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Women Warriors and the Mobilization of Colonial Memory in the Nineteenth-Century United States

Gina M. Martino

A curious domestic tableau appears in Joel Dorman Steele's 1885 textbook, *A Brief History of the United States*. The image, entitled "New England Kitchen Scene," portrays a seventeenth-century woman sitting at her spinning wheel while minding a young child.¹ Mother and child are the focus of the image, safely ensconced in a Victorian domestic sphere and separated from a pile of cut firewood and an axe on the floor by a wide fireplace and a bubbling cauldron. A translucent valance and a potted plant on the windowsill establish the space as civilized, cultivated, and feminine, signifying the triumph of colonialism to a nineteenth-century audience. But the artist of the engraving understood that the image required another element to effectively portray the colonial woman of the remembered past. And indeed, next to the potted plant—and partially obscured by the dainty window hanging—is the unmistakable shape of a blocky, early-modern musket within arm's reach of the woman at the spinning wheel. This striking combination of military readiness and luminous domesticity suggests something unexpected: the remembered foremothers of nineteenth-century Americans were warriors in a larger colonial project.

The celebrated martial woman of the "New England Kitchen Scene" had an Indigenous mirror image in New England's historical memory. Readers paging through another work of American history, William Cullen Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay's 1883 edition of *A Popular History of the United States*, would have undoubtedly noticed a terrified, barely clothed Indigenous woman who appears to be falling out of a striking, full-page engraving as she plunges face first into a river.² The woman in the river is Weetamoo, Sachem of the Pocasset, one of the most powerful female leaders in seventeenth-century North America.³ Although Weetamoo helped organize and lead the anti-colonial Indigenous coalition in King Philip's War (1675–76), the engraving, "Weetamoo Swimming the Matapoisset," depicts her drowning in a desperate attempt to escape enemy forces. Silhouetted in the background, a small battle rages between a disciplined English force and disorderly Indigenous troops. Weetamoo, who memorably appears as Mary Rowlandson's proud and lavishly dressed mistress in Rowlandson's 1682 captivity narrative, *The Sovereignty [sic] and Goodness of God*, has been stripped of the fine English clothing and wampum that Rowlandson described

and that had identified Weetamoo as a woman of rank and power.⁴ Her long hair, decorated with a single feather, flows past her waist but offers no cover. And although the artist allows Weetamoo a skirt to protect the audience's sensibilities, she is naked from the waist up, her bare breasts framed by her hair and subject to the colonial gaze as her body succumbs to the forces of nature.

The moody atmosphere of "Weetamoo Swimming the Matapoissett" and the sunlit, wholesome kitchen of the colonial mother reflect two distinct nineteenth-century visions of remembered martial womanhood. They also reveal the significant work performed by authors and artists who shaped those memories. Such portrayals served to legitimize the seventeenth-century conquest of New England and encourage the ongoing colonization of the American West in the nineteenth century. In histories, textbooks, poems, plays, sculpture, and images, authors and artists depicted Anglo-American women embracing their role as "pioneer mothers of the republic," feminine civilizers and fierce maternal protectors who conquered the New England wilderness and Indigenous peoples.⁵ Indigenous women—particularly female sachems of the seventeenth century—appeared in these sources as foils for celebrated martial white

Figure 5.1 "New England Kitchen Scene" in Joel Dorman Steele, *A Brief History of the United States* (New York: A. S. Barnes & Company, 1885), 94.

Figure 5.2 “Weetamoo Swimming the Matapoissett” by C.S. Reinhart and S.A. Schoff in William Cullen Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay, *A Popular History of the United States*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1883), 405.

women. Portrayed as doomed queens, some of whom had failed to maintain “proper” domestic arrangements, female sachems’ relationships to civilization and nature stood in opposition to those of English women. Theirs was a more “primitive” manifestation of womanhood, and it rendered them vulnerable to a wilderness they supposedly embraced. In these colonialist narratives, female sachems would become ghostly figures, separated from the land they ruled and vanishing before the power of the civilizing martial mothers of the United States.⁶

In exploring the relationship between nineteenth-century memories of colonial women’s war-making and ideologies of gender and expansionism, I first identify the origins of those narratives before turning to characterizations of colonial martial women in nineteenth-century histories and literature. Historiographic interpretations of the meanings of these women’s military participation changed as the United States adopted increasingly aggressive colonial policies in the early-to-mid nineteenth century. Such narratives reflected and reinforced newer gender ideologies that stressed the centrality of motherhood and domesticity to women’s performance of citizenship. Although chroniclers of the border wars writing during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had acknowledged when women warriors were also wives and mothers, those roles neither defined nor explained women’s martial activities. By the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, historians had found new value in those stories, recasting martial women as delicate inhabitants of a domestic, private sphere who fought to defend their children, their homes, and by extension, larger colonialist projects. At the same time, writers of fiction began to infuse plays,

short works of prose, and poems about historic figures with tropes that highlighted Anglo-American women's roles as domestic martial mothers and female sachems' troubled relationships to nature and household order. I conclude with an analysis of how nineteenth-century writers reworked stories of three well-known martial women of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Hannah Dustan and Hannah Bradley of Haverhill, Massachusetts, and Weetamoo, Sachem of the Pocasset. All three women's wartime activities are unusually well documented and, as a group, their stories represent the most violent and dramatic examples of colonial martial womanhood. Over time, they became larger-than-life figures whose names and exploits remained part of New Englanders' shared historical memory and through whom authors and artists could explore changing ideas about violence, colonialism, and ideologies of gender throughout the nineteenth century.

Martial Womanhood in Colonial New England

The two Hannahs of Haverhill were the best-remembered martial women of the colonial era during the nineteenth century. Hannah Dustan became famous for killing ten Indians during her successful escape from captivity, while Hannah Bradley was known for her two wartime captivities and for her attempt to prevent her second captivity by killing one man and maiming another with boiling soap.⁷ Both women gave birth immediately before or during their captivities, and both watched their infants die at the hands of their captors. One nineteenth-century historian even enthused that "the story of Mrs. Dustin's exploit and escape reads like a romance."⁸ Accounts of their grim experiences of maternal anguish, acts of war, and captivity in the wilderness would serve as "flagship" stories of a violent, resolute motherhood packaged for eager nineteenth-century colonists and armchair expansionists.

