so that the enemy with thorough hopelessness of having a case of submission, be made desperate in their designs.”<sup>22</sup> This perspective was echoed by the Reverend John Russell of Hadley in a letter to the Connecticut Council on April 29 (two weeks before the Turner’s Falls Fight) who argued for continued offensive operations against the enemy “as in conjunction with what is in other parts it might at such time sinke their harts & brake their rage and power”; and make them more real for peace. He may have echoed the sentiments of the Connecticut Council when he reported “sundry things are spoken here by those Indian messengers (likely Mohegan or Pequot) now returned to yourselves that give us to understand they take little head to the truth in their relations.”<sup>23</sup>

Pessicus responded to the Connecticut Council on April 27 through Towcanchason:

...he [Pessicus] heard we [Connecticut] desired peace and was thankful for it & and desires we would hold of that mind he also sayeth the English first desired

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<sup>21</sup> Trumbull 1852: 425.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.: 440.

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peace<sup>24</sup> and now he [Pessicus] is come hitherto to see what we have to say about it...Pessicus sayeth that he was a friend to the English a great while, till last michalmas [Great Swamp Fight] and then how the war broke out he doth not know.<sup>25</sup>

Pessicus stated he would gather the other sachems to present the terms and requested that any Narragansett sachems imprisoned by the English be released. At this time, it appears that Connecticut was serious about peace negotiations. The Connecticut War Council instructed Russell and the settlers at Hadley not to take any aggressive action as “in any onset should be made upon the enemy whilst the captives are in their hands they will destroy each of them...if they accept a treaty we may send a good guard to attend the messengers that shall be sent to joyne with such...accordingly to be improved to best advantage.”<sup>26</sup>

On May 1, the Connecticut Council offered formal terms to “Pessicus, Wequaquat, Wanchequit, Sungumachoe and the rest of the Indian sachems up the river at Suckquackheage [Northfield, Massachusetts near the border with Vermont].”<sup>27</sup> The Narragansett sachems Quaiapen and Canonchet may have been present, but only the chief sachems of the various tribes were identified. The council offered money and Native captives in exchange for English captives and offered to meet the sachems at Hadley within eight days (May 9).<sup>28</sup> On May 15, Reverend Russell reported to the Connecticut Council that captive Mary Rowlandson had been released and carried a letter from “Philip and the Old Queen [Quaiapen] & sundry sachems containing a desire for peace”<sup>29</sup>

By the spring of 1676, the Indians in the Connecticut River Valley were starving and had little prospect for a successful planting season. In early April Canonchet was killed by Connecticut dragoons when he returned to Narragansett country to retrieve seed corn, presumably to plant in the Connecticut Valley. Canonchet’s death and the loss of the seed corn was a tremendous blow to the Narragansett. This set a trajectory to the Turner’s Falls Battle/Massacre along the Connecticut River (Gill, Massachusetts) on May 19, and eventually to

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<sup>24</sup> March 11 letter from the Commissioners of the United Colonies in CW, 1<sup>st</sup> series, Doc. 45b (1675-1775).

<sup>25</sup> Bates 1924: 240-241.

<sup>26</sup> CW, 1<sup>st</sup> series, Doc. 67b (1675-1775).

<sup>27</sup> Trumbull 1852: 439.

<sup>28</sup> Trumbull 1852: 439; CW, 1<sup>st</sup> series, Doc. 77 (1675-1775).

<sup>29</sup> CW, 1<sup>st</sup> series, doc. 71 (1675-1775).

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the return of Quaiapen to Narragansett country and her death at the Second Battle of Nipsachuck on July 2.

With the loss of their prospects for planting, the Narragansett gathered at Turner's Falls to take advantage of the spring fish runs. There they took advantage of the deployment of English soldiers to the south (presumably searching for them) and raided nearby English farms at Hatfield and Hadley for livestock. Shortly after the raids, two captive English "lads" escaped and informed the settlers and garrison at Hatfield and Hadley about the raid. A force of 150 settlers and soldiers marched 20 miles at night to attack hundreds of Indians who were fast asleep after feasting on the English livestock. Believing the main force of English soldiers was too far to the south to be a threat; none of the tribes had posted sentries and were completely surprised. Hundreds died in the attack, many drowning in the Connecticut River as they tried to escape.<sup>30</sup> Hubbard reports the Indians "lost above 300 in the attack some whereof were principle sachems."<sup>31</sup> The Narragansett and other tribes quickly regrouped following the disorganized withdrawal by the English and mounted a counterattack of their own, killing 38 English.<sup>32</sup> The Turner's Falls attacks effectively ended any serious attempts by either side to pursue peace negotiations for the immediate future.

By May of 1676, the war had raged for eleven months with heavy casualties on both sides, but the Native coalition was far more successful on the battlefield than were the English. Through the summer of 1675 until early winter of 1676 the Wampanoag, Narragansett, Nipmuc, and several tribes from the Connecticut valley and Nipmuc country including the Pocumtucs, Nonotucs, Agawams, Quaboags, Nashaways, Norwotocks, and Skokis launched dozens of highly successful attacks against English towns throughout Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth colonies, and along the Connecticut River Valley. Native tactics and strategies were initially very successful against Colonial militias who were poorly trained, inexperienced, and ill-prepared to conduct field operations against the mobility, experience, determination, and superior tactics of their Native enemies. In early spring of 1676, the tide of the war began to turn in favor of the English as they began to aggressively pursue, harass, and attack Native communities

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<sup>30</sup> Hubbard 1675: 204-206.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid: 206.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid: 207.

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throughout the region; not allowing them to rest, gather food, or plant their fields. By early May of 1676, both sides were exhausted. There was a brief pause in the war as the combatants took time to rest and resupply. By the end of May, English forces in Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, and Plymouth colonies had refitted their respective armies, provided for the defense of their towns, and were prepared for a major spring offensive.

### *Military Tactics of Connecticut and its Native Allies*

Some of the largest expeditions of the entire war were sent to the Connecticut River Valley during the spring of 1676; several consisting of upwards of 300 colonial and Mohegan/Pequot soldiers (as contrasted to the smaller expeditions sent to Narragansett country). Talcott was given only a short option to conduct operations in Narragansett country without the Mohegan and Pequot, as presumably the Mohegan and Pequot would be ready soon and Talcott could then proceed with the expedition to the Connecticut Valley. Local Connecticut dragoons continued to operate in Narragansett country during this period. An ongoing concern of the Connecticut War Council was the participation of Native allies in military expeditions. On several occasions, Connecticut forces refused to participate in an expedition if Native allied warriors did not accompany them. Native allies were often compensated with plunder and occasionally captives, but in the spring of 1676 expeditions to the Connecticut Valley and Narragansett country resulted without any plunder to take advantage of. As a result, the War Council authorized “a coat be given to every Indian that hath been out in service this long march, in regard the service was tedious and little or no plunder gained.”<sup>33</sup>

Connecticut authorities recognized immediately that the most effective military force was one comprised of both Natives warriors and tactics alongside English forces. This was a major factor in Connecticut’s superiority on the battlefield, and as a result, Connecticut forces suffered the lowest casualty rates of any Colonial troops. Colonial militias from Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth suffered devastating losses during the first six months in the war because of their policy to exclude Natives from participating in military expeditions; Colonial military leaders and soldiers simply did not have the knowledge and skill to defeat the highly motivated and

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<sup>33</sup> Trumbull 1852: 456.

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experienced Native forces. Initially, Pequot and Mohegan were used only as scouts in front of the main body of English to detect ambushes and locate the enemy (as at the First Battle of Nipsachuck). The failure of the English (soldiers from Plymouth and Rhode Island) to kill or capture Metacom at the First Battle of Nipsachuck (August 4, 1675) was due in considerable measure to their inexperience; they did not effectively use the 50 accompanying Mohegan. The role of the Native allies at least expanded quickly, and within a few months, they were an integral part of all Connecticut units and military operations, often making up one-third to one-half of the total strength of any given expedition. Eventually, Plymouth troops under Benjamin Church began using Native allies in a similarly successful manner.

