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Subjects unto the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England. By Jenny Hale Pulsipher.

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picture of how the Inuit live. In other places the author seems so preoccupied with establishing her on-the-scene bona fides that the main subject gets lost.

Such narrative is valuable, however, in illustrating for a “southern” audience that a traditional diet is more to the Inuit than a source of nutrients and energy—it is a way of life. “Our foods do more than nourish our bodies,” Cone quoted Inuit rights activist Ingmar Egede as saying in *Mother Jones*: “When many things in our lives are changing, our foods remain the same. They make us feel the same as they have for generations. When I eat Inuit foods, I know who I am” (Marla Cone/Hartford Web Publishing, <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/27b/059.html> [accessed 2 November 2005]).

Silent Snow also contains a few references to the devastating impact of chemical pollutants in areas beyond the Arctic. The impact is worldwide, especially among indigenous peoples. The Mohawks of Akwesasne, for example, have been afflicted with many of the same chemicals as the Inuit. The book focuses on the indigenous peoples of Greenland, Nunavut, and Alaska; Russian Arctic peoples are mentioned only occasionally, and the Sami (Laplanders) of Scandinavia not at all.

Cone closes with an account of the Inuit’s ongoing struggle for survival. As some of the chemicals that have poisoned the Arctic are being outlawed, she writes, a new crop of legal contaminants are polluting the Arctic, including chemical flame retardants (polybrominated diphenyl ethers, or PBDEs), which, like PCBs, scramble hormones and depress intelligence. These new chemicals are now building rapidly in the bodies of the Inuit and the animals they eat.

While one may pine for endnotes in *Silent Snow*, Carson’s famous book also had none, and its impact, nonetheless, has been enormous. *Silent Snow*’s strength lies in its ability to tell a large, general audience a compelling story—one that is well worth being heard by the people of the industrialized world whose effluents are poisoning the Arctic.

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Subjects unto the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England. By Jenny Hale Pulsipher. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. 357 pages. \$35.00 cloth.

Colonial Massachusetts has never looked more imperial than in Jenny Hale Pulsipher’s marvelous new book. There is a lengthy historiographical tradition examining Massachusetts’ aggression against neighboring Indians and colonies and local religious dissenters within a transatlantic context, but no scholar before Pulsipher has so successfully balanced treatment of the multiple English and Indian actors, with all of their complex priorities. Additionally, in what amounts to the book’s most significant contribution, Pulsipher integrates Massachusetts’ strivings against proprietary Maine and the Wabenakis with more familiar events from southern New England. These qualities, combined with Pulsipher’s fluid writing and lively chronological

narrative, should make *Subjects unto the Same King* a staple of syllabi on colonial North America and the Atlantic world and standard reading for scholars of colonial New England Indian history.

Pulsipher's book centers on Massachusetts' strong-armed efforts to extend its jurisdiction and consolidate its religious order, and attempts by the colony's numerous Indian and English opponents to enlist one another and the king in their defense. To a lesser extent, she also treats New Plymouth's encroachment on the Wampanoags. Earlier histories have often cast one side or the other in these contests as hero or villain, but there are no such caricatures in Pulsipher's account. To be sure, crass power politics has a place in her story, and Indians more often than not are the ones on the defensive against overbearing, grasping colonists. Yet Pulsipher takes seriously the principles that motivated her historical actors. She is careful to acknowledge Massachusetts' leaders' belief that brooking opponents of their New Israel might very well sacrifice God's blessing or even attract his curse, even as she discusses those leaders' worldly ambitions and the suffering they caused in God's name. Likewise, she submits, without discounting the Indians' intense factionalism and related manipulation of colonial divisions, that most Native people's diplomacy with the English rested on a single principle established from the earliest colonial encounters: whatever the balance of power, the two parties were "friends" with reciprocal obligations to trade, protect, and treat one another respectfully. Massachusetts and its Indian neighbors rarely shared common ground, but by the end of Pulsipher's stirring account, both could agree that their ambitions for peace and order had been dashed, largely by one another.

Massachusetts' impressive list of adversaries sometimes managed to find common cause in their common enemy. New England's shifting alliances included Narragansetts seeking the assistance of Rhode Island's religious eccentric Samuel Gorton, plus Connecticut, New Netherland, and various combinations of former Indian friends and enemies. Connecticut enlisted the support of the Mohegans, Rhode Island reached out to the Narragansetts, and Wabenakis appealed to the royal governor of New York. All of these parties, plus advocates of proprietary or royal government in Maine and New Hampshire, and Massachusetts' domestic opponents of its religious and political policies, petitioned the king to come to their aid. A number of Indian groups, such as the Narragansetts, Eastern Niantics, and Wampanoags, went so far as to subject themselves formally to the crown in their quest for outside help, usually at the very moments when Boston was under close scrutiny from London. With Massachusetts enjoying distinct advantages in population and power over its rivals, the threat of crown interference, especially revocation of the Bay Colony charter, was practically the only check on its ambitions.