No female sachem featured as prominently in New England's historical memory as Weetamoo of the Pocasset. Indeed, Weetamoo was such a rich, familiar, and complex historical figure that authors used her as a character when their work called for an Indigenous woman of high rank, regardless of time or place. Although most modern readers recognize her only as Mary Rowlandson's antagonistic mistress in Rowlandson's famous captivity narrative of 1682, Weetamoo remained known for her role as an influential sachem into the early decades of the twentieth century.⁹ Even before King Philip's War began in 1675, English and Native leaders competed to sway Weetamoo to their side. As a sachem who led three hundred men and controlled some of the most desirable land in southern New England, Weetamoo's early alliance with Philip (Metacom) demoralized colonial officials. Moreover, her bold rescue of Philip's forces in a nighttime amphibious operation prevented the destruction of the anti-colonial coalition in its infancy. But as the engraving "Weetamoo Swimming the Matapoissett" reveals, successive generations also remembered Weetamoo's dramatic drowning at the end of the war, an event that seemed to highlight how the Indians' "backward" connection to the natural world would contribute to their inevitable disappearance as distinct peoples.¹⁰

The print “New England Kitchen Scene” presents its seventeenth-century subjects and setting using visual cues derived from nineteenth-century separate spheres ideologies that venerated women’s roles as wives and mothers in a private, domestic sphere while reserving the realm of the public sphere for men. But despite this anachronistic veneer, the image of a colonial woman performing household duties yet able to quickly assume a martial role reflects historical reality for a surprising number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century women. As I have previously argued, English, French, and Native women in the borderlands of northeastern North America played significant military roles in the wars that engulfed the region. English women in remote vanguard towns defended homes that served double duty as military installations. Women also petitioned colonial governments for troops, kept watch, and administered garrisons. Other women particularly those in relatively safer towns closer to Boston attempted to alter military strategy through protests and mob action. Because New England’s expansionist policies depended on families of settlers founding fortified towns progressively outward from larger towns such as Boston, women who made war or otherwise demonstrated support for the larger colonial project and its patriarchal foundations were accepted and even acclaimed by religious and political officials who used accounts of women’s martial activities as propaganda to influence policy and bolster morale.¹¹

In contrast to the private, domestic sphere portrayed in the “New England Kitchen Scene,” early modern gender ideologies did not separate public and private spheres. As historian Mary Beth Norton has argued, in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, the concept of “private” applied only to personal affairs, not the home as a domestic or gendered space. Instead, early modern Europeans and Anglo-Americans understood an individual’s activities as falling within formal and informal spheres of public action. Men and women were public actors, and although men in official governmental or religious positions dominated the more formal public sphere, women and men shared the community-oriented informal public sphere.¹² In most cases, women made war as public actors supporting the goals of the larger community, and their participation in New England’s wars was rarely considered transgressive.

Although it would surely be an overstatement to say that there was a woman warrior cult in colonial New England, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, chroniclers, politicians, and ministers routinely held up martial women as examples to their fellow colonists. Some women, including Hannah Dustan, became celebrities and received financial rewards.¹³ Groups of women who defended fortified communities also received commendations, as colonial officials reinforced the idea that other women in similar situations should emulate that behavior. Norton suggests that following England’s Glorious Revolution of 1688–89, new gender ideologies emerged that contributed to the development of gendered public and private spheres.¹⁴ This ideological transformation happened slowly, however, over several decades in the first half of the eighteenth century. Indeed, women who fought in New England’s wars through the end of the Seven Years’ War in 1763 would continue to receive broad social approval even as their fellow subjects lamented the necessity of women’s martial contributions.

Native women, too, participated in their polities' wars during this period, serving as sachems, spies, combatants, and leaders in ritual torture. Colonists sought to understand Indigenous women's war-making through the lenses of European formal and informal public spheres, ultimately leading to a split in colonists' perception of Native martial womanhood. Familiar with traditions of female leadership in their own societies, English colonists largely accepted female sachems' claims to authority, viewing these leaders' actions as falling within the formal public sphere. This was particularly true in the seventeenth century when powerful female sachems such as Weetamoo of the Pocasset and Awashunkes of the Saconet ruled coveted land in southern New England and colonists lacked the desire or perhaps the strength to attempt to reorder Native leadership along gendered lines. Colonists' acceptance of Indigenous women's martial roles rarely extended beyond female sachems, as nonelite Native women who attacked colonists and who participated in ritual torture and adoption would always appear disorderly to English observers.¹⁵

Making (and Remaking) the Remembered Martial Woman

In the decades following the American Revolution (1775–83), local and regional historians labored to craft narratives that would form a foundation for emerging national, state, and local identities. Many of these authors included accounts of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Anglo-American heroines in their histories. That women in colonial New England had been effective combatants was indisputable. Indeed, local historian Benjamin Mirick noted that in his hometown of Haverhill, "some of the most heroic deeds accomplished by the inhabitants of this town, were performed by women."¹⁶ But in order to safely celebrate these heroines, authors first had to reconcile colonial martial womanhood with the early republic's embrace of separate spheres ideologies.

Placing stories of colonial women warriors within the nascent ideology of "republican motherhood" offered an ideal solution to the problem of the martial woman.¹⁷ The ideology of republican motherhood rejected the idea that women and men were inherently equal, embracing instead the notion that a woman's primary contributions to the republic stemmed from her roles as wife and mother. The model female citizen, then, would be a civilizing, nurturing figure who raised virtuous republican sons. When grappling with colonial women's violent wartime roles, Americans opted to embrace the republican mother's vigilant martial counterpart: the "resolute mother." The figure of the resolute mother first appeared in historical accounts of women's war-making during the mid-to-late eighteenth century, coinciding with the ascendance of separate spheres ideology in Anglo-American culture. And much as the republican mother became the dominant model for women's political participation in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century United States, Americans recast colonial women who defended fortified communities or attacked their captors not as necessary combatants but as resolute mothers who overcame their feminine weaknesses to protect their children and the private, domestic sphere with a steely but temporary resolve.¹⁸

In accounts that employed the discourse of resolute motherhood, authors emphasized women's identities as mothers and attributed their wartime violence to an almost preternatural calmness and resolve that a woman might adopt in defense of the domestic sphere. Even if women's "limbs were not made to wield the weapons of war" and if their "sphere of usefulness, of honor and of glory, was in the precincts of the domestic circle," as Benjamin Mirick wrote, they could shed their "giddy, thoughtless, and fearful" qualities to don "a steadiness, a thoughtfulness, and a courage, which equals, and oftentimes surpasses, the same qualities in man."¹⁹ The ideological construction of resolute motherhood was ingenious, allowing New Englanders to imagine their colonial grandmothers temporarily assuming positive masculine qualities and rising to the occasion only in times of great need. That era had passed, memory-makers argued. Women who made homes rather than war in the new republic would help create a more genteel future, their martial natures dormant.