The importance of the Mohegan and Pequot allies to Connecticut's war effort cannot be underestimated, as they played the most significant role of any of the Native allies to the English. Although the Pequot (Mashantucket and Eastern/Pawcatuck bands) and Mohegan combined never numbered more than 200-300 warriors during the conflict, they were used with great effect. The tactics advocated by the Connecticut War Council were predicated on troops of dragoons getting to the battlefield quickly while Pequot, Mohegan, and Western Niantic men would scout ahead and protect their flanks. Once the enemy had been located, the Colonial and Native contingents would launch coordinated attacks. These men did not simply serve as scouts (although this role was critical to the overall success of the Connecticut army); they were an integral part of the overall battle plan as evidenced by the Second Battle of Nipsachuck. The Mohegan and Pequot were prized for "their quick and strong sight for the discovery of anything and their ability to avoid ambushes and locate the enemy."<sup>34</sup> Connecticut forces were never ambushed and were widely acknowledged to be the most effective military force in the war. The Connecticut militias with their Mohegan and Pequot allies were "very diliget hardy stoute vallyant men used and enured to ye said service [they] take very many and kill all save some boys and girles which soe afraights ye Indeans yt they make haste to deliver themselves to ye Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island where they have quarter."<sup>35</sup>

### *The Final Narragansett Country Campaign*

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<sup>34</sup> Gookin 1970: 165.

<sup>35</sup> Harris 1963: 76.

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The Narragansett communities who were in the Connecticut Valley began to return to Narragansett country a few weeks after the Turner's Falls Battle in the hopes of recovering stored corn to eat and plant. Believing that the Narragansett and other tribes were still in the Connecticut Valley, Major Talcott was issued orders from the Connecticut War Council on May 24 to assemble an army at Norwich and "go forth against the Indians at Pocumtuck and those parts." However, "if he can persuade the Indians [Mohegan and Pequot] to be willing to com up forthwith, that then he return to Hartford to march up the country; but if the Indians be unwilling to come up at present, that then they should go forth unto the Narragansett country or into those parts, one turn, with all possible speed that may be."<sup>36</sup> The letter to Talcott underscores the importance of the Pequot and Mohegan in the war effort as the Connecticut Council was willing to delay the expedition until they were ready. The letter also reflects the Council's position that the Connecticut River Valley would continue to be the focus of military operations as they still believed most of the enemy, including the Narragansett, were located there, and not in Narragansett country.

Shortly after the Connecticut Council issued orders on May 24 for Talcott to march to Pocumtuck, the Council received reports of enemy Native activity at Wabaquassett in northeastern (Woodstock) Connecticut, Watchusett (central Massachusetts), and Nipsachuck (northwestern Rhode Island). The Massachusetts Bay Secretary of the General Court wrote the Connecticut General Court on May 26 (the letter was not received until May 30) to report that a Native boy was captured near Seekonk by Massachusetts Bay soldiers who "on examination, affirmed this party of the enemy was 3 or 4 hundred, & belonged to Nepsuchnit [Nipsachuck]."<sup>37</sup> The same day, the Council received a letter from the Reverend James Fitch of Norwich (written on May 29) on behalf of Major Talcott who conveyed intelligence gathered by Wabaquassett and Pequot Indians:

...it's the general report of all that the cheifest place of their [enemy] women & children is at Watchoosuck not farr of from Quabaug [both in Nipmuc country in central Massachusetts], that they have planted at Quabaug & at Nipsachook [north-central Rhode Island] nigh Coweesit [Warwick, Rhode Island] & that

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<sup>36</sup> Trumbull 1852: 443.

<sup>37</sup> Shurtleff 1854, Vol. 5: 96-97.

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Philip's men & the Narragansetts are generally come in those above mentioned places...its hard to determine the matter upon Indian reports, but if the Major should march towards Watchoosuck it seemeth most probable there may be an opportunity for service...And if it should, upon some small attempt in these parts, appeare to be most for publick for the army to move towards Pocumtuck, I hope you will not press our men & Stonington to go thither; our frontier towns be left very naked; and by late expeditions the enemy are more provoked against these towns [i.e. southeastern Connecticut] than ever...<sup>38</sup>

In spite of intelligence of enemy activity in Narragansett country (Coweaset & Nipsachuck), the War Council still felt the greater threat was further north at Watchusett and Quabaug (Nipmuc country) and up the Connecticut River, and expeditions to these areas should take precedent. The War Council ordered Talcott on May 24 to proceed to Pocumtuck, but he was delayed leaving Norwich until June 1 waiting for supplies, and for the Mohegan and Pequot to join him as "they were indisposed to accompany the army, complaining that their former services had not been sufficiently rewarded; but that after a long debate, they had been induced to join the expedition." Talcott left Norwich with a force of 250 English dragoons and 200 Mohegan and Pequot on June 1, and arrived at Northampton June 8 where the army spent the next several weeks searching for the enemy.

Talcott returned to Norwich on June 22 and reported to the Council that his forces had scouted both sides of the river above Pocomtuck with no sign of enemy forces and therefore had "retired back toward Watchosuck or into the Nipmug country."<sup>39</sup> Based on this information the Council immediately ordered Talcott "with his forces, pursueance of his commission, as soon as they can be recruited, doe forthwith march out against the enemie so that they may reach Wabawquassuck [Wabbaquassett – northeastern Connecticut in the Town of Woodstock] upon Wednesday next [28<sup>th</sup>], (the Indians [Mohegan and Pequot] not being able to go sooner) and from thence that they proceed to attack the enemie...And we wholly leave it with the sayd Major Talcott and his council of war to move and act in the pursuit and prosecution of the enemie, as God shall direct them, here or there, according as they shall find advantage to doe."<sup>40</sup> The focus of Talcott's efforts were to be Nipmuc Country, not Narragansett Country or Nipsachuck

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<sup>38</sup> Trumbull 1852: 447.

<sup>39</sup> Trumbull 1852: 455.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

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*Second Battle of Nipsachuck, July 1-2, 1676*

The expedition to Wabbaquasett was to be a sizeable force consisting of 300 dragoons and 100 Mohegan and Pequot, and supplies to last for a week. The Colonial troops were composed of dragoons from Hartford, Fairfield, and New Haven counties. Captain Denison from Stonington was second in command to Talcott, and Samuel Minor from Stonington served as an interpreter. There do not appear to have been any other soldiers from New London County who participated in the expedition; they may have been allowed to stay behind because of concerns of an attack from Nipsachuck or elsewhere upon the settlements in southeastern Connecticut. All of these men were hardened veterans and experienced campaigners, having participated in dozens of expeditions over the previous nine months. More important, the colonial and Native contingents were used to fighting as a unit, and by all accounts they respected and relied on each other.

Talcott's army left Norwich on June 27 or 28 with the Connecticut War Council's orders to march to [REDACTED] in Nipmuc Country, with no mention of Nipsachuck. Information regarding enemy activity at Nipsachuck had been brought to the attention of the Connecticut Council several times in May and June but neither the Council nor apparently Talcott regarded the information of sufficient import to send a major expedition into Narragansett country then. However, Talcott subsequently chose to head to Nipsachuck, perhaps because he received information at Norwich or along his march that was of such importance that he went to Nipsachuck against his orders. Whether he marched the 60 miles from Norwich to Nipsachuck via Wabbaquasett or directly to Nipsachuck (the distance from Norwich to Nipsachuck is 45 miles), he was able to report "we made Nipsachooke on ye first of July."<sup>41</sup> If Talcott did march to Nipsachuck via Wabbaquasett he averaged around 15 miles per day – not a difficult march for hardened campaigners. Talcott's army of 300 dragoons and 100 Mohegan and Pequot was the largest sent into Narragansett Country since the Great Swamp Fight.

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<sup>41</sup> Trumbull 1852: 458.

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A last minute change of plans based on a new enemy threat at Nipsachuck is consistent with subsequent English observations that the Narragansett at Nipsachuck “had **newly** [emphasis added] pitched their Station within the semicircles of a Swampe.”<sup>42</sup> The new and significant threat emanating from Nipsachuck may have been the knowledge that Quaiapen’s band had recently arrived at Nipsachuck. If that was the case, the Connecticut forces had several reasons to target her. She was the last surviving principal Narragansett sachem actively resisting the English. She was feared and respected by the English as a leader and as someone who could gather the remaining Narragansett and continue the fight against the English. Finally, her return to Narragansett country could affect Connecticut’s plans to claim Narragansett territory by the doctrine of Right of Conquest and Vacuum Domicilium.

