

PROPOSAL

**Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Project
Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut**



**Submitted by
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Introduction

In recognition of the historical and cultural significance of the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut that occurred on May 19, 1676, the Town of Montague, with support from the Battlefield Study Advisory Board comprised of representatives from the Towns of Montague, Greenfield and Gill, Massachusetts, and the Narragansett, Aquinnah Wampanoag, Mohegan, Nipmuc, and Mashpee Wampanoag Tribes, received a Site Identification and Documentation grant from the National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program (NPS ABPP) to conduct a pre-Inventory Research and Documentation project to identify the likely locations of the King Philip's War (1675-1676) Peskeompskut (Turners Falls) Battlefield and associated sites including but not limited to the Native American community of and associated sites through the examination of documentary records and archaeological collections, Tribal and non-tribal (Yankee) oral histories, and the use of military terrain analysis. An additional goal is to engage local officials, landowners, and the interested public in efforts to locate and protect the battlefield(s) and associated sites.

The Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut was one of the most significant battles of King Philip's War (1675-1676) and a turning point in the conflict. The early morning surprise attack on the multi-tribal refugee village and encampments by 150-180 English soldiers and settlers from the settlements of Hadley, Northampton and Hatfield area effectively ended nascent peace discussions between the United Colonies (Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, and Plymouth) and the Native American tribes fighting the English including the Narragansett, Pocumtuck, Nipmuck, Aquinnah Wampanoag, Mashpee Wampanoag, Nipmuc, and Mohegan Tribes. The attack on the unsuspecting Native people gathered at their traditional gathering place at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut resulted in the deaths of hundreds, mostly women and children, and resulted in the loss of their newly planted corn fields, supplies of fish, and other resources. The attack forced the alliance of tribes gathered at the Turners Falls to disband and return to the "relative" safety of their homelands in Wampanoag, Nipmuc, and Narragansett territories. These communities, and those remaining in the Connecticut valley, were aggressively pursued by the English throughout southern New England. In the ensuing months

thousands of Native people were killed, captured, and enslaved bringing the war to a rapid conclusion.

Proposal Abstract

The Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center (MPMRC) proposes to conduct the Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation project through a program of tribal history research, interviews with knowledgeable individuals, military and Colonial history research, historical archaeological research, military terrain analysis (KOCOA), Geographic Information Systems (GIS) applications, and windshield and walkover surveys of the battlefield Study and Core Areas to identify and map the likely locations of the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut and its associated sites and areas such as Native and Colonial avenues/routes of approach and retreat, battles and engagements, and campsites and village locations. This proposal outlines the approach and methods to be used as well as the qualifications of the MPMRC and staff. All work will be done in accordance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Archeology and Historic Preservation*, and the methods outlined in the National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program *Battlefield Survey Manual* (2000).

The Request for Proposal identified a number of specific tasks to be carried out as part of the archeological and historical investigations. The methods and outcome for each task will be discussed in the Methods section of the proposal: 1) Development of the Archaeological research design; 2) Conduct military and Colonial history research; 3) Conduct historical archaeology research; 4) Coordinate Tribal history research and the collection of Tribal oral traditions, histories, (and perspectives) regarding the battle; 5) Coordinate a public planning process; 6) Prepare GIS maps of the project area; 7) Prepare a technical report; 8) Coordinate with specific agencies including the Battlefield Study Advisory Board comprised of representatives of the Towns of Montague, Gill, and Greenfield, and the Narragansett, Aquinnah Wampanoag, Mashpee Wampanoag, Nipmuc, and Mohegan Tribes, and any individuals with expertise in the history and archaeology of the study area.