Yet even as New Englanders proclaimed that the colonization of the Northeast had concluded, their work colonizing the rest of the continent had only begun. The active domesticity that characterized representations of historical martial women would be needed to provide cultural space for nineteenth-century women who made war while cultivating and civilizing the wilderness. As historian Amy Kaplan has shown, antebellum expansionism relied on the development of the ideology of "manifest domesticity." The domestication of the "wilderness" and the "foreign" provided a "feminine counterbalance" to male violence and incorporated the private sphere as "a mobile and mobilizing outpost that transformed conquered and foreign lands into the domestic sphere of the family and nation."²⁰ Combining tropes of the wilderness and American exceptionalism with the language of resolute motherhood and manifest domesticity, nineteenth-century historian William Fowler described the colonial woman as "a soldier and a laborer, a heroine and a comforter" who performed those roles "in a peculiar set of dangers and difficulties such as are met with in our American wilderness." In response to those dangers, "women with muskets at their sides lulled their babes to sleep" in defense of their families, communities, and the colonial project. Women's multiple roles as mothers, fighters, Christians, educators, and workers were, in the words of Fowler, essential in all times to "the building of a new empire upon our dark and distant borderland."²¹

Complementing the gender ideologies and imagery that supported women's roles as agents of manifest domesticity were discourses of innocence and redemption. Indeed, the development of redemptive narratives of violence performed by an innocent nation and an innocent people was essential to the justification and perpetuation of colonialism. According to historian Boyd Cothran, throughout early American history, violent acts—particularly in colonial contexts—were permissible when performed "for reasons of moral outrage, self-preservation, or naïveté or paradoxically to maintain one's innocence." And in the era of Manifest Destiny, when white Americans celebrated westward expansion as a righteous and inevitable development of the republic's growth, how could violence in the defense of this project be anything other than innocent? If colonizers faced violent anti-colonial military campaigns along the way, surely the perpetrators of violence against a youthful nation must be at fault. Indigenous people and polities, then, were cast as "irrational aggressors and violators

of a civilized nation's just laws," the natural enemies of the resolute and innocent colonizing mother.²² By portraying heroines of the past as civilizing practitioners of this redemptive colonialism, Americans could construct precedents for ideologies of expansionism and acts of violence.

Authors in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries had largely shied away from depicting the resolute mother as especially violent or vengeful, omitting or sanitizing the most gruesome aspects of martial womanhood. But as anti-Indian sentiment grew along with the violence that accompanied a more aggressive program of expansionism beginning in the 1830s, some American writers began recovering and even embracing the more violent aspects of resolute mothers' martial activities in support of the nation's expansionist project. Historian Barbara Cutter has observed that Americans began to read accounts of Hannah Dustan's violence less selectively. Authors writing before the 1830s had struggled to reconcile her role as a mother with the more gruesome aspects of the killings, especially the murder of children. For some, the solution was to shift their focus to the grief Dustan felt when she saw her own newborn killed, incorporating maternal loss and an instinctive desire for revenge as part of a "defense of the 'natural' ideals of motherhood." Dustan's extreme violence allowed mid-century Americans to view their own violence against Indians as "justified, innocent, defensive violence."²³ And while Hannah Dustan was surely the most popular English colonial heroine in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, her story was only one part of a larger literary project highlighting Anglo-American and Indigenous women's active roles in colonization.

In contrast to the sustained popularity of accounts of colonial women's war-making, Native women who made war in the northeastern borderlands largely disappeared from local and regional histories during the later-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. But as national enthusiasm for westward expansion and the maturation of the cult of domesticity contributed to the creation of more active resolute mothers in historical memory, the same authors and artists who adapted memories of the resolute mother to support a new era of aggressive colonialism and manifest domesticity turned to a second group of martial women from the seventeenth century: female sachems. Rather than tending a garden of civilization in the wilderness, the female sachem in fiction and histories had a dangerous, overly close relationship to nature. And portrayals of female sachems' "primitive" and reportedly mystical connection to the natural world complemented notions that Indigenous women lived in disorderly, uncivilized households that would give way to the cultivating force of resolute mothers' orderly domesticity.²⁴

New Englanders' recovery of the memory of the female sachem developed alongside a larger cultural movement that scholar Gordon Sayre has described as a "craze for Indian stage tragedy" and a fascination with the image of the Indian chief as a tragic hero. Audiences in the 1830s began clamoring for works that presented the fall of Indigenous "nobility" and their "noble houses." These tragedies focused on leaders such as Tecumseh, Pontiac, and King Philip, who fought bravely and with honor but whose "capture and sacrifice" would ultimately serve to "replace frontier violence and the bitter racial and political factions behind it with a new civil order."²⁵ The tragic Indian chiefs who captured the imaginations of Americans in the nineteenth century

were almost exclusively male, and Indigenous women who appeared in these works more often played the role of a romantic interest or an intercultural intercessor.²⁶ One notable exception was Weetamoo of the Pocasset.