There are two principal accounts of the Second Battle of Nipsachuck. The only eyewitness account is by Major John Talcott, who wrote his report two days after the battle as his forces had returned to Connecticut.<sup>43</sup>

*These may acquaint you that we made Nipsachookc on ye first of July and seized 4 of ye enemye, and on the 2d instant, being the Sabbath, in y' morning about sun an houre high made y enemys place of residence and assaulted them, who presently inswamped themselves in a great spruse swamp we girt the sd swamp and wth English & Indian souldrs drcst it, and within 3 hours slew and tooke prisoners 171, of which 45 prison"" being women and children that ye Indians saved alive, and the others slayne ; in which engagemt were slayne 34 men, tooke 15 armes; among which slaughter, that ould piece of venum Sunck squaw Magnus was slaine, and our old friend Watawaikson,\* Pesscus his agent, was slayne, and in his pocket Capt. Allyn's Ticket for his free passage up to his head Quarts. On July 3', we turned down to Providence and received information that ye enemye was there to make peace with some of Road Island, upon which enformation, being willing to set our seal to it, posted away, and drest Providence neck; and after that ye same daye drest Warwick neck and slew and tooke captiues 67, of which were 18 men slayne, tooke 11 arms, three lost in ye rivers and swamps, that ye enemy threw out of their hands on purpose to defeat us; and of this number is 27 captives, and the whole number taken & slayne in these 2 engagemnts is 238. <sup>44</sup>*

William Hubbard provides the fullest contemporary account of the English-Allied assault on Quaiapen’s village at [REDACTED].

<sup>42</sup> Hubbard 1675: 453.

<sup>43</sup> Trumbull 1852: 458-460.

<sup>44</sup> Trumbull 1852:458-459.

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...their Indian Scouts from the top of an hill discovered a great number of the enemy that had newly pitched their Station within the semicircles of a Swampe. The English Souldiers were all mounted on horseback, to the number of near three hundred; wherefore the Commanders ordered the Indians to be ready at the top of the hill upon a signal given to run down amain upon the enemy securely lodged in the hollow of the Swampe just opposite against them, while their Horsemen being divided into two squandrns to ride round the hill, so that at the same instant, both the Horsemen upon the two wings, and the Indians a foot rushing down suddenly upon the enemy put them into a horrible fright, making a lamentable outcry, some getting into the Swampe, the rest that were prevented by the Horsemen, and the friendly Indians coming so suddenly upon them were all taken prisoners; Capt. Newbery with his troop alighting from their horses ran into the Swampe after them, where they killed at least a hundred, as was judged by some then present, taking also many prisoners our of those habitations of darkness, the enemy force daring to make any resistance, for none of the English, and but one or two of the Mohegins & Pequods were hurt in that assault.<sup>45</sup>

Early in the morning of July 2, 1676 Talcott and his officers gathered near the site of the encampment and devised a plan to surround and destroy the Narragansett camp. Major Talcott's letter to the Council at Hartford described that his forces "girt," or surrounded, the swamp but Hubbard's account provides details of the actual strategy Connecticut forces employed during their attack. According to Hubbard "The English souldiers were all mounted on horseback, to the number of near three hundred; wherefore the Commanders ordered the Indians to be ready at the top of the hill upon a signal given to run down amain upon the enemy securely lodged in the hollow of the Swampe just opposite against them, while their Horsemen being divided into two squadrons to ride round the hill."

Hubbard's account of the battle describes a very complex, well-planned, and well-executed battle plan that coordinated an attack by three spatially separate contingents of the Allied force (the southern and northern wings of dragoons, and the Pequot and Mohegan) that depended on stealth and speed in a simultaneous attack and envelopment of an enemy that was dispersed over several acres of the battlefield (although this enemy consisted of more than 80% women and children, reducing the danger faced by the Allied force).

The plan of attack, the only known mounted attack by dragoons in King Philip's War, was very likely influenced by Captain Denison (second in command to Talcott). He had served

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<sup>45</sup> Hubbard 1675: 97.

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in Oliver Cromwell's Parliamentarian cavalry in the English Civil War and experienced firsthand the new regimens of training and tactics that Cromwell introduced. Denison likely employed this knowledge when the battle plan for the attack at [REDACTED] was developed. His experiences, the success of the dragoons and Mohegan/Pequot mounting coordinated attacks against the enemy, and the knowledge of the terrain at [REDACTED] provided by the Mohegan and Pequot scouts were critical factors in the development (and success) of the battle plan.

The attack went according to plan. Talcott reported that when his men "assaulted" the Narragansett camp his men "girt the s<sup>d</sup> swamp and w<sup>th</sup> English & Indian sould<sup>rs</sup> drest it." Hubbard described the result of the attack as beginning with a signal upon which the Connecticut forces attacked "so that at the same instant both the Horsemen upon the two wings, and the Indians a foot rushing down suddenly upon the enemy put them into a horrible fright, making a lamentable outcry, some getting into the Swampe, the rest that were prevented by the Horsemen, and the friendly Indians coming so suddenly upon them were all taken prisoners."<sup>46</sup>

By this point of the war Connecticut soldiers rarely gave quarter to enemy Indian people, and it appears that Major Talcott applied the same orders he received earlier from the Council at Harford in May when one of his directives was that "if it please God to give you opportunity to engage the Enemie you are to use your ut most courage & Endeavoure valiantly to set upon them & to kill & destroy them according to the ut most power God Shall give you."<sup>47</sup> According to Talcott the attack and ensuing massacre lasted about three hours in which Connecticut forces "slew and tooke prisoners 171, of which 45 prison<sup>rs</sup> being women and children." The fact that forty five Narragansett from the camp did survive was likely due to the presence of Mohegan and Pequot fighters. Talcott himself stated that the "45 prison<sup>rs</sup>...ye Indians saved aliue, and the others slayne" by the English.<sup>48</sup> The Narragansett who survived the initial shock of the attack retreated into the adjoining swamp but were followed by at least one group of dragoons led by

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<sup>46</sup> Trumbull 1852: 458; Hubbard 1675: 97.

<sup>47</sup> CW, 1<sup>st</sup> series, Doc. 77 (1675 – 1775).

<sup>48</sup> Trumbull 1852: 458.

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Captain Benjamin Newbury “with his troop afigthing from their horses ran into the Swampe after them, where they killed at least an hundred, as was judged by some then present.”<sup>49</sup>

After the initial attack the Narragansett fled into [REDACTED] where the dragoons continued their attack on horseback until they reached the edge of the Swamp. The terrain at [REDACTED] and the plain between [REDACTED] provided an opportunity for a horse-mounted attack, but also limited it. When the dragoons reached the edge of the swamp they were forced to dismount and fight as infantry units. This change in tactics illustrates both advantages and limitations of dragoons. Natives used swamps to great advantage during the war both as places of refuge or as sites where they would ambush Colonial troops. Many Native encampments were either located within swamps (if suitable high ground was present such as at the Great Swamp Fight) or situated against hillsides adjacent to swamps, where the reduced visibility to enemy scouts and ready access to the protection of the swamp made them desirable locations. Colonial troops were particularly frustrated by swamps as they reduced much of their advantage and made them extremely vulnerable to attack. Nonetheless, one dragoon company under Captain Newberry demonstrated the true utility of dragoons by pursuing the Narragansett to the edge of the swamp and then dismounting to continue the fight on foot.

The archaeological signature of the battle shows one area where the Narragansett provided concentrated resistance to the northern wing of dragoons, but the tally provided by the English accounts reveals that the majority of the Narragansett were non-combatants. Forty-five women and children were taken prisoner, and out the 126 Narragansett that Talcott reported as slain, 34 were men and “15 armes” were captured. The Connecticut forces lost one allied Indian soldier killed in the attack, but there were no English casualties. Hubbard presented a similar figure: “none of the English, and but one or two of the Mohegins & Pequods were hurt in that assault.”<sup>50</sup> Even if, as may well have been the case, Native women were among the armed defenders, these numbers indicate that more non-combatants were killed than captured.