A draft final Project Technical report and draft Final Project Performance report will be generated upon completion of all historical and archaeological research, interviews, and military terrain analysis and submitted to the Battlefield Study Advisory Board for review and comment. The reports will include but will not be limited to historical and archaeological research methods, results of historical and archaeological research and military terrain analysis, results of windshield and walkover surveys, results of oral history interviews with Tribal and non-tribal informants, and results of public informational meetings. The Technical Report will also include geo-referenced topographic maps with the locations of key terrain features, battlefields, actions, villages, encampments, and ancillary sites. In addition, the report will also describe and delineate battlefield Study and Core Areas, historical significance, and site integrity.

The MPMRC's battlefield archaeology personnel are all staff of the MPMRC Research Department and will include Dr. Kevin McBride, Director of Research, who will serve as the Principle Investigator, David Naumec will serve as Military Historian, Ashley Bissonnette will serve as Senior Researcher, and Noah Fellman who will serve as the GIS Specialist. The battlefield personnel all have extensive experience in seventeenth century military and Colonial history analysis of primary sources and seventeenth century material culture, and all have played key roles in the nine NPS ABPP Battlefield projects awarded to the MPMRC. The MPMRC was contracted and conducted two additional NPS ABPP Battlefield projects awarded to other institutions such as the Connecticut River Museum and the Rhode Island State Historical Preservation Commission. The MPMRC Battlefield staff also has extensive experience in the application of KOCOAs to the study of battlefield sites (see below).

Methods of Battlefield Archaeology

Battlefield Survey

The goal of battlefield surveys are to identify and document the historic and geographic extent of battlefields on modern maps, determine site integrity (as defined in *National Register Bulletin 40: Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic*

Battlefields), provide an overview of surviving resources, and assess short and long term threats to integrity. Specific steps involved in this process include:

- Research the battlefield event(s);
- Develop a list of battlefield defining natural and cultural features;
- Conduct a visual reconnaissance of the battlefield;
- Locate, document and photograph features;
- Map troop positions and features on a USGS topographic quadrangle;
- Define study and core engagement areas for each battlefield;
- Assess overall site integrity and threats

The discipline of Battlefield Archeology is concerned primarily with the identification and study of sites where conflicts took place, and the archeological signature of the event(s). This requires information gathered from historical records (including oral histories and traditions) associated with a battlefield including troop dispositions, numbers, and the order of battle (i.e. command structure, strength, and disposition of personnel, equipment, and units of an armed force during field operations), as well as undocumented evidence of an action or battle gathered from archeological collections and investigations. The integration of the historical and archeological records associated with a battlefield allows battlefield archeologists to reconstruct the progress of a battle, assess the veracity of historical accounts of the battle, and fill in any gaps in the historical record. The necessary first step in this process is the identification, assessment, and thorough critique and analysis of the primary records associated with the battle. This process is particularly important with respect to the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut as Seventeenth Century historical record(s) are often incomplete, confusing, and contradictory. Battlefield archeology seeks to move beyond identifying isolated battlefield events on the landscape, and integrate the spatial and temporal aspects of the battlefield to achieve a more comprehensive reconstruction of battlefield and move toward a more dynamic interpretation of the battlefield (Fox & Scott 1991).

A dynamic reconstruction of battlefield events requires a detailed integration and analysis of the historical record(s) to identify discrete group or individual actions and movements on the

battlefield in order to place them in a spatial and temporal framework. An important goal of this process is to construct a timeline of battlefield events and their association with key terrain features on the battlefield landscape.

A battlefield landscape is defined as a geographic area, encompassing cultural and natural resources associated with the historic battlefield event (Loechl et al 2009). The key aspect of this analysis is the reconstruction of the historic landscape and battlefield terrain associated with the battle to identify natural and cultural features present in the battlefield space, and to determine how they were used by the combatants (Carmen & Carmen 2009). While battlefields are situated within the broader cultural landscape, battlefield reconstructions focus only on those cultural and natural features directly related to the battlefield.