Occupying an unusual cultural space as a wife and female sachem who led troops in battle before succumbing to the forces of nature, Weetamoo's memory offered New Englanders the opportunity to explore tropes about Indigenous leadership. Distinguishing the trope of the "tragic Indian chief" from that of the "vanishing Indian," Sayre argues that the tragic chief elicited a relieved yet exhilarated catharsis from readers and audiences, while the vanishing Indian encouraged emotions such as melancholy and nostalgia. As we will see, portrayals of Weetamoo borrowed from both tropes while constructing a model of vulnerable Indigenous femininity that, although not truly innocent, was by turns ingenuously naïve and grimly prophetic. And despite Weetamoo's ominous soliloquies' superficial resemblance to the dying curses uttered by tragic chiefs against European enemies, they more often predicted suffering for all parties and the eventual ruin of her people.²⁷ In the colonial imagination, where images of innocent, civilizing, resolute mothers mingled with fantasies of doomed female sachems, Weetamoo would serve as an ideal figure for New Englanders engaged in the production of historical memory.

Memories of Innocence and Violence at the Dawn of a New Colonial Era

One of the first nineteenth-century authors to depict the opposing qualities of English and Indigenous martial women from the colonial era was the writer and abolitionist John Greenleaf Whittier. The author of dozens of historically inspired stories and poems, Whittier penned works featuring Hannah Dustan and Weetamoo as protagonists, both of which reflect emerging ideas about the relationship between colonialism, innocence, domesticity, and nature in the early-nineteenth century. Hannah Dustan's appearance in Whittier's 1831 short history, "The Mother's Revenge," explores the limits of acceptable female violence in war while introducing stronger themes of motherhood and nature to her story. It also serves as the basis for future, more overtly violent portrayals of Dustan's actions.²⁸ Like other nineteenth-century New Englanders, Whittier was aware that Dustan's war-making differed only in degree from those of other colonial women, noting that "it was not infrequently [a woman's] task to garrison the dwelling of her absent husband, and hold at bay the fierce savages in their hunt for blood." As if agreeing with Benjamin Mirick's assessment of women's martial roles in the contemporaneous *History of Haverhill*, Whittier observes that "in the dangers and the hardihood of that perilous period, woman herself shared largely" before acknowledging that in less perilous times, a woman's "sphere of action is generally limited to the endearments of home."²⁹

Having established both historical context and the gender expectations of his own time, Whittier goes on to describe how a woman of "milder and purer character" might transform into a resolute wife and mother. According to Whittier, women had displayed "astonishing manifestations of female fortitude and power; manifestations

of a courage rising almost to sublimity," a description that at first glance appears to resemble the calmer resolute mother of earlier decades.³⁰ Whittier's use of the word "sublimity" when describing other remembered martial women is telling and helps introduce his audience to a more brutal Hannah Dustan. The aesthetic concept of the sublime was gendered masculine, and although it shared similarities with resoluteness in its associations with acts of courage in the face of extreme danger, it more famously explored the incomprehensible and overwhelming wildness of the natural world.³¹ By suggesting that other women in New England's history had nearly achieved sublimity in their war-making, Whittier leaves space for Dustan's transformation from a good wife to a vengeful, blood-thirsty mother. Whittier does not address Dustan's experience in childbirth in his tale; his interest lies in her identity and transformation, and Dustan had already been a mother for many years. While the veteran mother watches her newborn dashed against a tree by her captor, she metaphorically dies as "her very heart seemed to cease beating." As Dustan is reanimated in the wilderness, her innocent, maternal heart is consumed by "the thirst of revenge . . . an insatiate longing for blood." Whittier explains that extremity of the situation had prompted an "instantaneous change [that] had been wrought in her very nature; the angel had become a demon."³²

In keeping with the sublime quality of the experience, Dustan's transformation into a vengeful mother occurs in nature, far from the domestic, private sphere. Following the bloodletting and the cathartic release of Dustan's maternal redemption, she begins her transformation back from the wild state of sublime violence. As if passing through a stage characterized by resolve rather than sublimity, she abruptly stops, "reflecting that the people of her settlement would not credit her story" without proof, and "deliberately scalp[s] her ten victims." Although Whittier describes the scalps as "fearful evidence of her prowess," Dustan has already begun her journey back to her domestic life, stealing a canoe and "travel[ing] through the wilderness to the residence of her husband." Her act of redemptive violence complete, she returns peacefully to the private, feminine sphere of historical memory.³³

In the poem "The Bridal of Pennacook," which describes the marriage and death of Weetamoo, Whittier takes far more liberties with historical accuracy than he does in his account of Hannah Dustan's captivity. Indeed, the Weetamoo of his poem shares few similarities with the historical Weetamoo. It appears as though Whittier, like other nineteenth-century writers, saw Weetamoo as a tragic Indigenous noblewoman whose name was familiar to readers. Whittier relocates the fictional Weetamoo closer to the rugged, wilder mountains of New Hampshire, far from her more "civilized" historical home along the border of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. But the intriguing change of setting aside, Whittier's portrayal of "Weetamoo" is perhaps most historically valuable for how it considers—and ultimately rejects—the possibility of Indigenous domesticity, implicitly removing Native peoples from contention in colonial contests. He describes Weetamoo as a "dusky," naïve young bride, a "savage" but "a woman still" who pursued "maiden schemes" and "young dreams" before being drawn to "the light of a new home—the lover and the wife!" Although the historical Weetamoo had deftly negotiated several political marriages, Whittier's ingenuous Weetamoo becomes a homebody following her marriage to the sachem Winnepurkit. To use the author's sentimental words, "her heart had found a home."³⁴

Of course, as an Indigenous woman in a nineteenth-century New Englander's sentimental poem, Weetamoo's marital bliss would not last. In his portrayal of the breakdown of her marriage, Whittier channels white Americans' longstanding disapproval of Indigenous gender roles and family structures.³⁵ Although Weetamoo is content with her life, Whittier describes her as "a slave" to her husband, in keeping with the "maxims of her race." The following spring, Weetamoo visits her father at his request, but as winter nears, she becomes worried when her husband fails to send for her. Whittier reveals to the reader that Winnepurkit had taken a lover before leaving to "trod the path of war." Weetamoo, "Heedless of peril, the still faithful wife," sets out to find her husband in a small canoe on the roaring Merrimack River. In one of the poem's few nods to history, Weetamoo drowns in the river. Unsuccessful in her attempt to form a domestic life in the wilderness, she inevitably vanishes into nature. A mournful chorus of Indian women whom Whittier dubs the "Children of the Leaves" reinforces this theme, singing, "The path she is treading Shall soon be our own; Each gliding in shadow Unseen and alone!" Their voices resemble "Nature's wild music, — sounds of wind-swept trees," as they lament Weetamoo's death and their own eventual demise.³⁶