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<sup>49</sup> Hubbard 1675: 97.

<sup>50</sup> Trumbull 1852: 458-459; Hubbard 1675: 97.

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Ironically, Quaiapen may have come to Nipsachuck to pursue peace negotiations with the Commissioners of the United Colonies and Massachusetts Bay. Major Talcott reported that councilor/negotiator/ambassador Towcanchason was either killed or executed during the Second Battle of Nipsachuck “and in his pocket Capt. Allyn’s ticket [pass] for his free passage up to his headquarters” presumably to negotiate for peace.<sup>51</sup> William Harris provides another account in which Towcanchason was killed or a day or two later by Talcott’s dragoons in Warwick as he was delivering a peace proposal to Massachusetts Bay on behalf of Quaiapen and Pessicus:

A great councilor of ye Narragansetts (& spetially of a great woman) yea the greatest yt there was ye said woman (called) ye old Queen [Quaiapen/Matantuck], ye fore said councilor her greatest favorite he doth as much excel in depth of judgement...he bore much sway by his council ...The said man lately come to Providence inquiring how he might get to Boston safe...but some of the inhabitants girt their swords...saying he had killed more English soules than any Indean (by his council) or then any had done with weapons...While he was detained Connecticut forces whoe in their march [from Nipsachuck the day before] came to Warwick and met with ye said Indians (who stayed for Potuck) & slew most of them.<sup>52</sup>

The Massachusetts General Court wrote a letter to the Connecticut Council on July 18 chastising them for undermining the peace process:

You are pleased in a postscript to take notice of an Indean taken by your forces with the enemy, treating with them, and pretending a commission from us; which we suppose you intimate as an irregularity in us, and is to us a matter of admiration, considering your declaration to the Indians of March 28 under the hand of your secretary. The business of the Indian you being only to receive from some of the Narragansett sachems (for which he had only our passé) some proposals of peace, which they had offered to us at Boston by a messenger of their own; which perhaps had been effected, had it not been interrupted by the accidental falling in of your forces...<sup>53</sup>

Massachusetts essentially accused Connecticut of undermining Narragansett peace overtures by their actions as Connecticut was aware of the message for peace negotiations

Towcanchason/Watatwaikeson was carrying. They also accused Connecticut of being

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<sup>51</sup> Trumbull 1852: 459. There is some confusion concerning the death of Towchanason. Nathaniel Saltenstall, a resident of Boston writing in 1676, relates “Major Talcott slew...Potucke, the Great Indian Councello” (Lincoln 1913). He seems to be confusing two different individuals, both councillors of Quaiapen, Potucke and Towcanchason/Watawaikeson. The former was killed in Boston, as described by Increase Mather (1676:71).

<sup>52</sup> Harris 1963: 176

<sup>53</sup> Trumbull 1852: 465.

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duplicitous as they had had earlier initiated peace negotiations with the Narragansett and then abandoned the effort.

The day after the July 2, 1676 attack of Quaiapen's camp at Nipsachuck, which killed most of its residents, Major Talcott's Mohegan and Pequot forces resigned to return to their homes and Talcott and James Fitch "could not prevaile w<sup>th</sup> o<sup>f</sup> Indians, altho' all possible argumts used." Hubbard mentioned that the impasse occurred as Talcott's Indian allies "were necessitated with this booty to return homewards to gratifie the Mohegin & Pequot Indians that accompanied them." Although it is possible that the Tribal allies were overburdened with goods looted from the Narragansett camp, and had captives to attend to, it is also feasible that the Mohegan and Pequot were so disgusted at the wanton slaughter of so many women and children that they refused to campaign any further. As soon as Talcott's Tribal allies resigned to return to their homes, his war council concluded that "it was not safe for us" to operate on their own in Narragansett territory and that dividing the army could threaten the English contingent and also insult their allies. As a result Connecticut forces moved south towards the Pequot Trail passing through Warwick Neck on July 4. There Talcott's soldiers encountered a group of Narragansett who were reportedly awaiting the results of peace negotiations. They attacked, following the same brutal policy as at Nipsachuck. They subsequently massacred forty Indians, only eighteen of whom were men, took twenty-seven prisoners, and captured eleven firearms. Following the attack at Warwick Neck, Connecticut forces ranged towards the south where they scouted along Boston Neck and Point Judith before they followed the Pequot Trail west to the Pawcatuck River, arriving at Thomas Stanton's farm the night of July 4, 1676. The devastating ambush at Nipsachuck and the similarly lethal attack in Warwick Neck the following day essentially ended the war in Narragansett Country.

### *The Close of the War*

The English war effort continued to gain momentum after Connecticut's Nipsachuck campaign. Plymouth Colony raised a company of English and Sakonnet forces under the command of Benjamin Church who ranged after Metacom's remaining forces in the east while Massachusetts troops continued to sweep the Connecticut River valley. Metacom's Allied forces

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launched a series of attacks but they were not able to organize the large coordinated attacks that characterized the winter and spring of 1676. Metacom's forces were no longer able to launch any major attack against English forces by August of 1676 and found themselves on the defensive. On August 1 and 3 Captain Church's company of English and Tribal force engaged Metacom's Wampanoag forces and captured many non-combatants who were later sold into slavery. English victories continued to mount as Taunton soldiers captured a number of Indian people at Mattapoiset and found the body of Weetamoo who had drowned in an attempt to escape. On August 12 Captain Church received intelligence from one of Metacom's men who defected of the location of his encampment. Church's company surprised Metacom's camp and in the skirmish that ensued the Pokanoket leader was shot and killed by an English allied Tribal soldier.<sup>54</sup>

Following Metacom's death Tribal resistance quickly collapsed. On August 15, 1675 Connecticut allied forces under Major Talcott attacked a group of refugees at present-day Great Barrington in western Massachusetts. Finally, on August 28 the Wampanoag leader Anawan and his surviving followers were captured by Church's company near Rehoboth who was later executed in Boston. English authorities in Massachusetts and Plymouth attempted to destroy all remaining vestiges of Tribal political power by executing all captured or surrendered sachems and selling women and children of note into Caribbean slavery. Connecticut allowed the resettlement of various surrendered Nipmuc groups and captured Tribal peoples in their colony under the supervision of the Mohegan and Pequot. Although the war had effectively ended in southern and central New England by September 1676 intense fighting continued to the north in the region which is largely present-day Maine. The war known as King Philip's War lasted until August 1677 when the British Crown began to negotiate with the Abenaki which effectively ended the war with the Treaty of Casco on April 12, 1678.<sup>55</sup>

*The Role and Significance of Quaiapen, Sunk Squa of Narragansett*

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<sup>54</sup> Mather 1676: 72-73; Church, 1975: 153-154; Schultz and Tougias 1999: 68-69.

<sup>55</sup> Schultz and Tougias 1999: 66, 68-69, 73.

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The Second Battle of Nipsachuck is significant for its association with Quaiapen, the female sachem of the Narragansett who had led her people there and who was killed during the attack. Quaiapen is significant as an individual female sachem of the Narragansett, both in the years before King Philip's War, and for her leadership of her people during the war. She was the last of the major sachems of the Narragansett, and her death at Nipsachuck marked the effective end of the war in Narragansett Country. In recognizing her significance, the importance of women in Native culture is also recognized, and it becomes apparent that the political and social structure of Quaiapen's society was much more nuanced than the traditional focus by historians on male actors would suggest.

Quaiapen throughout her career was known by various names, which reflected her status through time, including Matantuck, Watawswokotaus, Sunck Squa or Squaw, the Old Queen, and Magnus. She was the sister of Ninigret, sachem of the Eastern Niantic (confederates of the Narragansett), whose homelands were in present day southwest Rhode Island. She was the wife of Mixanno, a son of Canonicus, the chief sachem of the Narragansett when Roger Williams founded the Providence Colony. When Canonicus died in 1647, Mixanno became one of the two chief sachems. He in turn died between 1656 and 1659, and Quaiapen then became one of the tribe's leaders, assuming the title of Sunk Squa or female sachem. She continued in this role until her death at Nipsachuck.

