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## REVIEWS

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**After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England.** Edited and with an introduction by Colin G. Calloway. Hanover: Dartmouth College, University Press of New England, 1997. 268 pages. \$19.95 paper.

In October 1793 a Narragansett man named John Hammer went to court in Hopkinton, Rhode Island. The warrant that brought him there called Hammer a "Black man," but Hammer insisted to the judge that he was "an Indian man." And even though the plaintiff in the case had, in his own account book, referred to "John Hammer Indian," the judge overruled Hammer's objection. No one argued that John Hammer was *not* an Indian, but everyone (except Hammer) agreed that calling him a "Black man" was best. Hammer's insistence on his Indian identity, countered by the white community's unwillingness to acknowledge it, reveals the dilemma of Indians living in New England in the three centuries since King Philip's War (1675-1676), the devastating conflict that nearly—but only nearly—destroyed New England's Native community. To the judge in Hammer's case, the fact that Hammer was a Narragansett contradicted the widely held romantic fiction that the Indians of New England had long since "vanished" (disappearing into the past, into the woods, and into the growing African American community), and to the court, his legal status was best represented by a more general label of racial inferiority: "Black man." Yet even as court clerks, census takers, and local historians erased the Indian pres-

ence from New England, Native men and women continued struggling to make a living and to hold onto their Indian identity.

John Hammer's story lies at the heart of *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England*, a valuable and compelling new collection edited by Colin Calloway. Hammer's tale is powerfully told by Ruth Wallis Herndon and Ella Wilcox Sekatau in their intriguing essay, "The Right to a Name: The Narragansett People and Rhode Island Officials in the Revolutionary Era" (pp. 124-5), but all of the essays in *After King Philip's War* tackle these twin themes: Indian survival and the persistence of Indian identity. The ten essays in the collection (seven of which have been previously published) constitute an important contribution to New England historical scholarship, since many historians, like the judge in John Hammer's case, have assumed—and sometimes insisted—that New England's Indians died out after the war led by the Wampanoag sachem King Philip (alias Metacom). As Calloway explains in his extremely trenchant introduction, "For most people and in most history books, Metacomb's death and the dispersal of his followers is the final chapter in the story of Indian peoples in New England" (p. 2).

The Indians in *After King Philip's War* are most assuredly not dead. They are working on whaling vessels, weaving baskets, lecturing, writing books, fighting for their rights in court, and gathering to tell stories. A key strength of the collection is the diversity of the authors' approaches, which range from literary history to legal history to labor history. ("The Right to a Name," which combines oral history contributed by Narragansett tribal historian Ella Wilcox Sekatau with a close study of court records by social historian Ruth Wallis Herndon, is perhaps the most innovative piece.) Yet even as the essays cover a vast period (from 1676 to the present) and employ a variety of methods, the collection is quite cohesive—unusually so for an anthology of this nature—and it greatly contributes to a growing body of scholarship in this field (including such recent works as Daniel Mandell's *Beyond the Frontier* and Jean O'Brien's *Dispossession by Degree*).

Taken together, the essays in this collection document and analyze several signal transitions in the lives of New England's Indians after King Philip's War: the partial migration of southeastern peoples to the north and west in the war's immediate aftermath; the loss of land and traditional patterns of subsistence; the transition to wage labor and the concentration of Natives in particular crafts and occupations; the pressures

towards integration of Native peoples with neighboring white or black communities; and the legislation of detribalization. Understanding these transitions sheds new light, not only on Native American history, but on broader historical developments as well. Contributors Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, for instance, argue effectively that the attack on Deerfield in 1704 (during the trans-Atlantic War of the Spanish Succession) was partly motivated by the hostility of St. Francis Abnakis—many of them descended from Indians forced out of southern New England at the close of King Philip's War—towards the Massachusetts settlers who had assaulted their ancestors. An essay by Ann Marie Plane and Gregory Button persuasively links the 1869 Massachusetts' Indian Enfranchisement Act to the racial politics of Reconstruction-era America. The act, which gave Indians full citizenship only by destroying their status as Indians, was a direct consequence of both federal race policy and of New Englanders' penchant for considering Indians as blacks (as suggested in the fate of John Hammer, nearly a century earlier).

What the reader of *After King Philip's War* will no doubt be most struck by is the persistence of Native culture in New England in the face of campaigns ranging from Massachusetts' assimilationist 1869 Indian Enfranchisement Act to Rhode Island's notorious 1880 Narragansett detribalization legislation to Vermont's utterly nefarious 1931 sterilization law (by which Abnakis were among those classed as people too "degenerate" to reproduce). Extraordinary men like the Pequot minister and writer William Apess, not to mention ordinary people like John Hammer, were not the only Indians in New England to resist the vast cultural, political, and legal forces suppressing Indian identity and Indian culture. Their struggle, and their survival, is a complicated and important story, and the essays in *After King Philip's War* go far in telling it.

Unfortunately, *After King Philip's War* skirts two critical questions. First, what is "Indian identity," exactly? That William Apess, a Pequot, was easily adopted by the Mashpee Wampanoags in the 1830s, and that the rhetoric of the Mashpee Revolt called on the cause of the Cherokee, suggests a nascent pan-Indianism, but this is a dimension of Indian identity which remains unexplored. It would be helpful to understand more about the importance of tribal affiliation in relation to the larger category of "Indian" and to know whether a spirit of pan-Indianism extended only to Algonquian New Englanders, or whether it included neighboring Iroquois, or more southern and

western peoples. Second, what happened to those mixed-race Indians in New England who gave up their Indian identity, choosing instead to pass as "white" or to accept their designation as "black"? Calloway himself is the first to admit that "Some, no doubt, did not care whether they survived as Indians, just so long as they survived" and that "it would be wrong to replace one stereotype with another and suggest that all Indian people waged a heroic and steadfast struggle to preserve their Indian heritage" (p. 18). But in spite of this caveat, *After King Philip's War* does inadvertently introduce such a stereotype since people who, for whatever reason, abandoned their Indian identity, fall outside the bounds of this kind of scholarship by definition. Calloway rightly critiques the absurd supposition that "Indians who stop fighting stop being Indians, so why bother with Indian history after King Philip's War?" (p. 4), but studying the persistence of Indian identity seems to introduce yet another troubling assumption: Indians who forsake their Indianness stop being Indians, so why bother to consider them in Indian history?

*After King Philip's War* is an excellent collection of well-researched, innovative, and cogent essays by key scholars working on a previously much neglected topic. Like all new areas of inquiry, it introduces its own dilemmas, partly determined by the definition of the subject and partly by the sources themselves. Because the historical record has been so badly corrupted by people like the judge in John Hammer's case, looking for "Indians" in the archives is like sifting with a sieve: We find the John Hammers, but men and women of Native ancestry who nod quietly when they are labeled "black" or "white" slip through our grasp.

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**American Sacred Space.** By David Chidester and Edward T. Linenthal. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 352 pages. \$39.95 cloth; \$18.95 paper.

A better title for this book might be *Conflicts In American Sacred Space*. The authors, David Chidester and Edward T. Linenthal, define the practices of the sacred as the "ritualization, reinterpretation and the contest over legitimate ownership of sacred