Although the ideologies and tropes present in Whittier's work and in the histories of New England discussed earlier remained remarkably consistent during the nineteenth century, larger social and political developments did shape authors' preoccupations and agendas.³⁷ If Whittier's earlier, wistful works of the first half of the century contemplated a romanticized loss of tradition in a modern world, authors writing in later decades celebrated westward expansion even as they worried about the loss of regional identity, wondering if emigrants would spread the region's ideals or leave without a backward glance.³⁸ What role would New England, its history, and culture play in shaping the future of an industrialized, ethnically diverse nation that spanned a continent? Later histories and plays describing the exploits of women warriors would reflect these concerns, insisting that martial women's influence reached beyond New England and served as a national inheritance for a colonialist republic.

"Like an Heirloom": Martial Motherhood and the Inheritance of Colonialism

A collection of plays and short histories about the wars of the seventeenth century, published in 1886 and curiously titled *Battle of the Bush*, offers a unique opportunity to examine how late-nineteenth-century writers refashioned the memory of early American women's war-making. In these colorful works by Robert Caverly, historical accuracy was not required—and was perhaps not even desired. Among the dramatic personae is a predictable group of historical figures, including Weetamoo, Mary Rowlandson, Hannah Dustan, Hannah Bradley, and King Philip, along with the somewhat unexpected additions of Oliver Cromwell, Princess Elizabeth, and King Charles I. Rounding out the collective ensembles are two Quaker insurers (in two separate plays), a troupe of Irish actors, and two Indian Necromancers (also in separate plays). The dialogue is provincial, florid, and peppered with late-nineteenth-century representations of Indigenous speech. Nevertheless, the *Battle of the Bush* is

a collection of fantasies that, through its excesses and overreliance on stock tropes and characters, offers one of the most explicit presentations of the ideologies and imagery of remembered martial womanhood in the final decades of the nineteenth century.³⁹

Considering Weetamoo's usefulness to earlier colonialist authors as an all-purpose female sachem, it is unsurprising that Caverly deploys her as a figure divorced from time and place throughout the collection of plays.⁴⁰ She first appears in *The Last Night of a Nation*, a drama about the Pequot War (1637), which occurred when Weetamoo was likely a child or perhaps not yet born. Billed as "The Squaw Sachem" and "Potent Princess" in the cast of characters, Weetamoo wanders onstage at the end of the play as the ally of the Pequot leader Sassacus. Curiously, the play makes no mention of her until this point, and she seems to simply materialize for the sake of drama. The fictional alliance between Weetamoo and Sassacus, two doomed, Indigenous leaders of different genders references Weetamoo's partnership with Philip in 1675. Indeed, the phrase "Potent Princess" that appeared in the description of Weetamoo's character at the beginning of the play cites a passage from a wartime narrative that introduced Weetamoo to readers in London as "Potent a Prince as any round about her."⁴¹ According to the stage directions, the audience first sees Weetamoo traveling with Sassacus "in agony... skulking, several Indians following them." Shortly after this undignified entrance, Sassacus escapes, while Weetamoo moves to join him but chooses to remain instead.⁴²

It appears, then, that Caverly included Weetamoo in his play about the Pequot War primarily because he needed someone to play the role of the tragic Indian chief. Sassacus could not serve that function as he had fled to the Mohawk only to be killed, his hands and head sent to the English. As his character dies offstage and is therefore unavailable to perform the obligatory dramatic, noble death scene near the end of the play, Weetamoo will do in a pinch. Having decided to stay and die, Weetamoo soliloquizes: "Fly? Fly from where? From this me own heritage? From the green hunting-ground of me father; from the wild wigwam of my dear, dear old mother, slain? No! no! Sassacus may fly. I'll *never, never* fly. No! No! No!"⁴³ Weetamoo's speech displays an unsophisticated purity that reinforces her closeness to the land but sidesteps the question of whether she is eligible to perform redemptive violence in the name of her people. The answer to that unspoken question is, of course, "no." Weetamoo instinctively understands that having chosen to remain in her homeland, she must ultimately vanish.

Intriguingly, Weetamoo does not curse the colonists in the mode of the tragic male chief; rather, she predicts the demise of Native peoples. After expressing her attachment to her fictional ancestral home, Weetamoo sings of her intention to return to her tent and "lie down in despair." As is fitting in a play entitled *The Last Night of a Nation*, she performs a feminized mourning ritual, declaring, "I'll paint me in black, and will sever my hair!" Finally, Caverly uses Weetamoo's grief to address popular ideas about the relationship between Indians and nature as she announces her plans to "sit on the shore, where the hurricane blows" and pour out her "woes" to "the god of the tempest." Her mourning and communion with the natural world is tinged with "bitterness," as her "kindred have gone to the mounds of the dead." Yet the cause of their death was not

natural, a fact that Weetamoo takes pains to point out. Rather, she cries, "They died not of hunger, nor wasting decay, The steel of the white man hath swept them away." The honorable Weetamoo who "[met] her Fate valiantly" would play a more prominent role as a tragic female sachem in another Caverly play, *King Philip*, alongside English martial women Hannah Dustan and Hannah Bradley.⁴⁴

The play *King Philip* offers the most robust—and unintentionally farcical—juxtaposition of the relationships between Englishwomen and female sachems with nature, motherhood, and colonialism. Caverly even titles the play's accompanying "Legend" (historical introduction): "Weetamoo, Queen of Potasset [*sic*] ... and Mother Duston."⁴⁵ Although Weetamoo had died twenty-one years before the two Hannahs' exploits, the dramatic possibilities of their literary union with the Pocasset sachem must have been too tempting to resist. Praising Dustan's actions in the play's Legend, Caverly likens the memory of her slaughter of ten Indians to "an heirloom" that would "impart inspiration, an inspiration which, diffusing itself, shall tend to elevate the aspirations of the descendants of our old New England mothers throughout many ages yet to come." His "Mother Duston" stands in as the spiritual resolute grandmother of all women involved in New England's colonial project, her violence illuminating and redeeming the wilderness. To her spiritual granddaughters, she bequeaths a memory of martial motherhood as an heirloom, an object of high civilization representing the orderly transfer of treasured property through a family line dedicated to colonialism.⁴⁶