Quaiapen was not unique in exercising power over a particular polity of her tribe as a Sunk Squa. The structure of power relationships within seventeenth century tribes appears to have been somewhat fluid—the authority of the sachems was not absolute, both men and women could be leaders, making decisions in internal and external matters, and individuals were free to give their loyalty elsewhere if they objected to those decisions.

The English colonists do not record dealings with female leaders in the first decades of their settlement of southern New England, perhaps because of gendered expectations in both cultures, with male sachems and male colonists representing their peoples in the types of negotiations, confrontations, and economic transactions that were recorded in the colonial

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records.<sup>56</sup> The English colonists probably were unaware of the importance of the roles played by women that did not fit their ideas about power relationships, and which were not played out in the public sphere where they could see it, such as conducting ceremony, or making decisions about land use.

By King Philip's War, however, there were at least three other Native woman leaders who were also explicitly recognized by the English as powerful players in political and military spheres. Wetamoo of Pocasset is described by an Englishman reporting on the events leading up to King Philip's war thusly:

a Squaw Sachem (i.e. a Woman Prince, or Queen, who is the Widow of a Brother to King Philip, deceased, he promising her great Rewards if she would joyn with him in this Conspiracy, (for she is as Potent a Prince as any round about her, and hath as much Corn, Land, and Men, at her Command).<sup>57</sup>

Awashonks of Sakonnet, in southeastern Rhode Island, was another female leader, who played a crucial role in determining if her people would join King Philip's War, ultimately allying herself with the English represented by Benjamin Church. A third, younger woman, Weunquesh, daughter of Quaiapen's brother Ninigret, is also referred to in colonial records as a Sunk Squa. Weunquesh had married in the high ranking family of the Pequot, and her alliance remained with them during the war so that her men fought for the Connecticut Colony against her Narragansett kin.<sup>58</sup>

The English had few direct dealings with Quaiapen in the years before King Philip's War. She signed only one land transfer, confirming in 1668 that "all deeds made by my sonns formerly signed unto Major Atherton and his associates" (RI State Archives, RI Land Evidence

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<sup>56</sup> One exception to this male to male pattern is referenced in a 1648 letter from Roger Williams to John Winthrop Jr., passing along a message from Ninigret that: "...all the women of his towne shall present Mrs Wintrop with a present of Corne at Pwacatuck if she please to send in any Conveyance to Pwoacatuck for it" (LaFantasie 1988: 252).

<sup>57</sup> Lincoln 1913: 25.

<sup>58</sup> In October of 1676, the Connecticut Court granted the Pequots and "our Narragancett Indian friends" the "liberty to hunt in the conquered lands in the Narrogancett Country", and granted "the Sunck Sqwa, Ninicroft's daughter, and her men," permission to plant and dwell in a place called Moshowungganunck" (Trumbull 1852: 289).

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II:195), and, possibly by her own choice, she did not attend meetings with the English, not even one at which other Sunk Squas were present, representing their own people.<sup>59</sup>

However, the English recognized her influence through her involvement in inter-tribal relations. In 1667, Quaiapen demonstrated her power when she sent 126 of her men to attack the Nipmuk village of Quatissit (near modern day Thompson, Connecticut), apparently because those Nipmuk had refused to pay their tribute obligations, and had committed various other affronts.<sup>60</sup> Roger Williams states that "...the Neepmucks were unquestionably subject to the Nanhigonset sachims and in a special manner to Meiksah the son of Caunounicus and late husband to this old Squa sachim now only Surviving."<sup>61</sup> This conflict was eventually resolved when the Narragansett agreed to return the goods they had taken during this conflict, in acknowledgment of the sincerity of these Nipmuks' conversion to Christianity and their loyalty to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

When King Philip's War began, Quaiapen's distrust for the English became clear. In June 1675, Roger Williams, desperate to ensure that the Narragansett would remain neutral, met with Narragansett sachems—Quanocho, Miantonomo's youngest son, Mausup (aka Canonicus), Ninigret, Quonopen [probably Quinnipen], and "the Old Queen," Quaiapen. Williams had planned for the meeting to be held at Richard Smith's trading post near Wickford, but the Narragansett refused to go there. Quaiapen especially was reluctant to hold these talks on English territory, and was described in a letter by Williams as being especially "timerous." The English agreed to meet them ten miles inland, which would probably have been within Quaiapen's homeland. The sachems reassured Williams that they had no agreement with Philip.<sup>62</sup>

In that same letter, Roger Williams reports that Philip had sent the heads of three Englishmen to the Narragansett sachems--accepting these gifts meant accepting Philip's war. Of

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<sup>59</sup> The colonies formed a committee in 1673 to confer with Indian Sachems regarding "Indian Drunkeness." The sachems included Mawsup and Ninigret, of Narragansett, Phillip of Mount Hope, Wetamoo of Pocasset and Awashunks of Sakonnet.

<sup>60</sup> Shurtleff 1853, Vol. 4, Part 2: 357-359.

<sup>61</sup> LaFantasie 1988: 576.

<sup>62</sup> Letter from Roger Williams to John Winthrop Jr., 25 June 1675, (LaFantasie 1988: 694-695).

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the Narragansett leaders, "only the Old Queen rewarded the bringers for their travel." A month later, however, Quaiapen was one of six Narragansett sachems who agreed to peace with Connecticut and Massachusetts in July of 1675.<sup>63</sup>

In the course of the United Colonies' pre-emptive attack on the Narragansett, the English army attacked Quaiapen's homelands, which were located to the west of Wickford on December 14, 1675.<sup>64</sup> One observer, James Dudley wrote on December 15 that the English had burned "the old Queens quarters consisting of about 150, many of the large, wigwams & seized & slayn 50 persons."<sup>65</sup> Quaiapen and many of her people may well have taken refuge in the Great Swamp, where the bloodiest massacre of King Philip's War was perpetrated by the English five days later, or she may have retreated to some other inland refuge, perhaps her stone fort mentioned in a 1704 account,<sup>66</sup> which was possibly located on the defensible hill surrounded by swamps known since the nineteenth century as "Queen's Fort."<sup>67</sup>

Following the English attacks in December 1675, Quaiapen joined other Narragansett leaders such as Pessicus, Canonchet, Pomham, Panoquian, in leading their bands into Nipmuc country and the Connecticut River Valley. Though there is little explicit information on her actions in the following months, the English settlements in central Massachusetts suffered greatly from the attacks of the Narragansetts and their allies. The English were well aware that Quaiapen was a formidable enemy and concerns that she or other sachems would return to Narragansett Country were particularly alarming to Connecticut.

Those concerns prompted a campaign by Connecticut forces of repeated forays into Narragansett Country, the last of which was led by Major John Talcott in July 1676. By that time

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<sup>63</sup> CW, 1<sup>st</sup> series, Doc. 45 (1675-1775).

<sup>64</sup> Hubbard 1675: 150; Winthrop 1943, Vol. 5:189

<sup>65</sup> Chapin 1931: 144

<sup>66</sup> The "Testimony of George Whightman, Kingstown July 1, 1704" references a fort that may be this one: the "Old queen Scuttops mother [Quaiapen] lived at Stony Fort a place well known still being.... what to the... where John Hou... now liveth this I know well..." (*Newport Historical Society Collections*, Box 60, Folder 8, f. 188). There is some evidence for at least two other forts, besides "Queen's Fort," in the Exeter/South Kingstown/North Kingstown area.

<sup>67</sup> Whether Quaiapen actually used Queen's Fort as a defensive base is matter of conjecture. It was certainly in her homeland, it was certainly defensible, and there are some stoneworks at the crest of the hill. However, the rocky outcrop of Queen's Fort would not have been a practical garrison for many individuals, and the protection afforded by swamps was traditionally preferred to remaining in a fixed, highly visible place. Queen's Fort could equally well have been a place of ceremony.