Reflecting the recent work of James Drake, Pulsipher argues that contrasting Indian and English views of the Natives' subject status contributed directly to King Philip's War. Indians pledged fealty to the king in the hope that royal protection would force colonists to treat them as political "friends," including honoring their continued autonomy. Yet colonial leaders insisted that their governments mediated the Indians' relationship with the king and

that the Natives' subjection to the crown involved subordination to them. Charles II's preoccupation with his own domestic struggles for authority left him little time for American affairs, which emboldened Massachusetts and Plymouth to pursue the Indians' marginalization actively. With friends and fellow subjects like these, the Indians did not need enemies. Wampanoags living north of Buzzard's Bay, after enduring years of political bullying at colonial hands and losing land and tribute payers, finally resorted to war in 1675 following Plymouth's execution of three Wampanoags for the killing of another Wampanoag within Wampanoag territory—an insufferable, precedent-setting breach of jurisdiction. The failure of royal protection, as well as colonial aggression, accounts for the outbreak of King Philip's War in Pulsipher's telling. Indians were willing to be subjects under the right conditions but not to be subjugated.

Although Pulsipher is attentive to the politics of Indian sachemships, she could have pushed her analysis a bit further by more firmly linking the Indians' hopes for the crown to the customary role of a "paramount sachem." The foremost responsibility of a paramount sachem like the Wampanoag Massasoit and the Narragansett Miantonomi was to arbitrate disputes between his tribute-paying communities. New England Indians who subjected themselves to Charles apparently expected him to fulfill that same duty, at least through his commissioners. In this light, the Indians' efforts to secure reciprocal friendship with the colonists through fellow subjecthood, seems to have been consistent with their earlier politics, rather than just a savvy, improvised strategy.

The most gripping section of Pulsipher's book details how breakdowns in Indian and English authority among their own peoples helped to turn Philip's isolated protest into a regional war. Angry young men in Philip's camp might very well have forced his hand before he was ready to fight, and certainly a number of Nipmuck communities joined the fray only when young warriors bucked the advice of neutralist-leaning sachems. Colonists more than responded in kind. The majority of Indians who joined Philip's Wampanoags in arms did so only when English firebrands refused to accept the Natives' professions of friendship or neutrality and instead demanded that they turn over their arms and Wampanoag refugees. Even Christian Indians were not safe, despite having long since yielded to Massachusetts' authority and adopted innumerable reforms in accordance with Puritan teachings. As Pulsipher so powerfully relates, the colonial mob, over the voices of a dwindling number of the Indians' English advocates, treated "praying Indians" like wolves in sheep's clothing, driving many of them onto the warpath, incarcerating some on the frigid, barren islands of Boston harbor, and enslaving and murdering still others. For years, English authorities had insisted that Indian sachems answer for the provocations of their young men, but now colonial magistrates seemed unable and unwilling to restrain their own. Praying Indians who dressed in English clothes, read the Bible, attended school, and worshiped in church confronted the harsh lesson that the English would not even accept a shared Christianity, never mind a common king, as evidence of Native fidelity.

Pulsipher makes a strong case that we need to broaden our perspective on the winners and losers of King Philip's War. In Maine, for instance,

Wabenakis were the provisional winners—despite having absorbed their own harsh blows, they managed to drive most colonists out of the area, at least temporarily. Colonists in southern New England reveled in having broken the Narragansetts, Nipmucs, and Wampanoags, but they did so at the cost of steep losses in life and treasure and, ultimately, an end to the Puritan elite's stranglehold on power. Boston's bungling of the war, subsequent factionalism, crackdown on dissidents, and refusal to seek England's support during the fighting convinced the crown once and for all that it was time to assert its control. During the 1680s and 1690s, Whitehall forced Massachusetts to tolerate Anglicans and Baptists and cease capital punishment of Quakers, revoked the Massachusetts charter and replaced the elected governor with a crown appointee, and established New Hampshire as a separate royal colony. Some colonists welcomed these reforms, but the old-line majority experienced these changes as a withdrawal of God's favor. Their sense of crisis found its most graphic expression in the Salem witchcraft trials, an event in which Puritan villagers, a number of them refugees from Wabenaki attacks, hanged churchgoing grandmothers who had supposedly covenanted with the Devil in the shape of an Indian.

"Did ever friends deal so with friends?" This question, asked by Miantonomi to remind Massachusetts of its reciprocal obligations to the Narragansetts, was echoed over and over again by Indians and the English throughout the seventeenth century in response to the Bay Colony's power grabs. Perhaps only the shared threat of a society as self-righteous and domineering as Massachusetts could have produced this common voice among people divided along so many fault lines. Because Pulsipher has pulled together the unruly strands of this story in such a compelling fashion, we are likely to ponder the sachem's haunting question for some time to come.

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Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources. By M. Kat Anderson. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. 526 pages. \$39.95 cloth.

This volume represents the culmination of a huge undertaking, a long-term project that also produced an MA thesis (1988) and a PhD dissertation (1993). The book's bibliography alone takes up sixty pages. As the dust jacket proclaims, the book is an "examination of the extensive knowledge Native Americans brought to bear in managing California's natural resources and the imprint this management left on the state's landscape." Its thesis is that California was not a natural wilderness at the time of first contact, as it has been misinterpreted to be, but rather an enormous garden, tended in what Anderson regards as beneficial and sustainable ways by the Indian population, and that modern Americans should reinstate similar practices in place of hands-off policies of land management.