Although Caverly opted to provide readers with a more refined Hannah Dustan in his Legend, he portrays the martial women in *King Philip* as a bit rougher around the edges. The play references both Hannahs, although only Hannah Bradley has a speaking role. Never one to let historical accuracy stand in the way of drama, Caverly ignores the fact that Dustan's and Bradley's martial moments occurred twenty years after King Philip's War, and the women's plotline is still unresolved when Philip dies. Caverly calls upon the character Dumkins, "an aged hunter," to provide exposition in a scene meant to tie up loose ends after Philip's death. Dumkins and a Native ally, Lightfoot, walk through a forest as Dumkins reminds the audience of Dustan's maternal grief and potential for violence, predicting that "old Mother Duston is a hard brick for um; a hard nut, they'll find her to be, I'll promise ye. She'll remember her dead baby; and if a chance happens, she'll make game of um."⁴⁷ In his characteristic plain speech during a later scene, Dumkins observes that "there's heroism, there's true metal in those two old Hannahs," casting both as seasoned frontierswomen. Turning to their roles as mothers, Dumkins praises New England's martial women as more effective warriors than its men, opining that "if the fathers had spunk, half so much as those old English mothers, why they'd drive these infernal red-skin murderers into the sea."⁴⁸

Perhaps hesitant to actively depict Dustan massacring Indians onstage, Caverly arranges for Dumkins and Lightfoot to observe Dustan from a distance. Stage directions call for the actors to represent the massacre in a tableau, "ten Indians all lying at length asleep, and Duston, Neff, and Leonardson [her conspirators], with tomahawks uplifted, in the act of killing them."⁴⁹ As the audience gazes at the motionless players, Dumkins recites a poem describing the sleeping Indians' "guilty heads." By choosing to present Hannah Dustan's famous moment as a tableau, Caverly preserves the distance between the innocence of the constructed "Mother Duston" and the historical figure's brutality.

The script even includes an illustration of the scene, suggesting how the players might arrange the tableau. In this image, Dustan and her fellow captives have not yet killed. The figures appear calm and Dustan, hatchet in hand, strongly resembles her famous statue in Haverhill. This layered presentation of Dustan thus doubly separates the viewer from her historical violence, as the frozen actor poses as a nineteenth-century memorialization of Dustan, a more innocent beacon of light “diffusing” throughout the nation.

Hannah Bradley, who was pregnant in 1704 when she killed a man using boiling soap before giving birth in captivity, is a more provincial resolute mother than Dustan in *King Philip*. As Dumkins and the governor discuss the whereabouts of both Hannahs while under attack, two Indian men enter with news. One of the men, Peter, announces that Hannah Bradley had not been taken to Canada and that she “Got away from Injuns. Got home. She be in garrison here. Injuns be trying to get her agin [sic].” When a group of Native men demand Bradley’s return, Peter replies, “Old Hannah is safe. Get you gone. Can’t have her. She’ll fight ye.” In a show of defiance, Bradley briefly appears onstage, “extending her head from the window” and shouting, “Begone, ye murderous hell-hounds, begone! Never, never shall ye capture me again. Get out! begone!” According to additional stage directions, having fought off another stint as a captive, Bradley performs an act of redemptive violence as she “lets blaze a blunderbuss from the window; and Bampico, the Indian leader, falling dead, the Indians take flight.” As the men carry their leader’s body away, “old Hannah at the same time giv[es] them another blast from her blunderbuss.”⁵⁰ As Haverhill’s lesser-known Hannah, Bradley’s noisy defense of her garrison allows Caverly to preserve the aura of gentility he created for Hannah Dustan while still including an earthy yet virtuous martial woman in the play.

If the memory of Hannah Dustan’s massacre serves as a civilizing light to brighten the American wilderness for her descendants in *King Philip*, Weetamoo instead acts as a prophet, issuing warnings of doom under gathering storm clouds. Throughout the show, she assumes various aspects of the role of a feminized tragic Indian chief. The play opens with the trial of three of Philip’s advisers for the murder of the Christian Indian, John Sassamon. The trial was one of the last in a series of events that led to the outbreak of war in 1675. Following Philip’s denouncement of the proceedings and his dramatic exit, the curtain falls to the sounds of a mournful dirge. When the curtain again rises, Weetamoo enters in a sumptuous costume, accompanied by “her attendants.” Although she addresses the court, her words serve more to introduce the presence of the supernatural to the audience than to influence the ongoing legal proceedings. As she speaks, the remaining Indians in the courtroom kneel while lightning and thunder create a mood of foreboding and a connection between Weetamoo and the natural world.⁵¹ The condemnation of Philip’s advisers, Weetamoo warns, “brings darkness gathering o’er this western sky.” Her powers of prognostication grow in strength as the storm approaches, and she warns of “the bloody sunset, and that forked light which breaks the curtain of this fearful night.” It is here that Weetamoo speaks to the civilized maternal power of English women. Fully employing her supernatural abilities, she describes mothers who “hug sweet infants with tenacious arms” as the storm “foretells gross carnage of successive years, and devastation in a land of tears.” In a play that

also features the dramatic martial activities of Hannah Dustan and Hannah Bradley, Weetamoo—who will ultimately succumb to the natural forces she channels in the courtroom—reminds the audience that a resolute physicality accompanies colonizing mothers' gentle nurturing.⁵²

Conclusion

In 1876, a New England gallery exhibited a painting depicting an attack on a colonial garrison house. William Fowler, a nineteenth-century historian who viewed the painting, described how “women, old and young, some of whom are firing over the parapet,” defended the fortified home from the roof. The artist of this unknown work also included a scene from the garrison house's interior, revealing “women engaged in casting bullets and loading fire-arms which they are handing to the men.” Risking her safety by leaving the fortifications, “a brave girl is returning swiftly to the garrison, with buckets of water.” Of this scene of martial manifest domesticity, Fowler concludes, “this is indeed a faithful picture of one of the frequent episodes of colonial life in New England!”⁵³ Yet for all the importance the painting places on women's martial activities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the wartime roles the painting portrays would largely disappear from history and historical memory over the course of a few decades.