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Quaiapen had returned to Nipsachuck. The traditional use of swamps as places of safety may be one reason why Quaiapen made her choice to lead her people to [REDACTED] as the war was turning, perhaps as a stop on the journey to the Massachusetts Bay Colony to surrender. Her band totaled approximately 170 followers, most of whom were women and children. This lack of military strength supports the indication that she was interested in negotiating for peace through her councilor Towcanchasson/Watatwaikeson. On July 2, Major Talcott launched the surprise attack on Quaiapen's camp at Nipsachuck that killed her and approximately 126 followers, including Towcanchasson/Watatwaikeson, and a chief lieutenant, Stone-Wall (aka Stone-Layer) John.

When Quaiapen was killed, the colonial forces had defeated the last of the powerful sachems of the Narragansett and the Narragansett's military defense of their homelands was ended. Major Talcott acknowledged the defeat of a formidable enemy when he reported the death of "that ould piece of venume suncksqua Magnus." William Harris of Rhode Island provided a less biased assessment when he described her as "the greatest woman of the Narragansets" and as "a great woman...yea the greatest that ther wa[s] the sd woman (called the old Queene)."<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Harris 1963: 60.

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**Previous documentation on file (NPS):**

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- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # \_\_\_\_\_
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # \_\_\_\_\_
- recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # \_\_\_\_\_

**Primary location of additional data:**

- State Historic Preservation Office
  - Other State agency
  - Federal agency
  - Local government
  - University
  - Other
- Name of repository: \_\_\_\_\_

**Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned):** \_\_\_\_\_

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**10. Geographical Data**

**Acreeage of Property** 58.2 acres

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

*\*See Additional Materials, Figure 1 for site map that includes latitude/longitude coordinates of key site boundary points*

**Latitude/Longitude Coordinates**

Datum if other than WGS84: \_\_\_\_\_  
(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

- 1. Latitude: \_\_\_\_\_ Longitude: \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Latitude: \_\_\_\_\_ Longitude: \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Latitude: \_\_\_\_\_ Longitude: \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Latitude: \_\_\_\_\_ Longitude: \_\_\_\_\_

**Or**

**UTM References**

Datum (indicated on USGS map): \_\_\_\_\_

Second Battle of Nipsachuck Battlefield  
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Providence County, RI  
County and State

NAD 1927 or  NAD 1983

- |          |           |           |
|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. Zone: | Easting:  | Northing: |
| 2. Zone: | Easting:  | Northing: |
| 3. Zone: | Easting:  | Northing: |
| 4. Zone: | Easting : | Northing: |

**Verbal Boundary Description** (Describe the boundaries of the property.)



**Boundary Justification** (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The boundaries of the Second Battle of Nipsachuck Battlefield site have been drawn to encompass the area in which the action of July 2, 1676 took place, as determined from a combination of the terrain analysis and the results of the archaeological testing. Where possible, the site's boundary alignments have been conformed to nearby property boundaries to facilitate the establishment of protective easements among property owners in the future. Future research

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and archaeological investigations may identify additional areas that are associated with the Battle and contribute to its significance. The south side of [REDACTED] was not tested because property owner permission was denied. Hence, the strangely-truncated appearance of the boundary line in the southwestern portion reflects the exclusion of archaeological testing in that area. It is very likely that future survey work in this area will expand the bounds southwesterly.

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### 11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Richard Greenwood, Charlotte Taylor  
organization: Rhode Island Historical Preservation & Heritage Commission  
street & number: 150 Benefit Street  
city or town: Providence state: RI zip code: 02903  
e-mail: charlotte.taylor@preservation.ri.gov  
telephone: (401) 222-4140  
date: February 17, 2014

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### Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

Second Battle of Nipsachuck Battlefield  
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### Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

### Photo Log

Name of Property: Second Battle of Nipsachuck

City or Vicinity: North Smithfield

County: Providence

State: Rhode Island

Photographer:

Date Photographed:

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

- 1 of 6 Representative topography on Upper Summit of [REDACTED]
- 2 of 6 Representative topography on [REDACTED] Plain
- 3 of 6 East edge of [REDACTED] Plain (foreground) facing [REDACTED] Swamp (background) to the west
- 4 of 6 Westward view of the Elevated Terrain Feature separating the historic [REDACTED] Swamp (to the north) and [REDACTED] Swamp (to the south)
- 5 of 6 Westward view of MPMRC crew walking along [REDACTED] [REDACTED] that constitutes much of the southern site boundary
- 6 of 6 Southerly view of [REDACTED] Swamp from [REDACTED] Road

**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

**Estimated Burden Statement:** Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS, SECOND BATTLE OF NIPSACHUCK BATTLEFIELD

FIGURE REMOVED TO PROTECT LOCATION  
WILL APPEAR IN FINAL DOCUMENT

**Figure 1. Location of the Second Battle of Nipsachuck Battlefield site.**

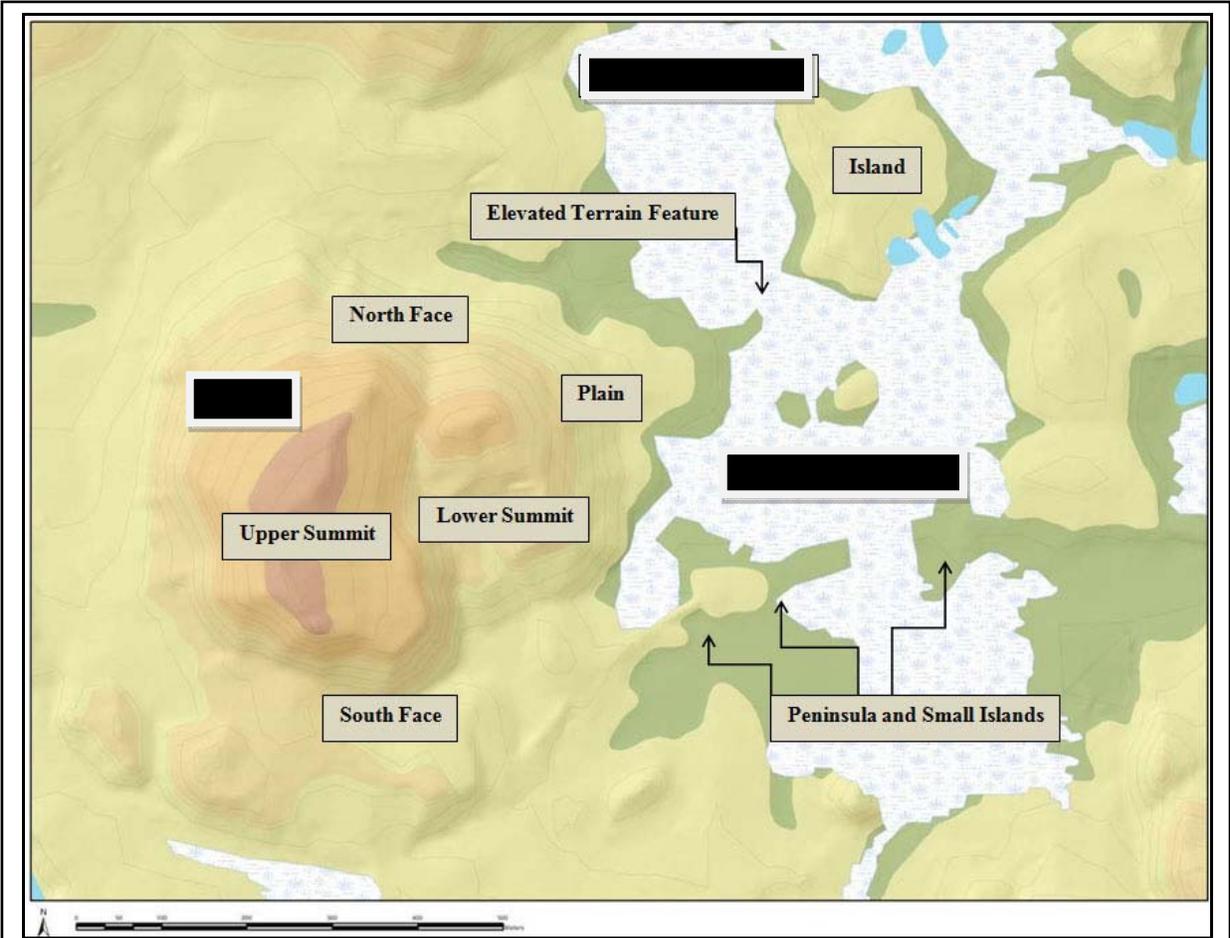


Figure 2. [Redacted] Battlefield Core Area Key Terrain Features.

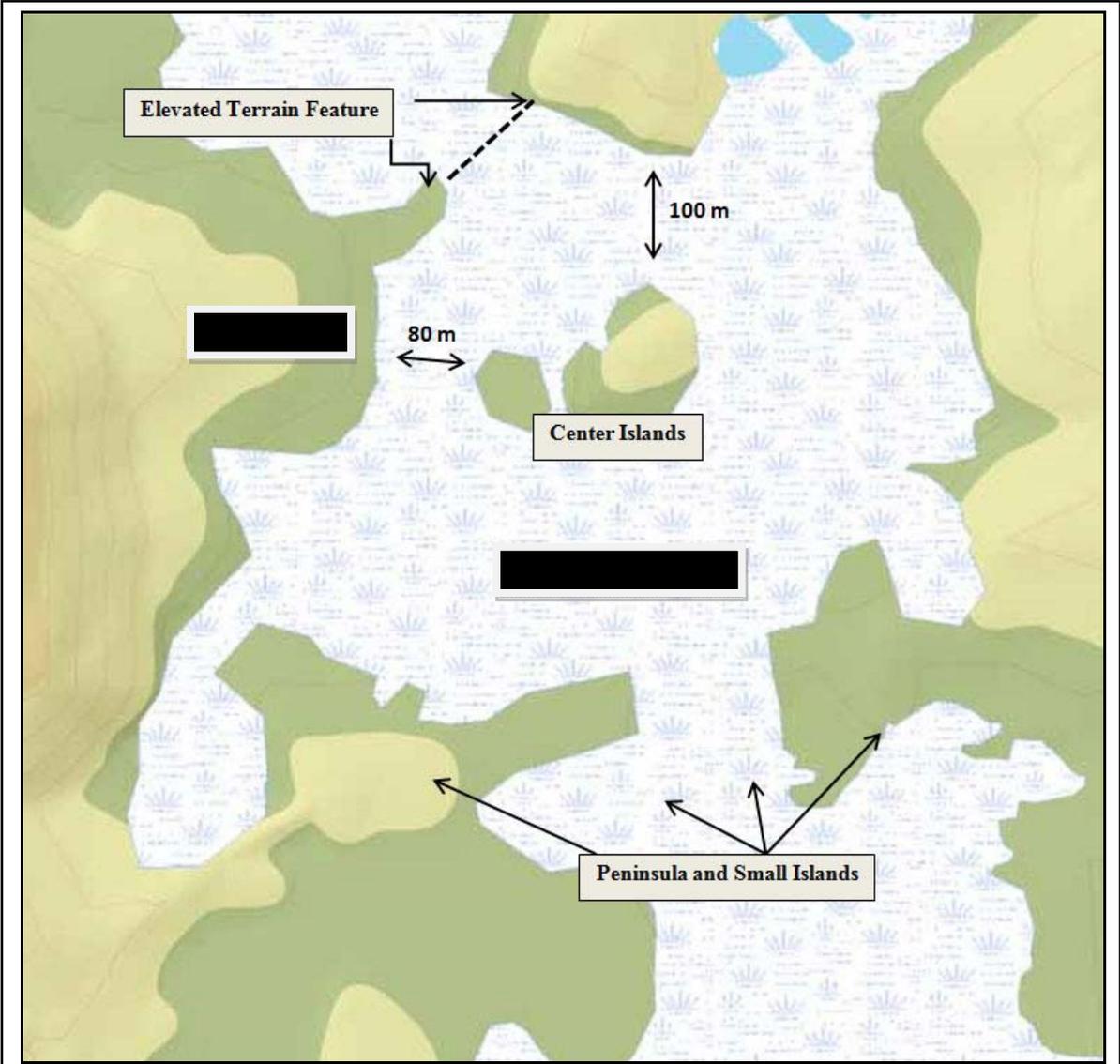


Figure 3. [Redacted] Key Terrain Features.

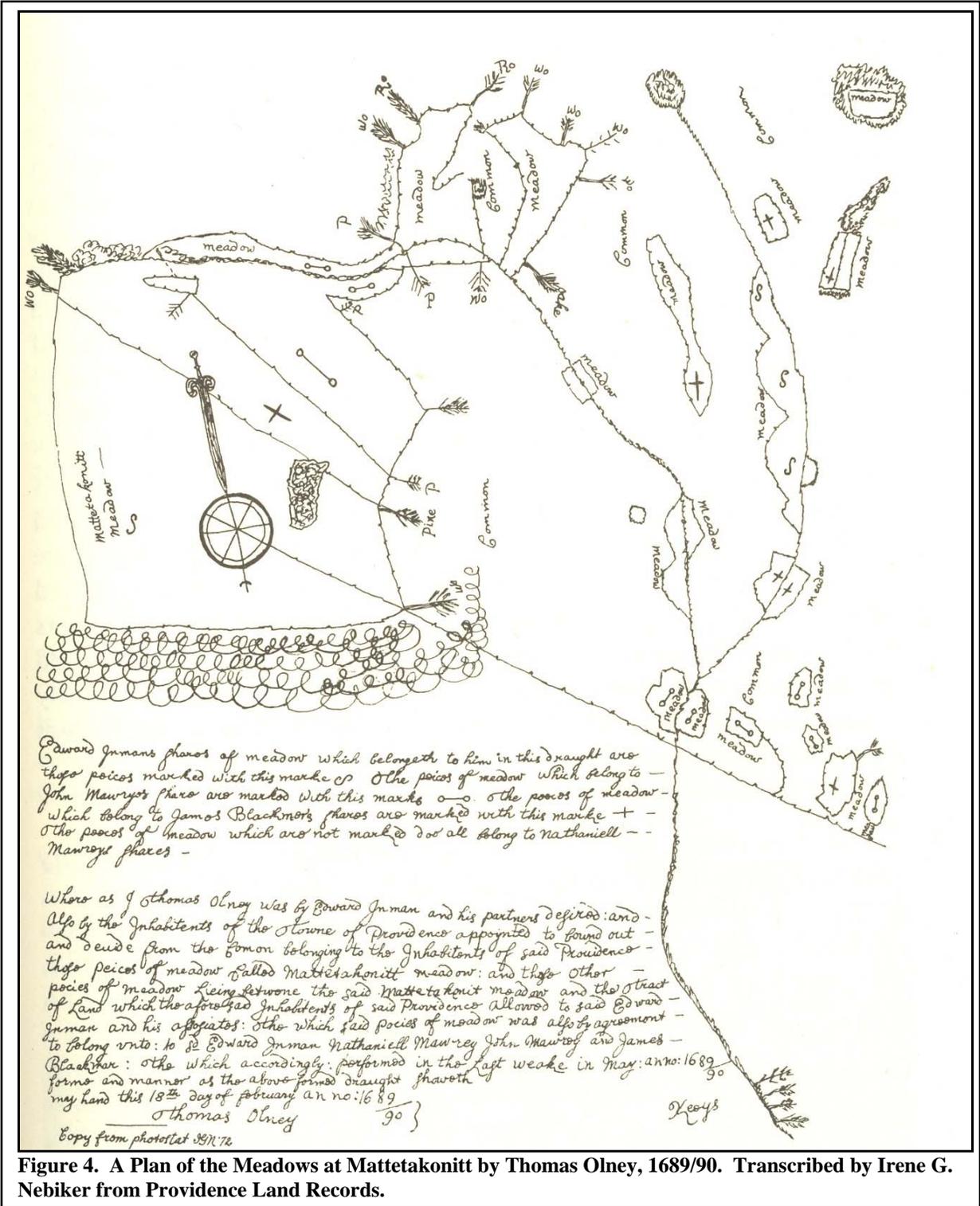


Figure 4. A Plan of the Meadows at Mattetakonitt by Thomas Olney, 1689/90. Transcribed by Irene G. Nebiker from Providence Land Records.