Why have Americans forgotten these women? It is doubtful that (white) Americans simply lost interest in gripping tales of women's roles in colonization. It is possible that the disappearance of this hero cult is in part related to academic historians' rejection of local history and studies considered “antiquarian.” Although local historians produced surprisingly well-sourced histories proclaiming the importance of women in war into the first decades of the twentieth century, academics would ultimately claim the history of the New England town for their own. By the mid-twentieth century, social historians were producing town histories that focused on the experiences of ordinary townsfolk (mostly men) as reconstructed through statistics and other social science methodologies. As historian Alan Taylor has observed, local historians emphasized the special contributions of an individual town while incorporating that town's uniqueness into a common heritage. In contrast, twentieth-century social historians understood the New England town as a “laboratory” for extracting data to help explain larger social patterns. In other words, antiquarians wove their town histories into a larger tapestry depicting a shared regional (albeit proudly colonialist) past, while later data-driven town studies removed those communities from their larger networks.⁵⁴ Historians of women and gender have likewise tended to underestimate women's martial contributions in colonial New England. For scholars establishing the field during the 1970s and 1980s, struggling against the perception that their work lacked intellectual rigor, local history with its antiquarian reputation was perhaps something to be approached warily. Complicating matters, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources describing women's wartime activities are highly dispersed throughout the historical record, making it difficult to corroborate nineteenth-century local historians' claims of a tradition of martial womanhood. As a result, women's historians as well as social historians focusing on

town studies would likely dismiss a single town's lone record of a female-led garrison defense as anomalous rather than part of a larger phenomenon.

Only a hazy memory of early American martial women survives today, sustained by nineteenth-century monuments and borrowed place names. Unsurprisingly, these commemorations also reflect distinct notions of New English and Indigenous martial womanhood. Hannah Dustan's statues in Haverhill, Massachusetts, and Boscawen, New Hampshire, memorialize her actions while attempting to ensure the permanence of her conquest by shaping stone in her image. New Englanders more commonly seized female sachems' identities for use as the names of natural features and landmarks in both northern and southern New England. As one scholar has noted, the retention of Indian names for place names served to "situate Indians securely in the past, separating them neatly as part of nature instead of culture."⁵⁵ Indeed, the names of female sachems such as Awashunkes and Weetamoo have been appropriated to identify natural features along the border of Rhode Island and Massachusetts. Awashunkes's name was given to at least one pond, two swamps, and two marshes. Weetamoo is not as well represented in southern New England, although there is a Weetamoe Street and a Weetamoo Woods in Fall River and Tiverton, respectively. Instead, it is in the wilder White Mountains of New Hampshire that Weetamoo's name most frequently appears. Weetamoo Rock, Weetamoo Trail, Weetamoo Cliff, and Mount Weetamoo all testify to the cultural staying power of Whittier's poem and its depiction of Weetamoo's association with the forces of nature.

As time passes, the memory of New England's martial women will likely continue to fade. Visitors to the mountains, forests, and bodies of water that bear Indigenous women's names will simply see another "quaint" place name of obscure Algonquian origin. Of the celebrated Anglo-American women who made war in these conflicts, only the memory of Hannah Dustan remains. And despite the efforts of one historical society to preserve her memory in the form of a bobblehead doll, her figure is fading from New England's landscape. Statues meant to inscribe her memory and tell her story through carvings on their bases have aged, and in the case of the New Hampshire statue, weathering and vandalism have taken their toll. Perhaps there is an argument to be made that there is some justice in forgetting these women, especially the violent Hannah Dustan. Yet this would be a shame, for remembering these women and the generations that memorialized their war-making is neither an antiquarian exercise nor the fetishization of warrior women. Rather, these women's martial activities and the role their memories played in promoting westward expansion offer Americans opportunities to engage with an uncomfortable history of colonialism and learn how societies—past and present—produce and reproduce colonialist ideologies.

Notes

- 1 Joel Dorman Steele, *A Brief History of the United States* (New York: A. S. Barnes & Company, 1885), 94.
- 2 William Cullen Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay, *A Popular History of the United States*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883), 405.

- 3 Weetamoo ruled territory in and around the present-day cities of Tiverton, Rhode Island, and Fall River, Massachusetts.
- 4 Mary Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty & Goodness of God* (Cambridge, MA: Samuel Green, 1682), 57.
- 5 William Worthington Fowler, *Woman on the American Frontier: A Valuable and Authentic History of the Heroism, Adventures, Privations, Captivities, Trials, and Noble Lives and Deaths of the "Pioneer Mothers of the Republic"* (Hartford, Conn.: S. S. Scranton, 1886).
- 6 Scholars have often overlooked female sachems, though studies that do consider these leaders include John A. Strong, "Algonquian Women as Sunksquaws and Caretakers of the Soil: The Documentary Evidence in the Seventeenth Century Records," in *Native American Women in Literature and Culture*, ed. Susan Castillo and Victor M.P. Da Rosa (Porto, Portugal: Fernando Pessoa University Press, 1997), 191–214; Ann Marie Plane, "Putting a Face on Colonization: Factionalism and Gender Politics in the Life History of Awashunkes, the 'Squaw Sachem' of Saconet," in *Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632–1816*, ed. Robert S. Grumet (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 140–165; Gina M. Martino, *Women at War in the Borderlands of the Early American Northeast* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018); Lisa Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018); and Ethan A. Schmidt, "Cockacoeske, Weroansqua of the Pamunkeys, and Indian Resistance in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *American Indian Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 288–317.
- 7 Samuel Penhallow, *The History of the Wars of New-England, with the Eastern Indians* (Boston, 1726), 10–11; Cotton Mather, *Humiliations Follow'd with Deliverances* (Boston, 1697). Studies that consider Dustan in her own time include Teresa A. Toulouse, *The Captive's Position: Female Authority, Male Identity, and Royal Authority in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Pauline Turner Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999); Martino, *Women at War*; and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750* (New York: Vintage, 1991).
- 8 Fowler, *Woman on the American Frontier*, 81.
- 9 Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty & Goodness of God*.
- 10 Jean O'Brien has argued that nineteenth-century New Englanders used the genre of local history to justify colonialism while "seizing indigeneity" for themselves. In doing so, they also positioned themselves as the first modern New Englanders, while "Indians remained rooted in nature." O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 50.
- 11 Martino, *Women at War*. Historians have been largely unaware of the martial roles women played in these wars. One work that briefly considers the topic is Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 167–183.
- 12 Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Vintage, 1997); Mary Beth Norton, *Separated by Their Sex: Women in Public and Private in the Colonial Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011).
- 13 Barbara Cutter, "The Female Indian Killer Memorialized: Hannah Duston and the Nineteenth-Century Feminization of American Violence," *Journal of Women's History* 20, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 10–33; Sara Humphreys, "The