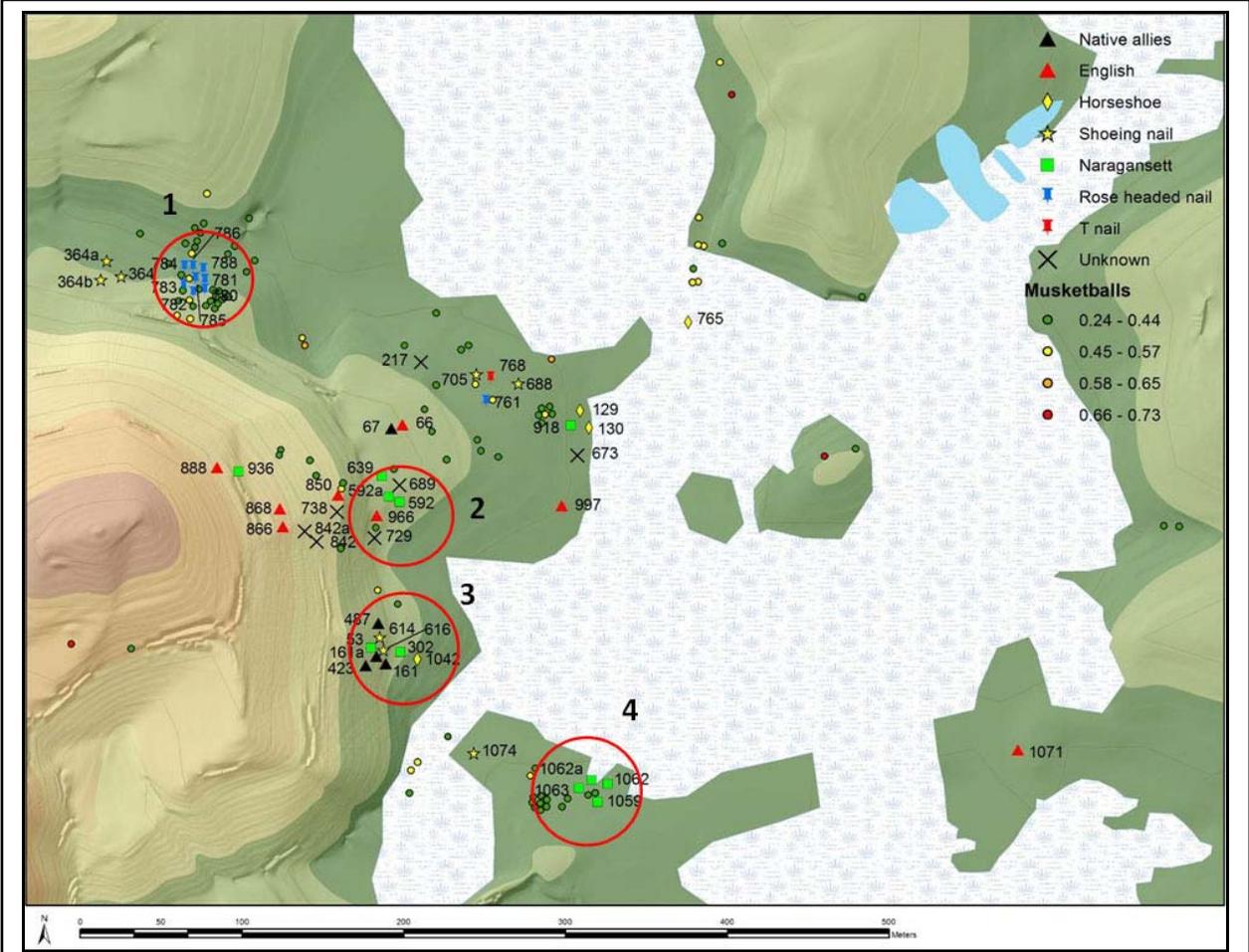


Figure 5. Military and Domestic Objects and Narragansett Encampments (1-4).

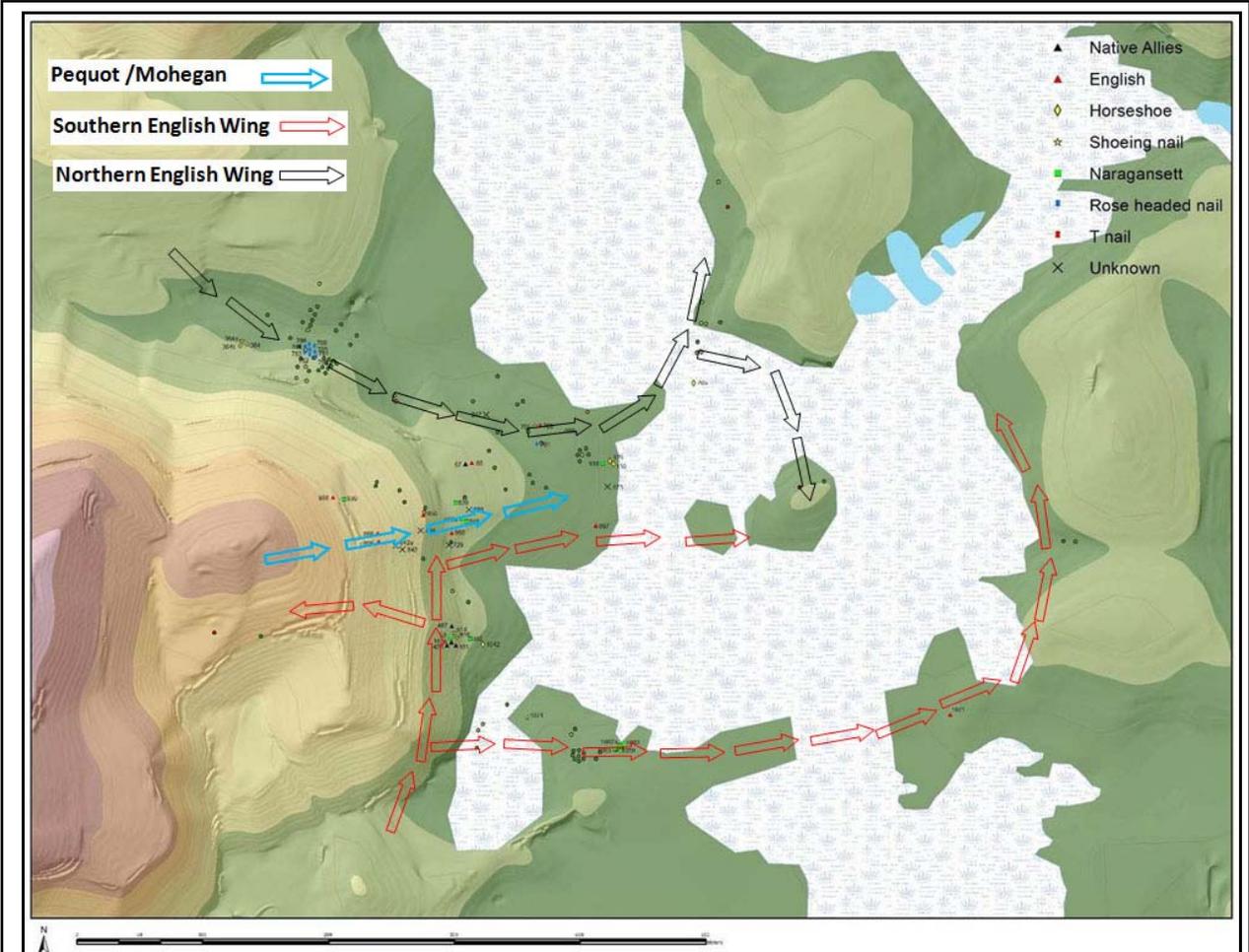


Figure 6. English-Allied Routes of Attack.

Photographs, SECOND BATTLE OF NIPSACHUCK BATTLEFIELD



Photograph 1



Photograph 2



Photograph 3



Photograph 4



Photograph 5



Photograph 6