- Mass Marketing of the Colonial Captive Hannah Duston,” *Canadian Review of American Studies* 41, no. 2 (August 2011): 149–178; Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola, “The Captive as Celebrity,” in *Lives Out of Letters: Essays on American Literary Biography and Documentation, in Honor of Robert N. Hudspeet*, ed. Robert D. Habich (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004), 65–92; and Martino, *Women at War*, 92–102.
- 14 Norton writes that this development was tied to the elevation of gender over rank as a basis for social organization as “consenting men” became the foundation of the polity. Norton, *Separated by Their Sex*.
 - 15 Ann Little, *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 56–90; Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 53–54; and Martino, *Women at War*, 19–57.
 - 16 B.L. Mirick, *The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts* (Haverhill, MA: A. W. Thayer, 1832), 64.
 - 17 On the development of separate spheres ideology and the cult of domesticity, see Rosemarie Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Carol Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in The Struggle for America's Independence* (New York: Knopf, 2005); Norton, *Separated by Their Sex*; and Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: “Woman’s Sphere” in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977).
 - 18 On the construction of the memory of a maternal martial womanhood and “resolute motherhood” in the early republic, see Martino, *Women at War*, 135–157.
 - 19 Mirick, *The History of Haverhill*, 65.
 - 20 Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 25.
 - 21 Fowler, *Woman on the American Frontier*, 81, 527.
 - 22 Boyd Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 19.
 - 23 Cutter, “The Female Indian Killer Memorialized,” 20, 26. See also Humphreys, “The Mass Marketing of the Colonial Captive Hannah Duston.” On national innocence in the context of settler colonialism more broadly, see Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War*.
 - 24 On disorderliness, see Little, *Abraham in Arms*, 91–126.
 - 25 Gordon M. Sayre, *The Indian Chief as Tragic Hero: Native Resistance and the Literatures of America, from Moctezuma to Tecumseh* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 8–10, on curses see *ibid.*, 27–29.
 - 26 Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War*, 81–105.
 - 27 Sayre, *The Indian Chief as Tragic Hero*, 5–6.
 - 28 Cutter, “The Female Indian Killer Memorialized,” 20.
 - 29 John Greenleaf Whittier, “The Mother’s Revenge,” in *Legends of New-England*, ed. Horace Elisha Scudder (Hartford, CT: Havener and Phelps, 1831), 125–126.
 - 30 Whittier, “The Mother’s Revenge.”
 - 31 Barbara Claire Freeman, *The Feminine Sublime: Gender and Excess in Women’s Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 72.
 - 32 Whittier, “The Mother’s Revenge,” 128. Barbara Cutter rightly observes that Whittier identifies Dustan’s actions as the “temporary and natural” response of a woman

- whose “natural state” of motherhood “was under attack.” Cutter, “The Female Indian Killer Memorialized,” 20.
- 33 Whittier, “The Mother’s Revenge,” 130.
- 34 John Greenleaf Whittier, “The Bridal of Pennacook,” in *The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier*, ed. Horace Elisha Scudder (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904), 29, 34, 36.
- 35 On Anglo-American disapproval of Native gender roles and families, see Little, *Abraham in Arms*; Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
- 36 Whittier, “The Bridal of Pennacook,” 36–40.
- 37 For all its significance in American history, the Civil War plays little part in this study. On the remarkable consistency of New England’s colonial histories before and after the Civil War (specifically between 1820 and 80), see O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, xx.
- 38 David D. Hall and Alan Taylor, “Reassessing the Local History of New England,” in *New England: A Bibliography of Its History*, ed. Roger Parks (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989), xxvii.
- 39 Robert Boodey Caverly, *Battle of the Bush* (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1886).
- 40 Robert Boodey Caverly, *The Last Night of a Nation*, in *Battle of the Bush* (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1886). The copyright date given for the play (rather than the collection) is 1884.
- 41 N. S., *The Present State of New-England, with Respect to the Indian War* (London, 1675), 3.
- 42 Caverly, *Last Night of a Nation*, 55.
- 43 Caverly, *Last Night of a Nation*, 55. Emphasis is from the original.
- 44 Caverly, *Last Night of a Nation*, 55, Table of Contents.
- 45 Caverly, *Battle of the Bush*, Catalog.
- 46 Robert Boodey Caverly, *King Philip*, in *Battle of the Bush* (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1886), 139.
- 47 Caverly, *King Philip*, 185.
- 48 Caverly, *King Philip*, 189.
- 49 Caverly, *King Philip*, 186.
- 50 Caverly, *King Philip*, 189–190. This incident likely reflects reports of a third attack on her garrison house, in which Bradley fought alongside her husband Joseph, successfully repelling the assault and avoiding another captivity. George Wingate Chase, *The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts* (Haverhill, MA: George Wingate Chase, 1861), 216.
- 51 Caverly, *King Philip*, 160.
- 52 Caverly, *King Philip*, 160.
- 53 Fowler, *Woman on the American Frontier*, 79–80.
- 54 Hall and Taylor, “Reassessing the Local History of New England,” xxxii.
- 55 O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 35.