The United States military has developed a process for evaluating the military significance of a battlefield denoted by the acronym KOCOA (**K**ey and **D**ecisive **T**errain, **O**bservation and **F**ields of **F**ire, **C**over and **C**oncealment, **O**bstacles, **A**venues of **A**pproach and **R**etreat). The NPS ABPP requires the KOCOA approach for all battlefield studies. KOCOA analysis uses defining features – aspects of the landscape that are mentioned in battlefield accounts. Defining features may be natural (e.g. rivers, swamps, hills) or cultural (e.g. palisade, road, village) and are assessed and evaluated to determine their effect on the process and outcome of battles. Critical defining features are mapped using Global Position System (GPS) and Geographic Information System technologies (GIS).

Table 1. KOCOA Definitions and Battlefield Evaluation System

Battlefield Element	Definition	Examples
Key Terrain	A portion of the battlefield, possession of which gives an advantage to the possessor.	TBD

Observation & Fields of Fire	Points on the landscape that allow observation of enemy activity that is not necessarily key terrain; offers opportunity to observe an area, acquire targets; and allows for an affective line of fire.	TBD
Cover & Concealment	Landforms or landscape elements that provide protection from fire and conceal troop positions from observation.	TBD
Obstacles	Landscape elements that affect troop movements.	TBD
Avenues of Approach & Retreat	Corridors used to transport troops between the core battle area and outer logistical areas.	TBD

Defining Features and KOCOA Analysis

An important goal of the Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Project, and the overall goal of the archeological survey are to locate the historic and geographic extent of the battlefield(s), actions and sites on modern maps using GIS. Battlefield survey methods rely heavily on identification and analysis of a wide range of physical and cultural features using readily available resources such as USGS 7.5' Series Topographic Maps, aerial photographs, historic maps, and walkover and windshield surveys – all of which are used to identify important terrain features and locations obtained from primary narratives or accounts of battlefields. There are three steps in this process: 1) identify battlefield landscapes; 2) conduct battlefield terrain analysis with KOCOA; and 3) battlefield survey (i.e. research, documentation, analysis, field visits, definition of battlefield Study and Core Areas, assessment of integrity and threats to battlefields, and map preparation).

Identifying Battle Locations

Prospective battlefield and ancillary site locations will be identified by integrating information from the following sources; primary accounts, Tribal oral traditions and perspectives, local oral history, local artifact collections, land records, historical maps, aerial photographs, site visits, and KOCOAs analysis.

Battlefield Landscapes

Battlefield Landscapes consist of those natural (e.g. rivers, swamps, hills, forests) and cultural (e.g. roads, villages, encampments, sentry outposts) features that defined the original battlefield landscape, but also include the nature and evolution of natural and cultural features over time and their impacts to the original landscape. In order to identify, document, survey, and map a battlefield, battlefield historians and archaeologists must research all available and relevant historical accounts and identify the historic landscape that defined the battlefield in the field through terrain analysis and identification of natural and cultural features associated with the battlefield.

Military Terrain Analysis

Terrain analysis is a critical aspect of battlefield surveys, so much so that the NPS ABPP requires all grant recipients to use KOCOAs (Key terrain, Observation, Cover and concealment, Obstacles, Avenues of approach), a military terrain model the U.S. Army developed to evaluate the military significance of terrain associated with a battlefield. By studying the military applications of the terrain using KOCOAs, a battlefield historian or archaeologist can identify the landscape of the battlefield and develop a basis for judging the merits and flaws of battle accounts. The components of Terrain Analysis (KOCOAs) include:

Observation and Fields of Fire: Observation is the condition of weather and terrain that allows a force to see friendly and enemy forces, and key aspects of the terrain. Fields of Fire is an area that a weapon or group of weapons may cover and fire into from a given position.

Avenues of Approach and Withdrawal: An avenue of approach is the route taken by a force that leads to its objective or to key terrain in its path. An Avenue of Withdrawal is the route taken by a force to withdraw from an objective or key terrain.

Key Terrain and Decisive Terrain: Key Terrain is any ground which, when controlled, affords a marked advantage to either combatant. Two factors can make terrain key: how a commander wants to use it, and whether his enemy can use it to defeat the commander's forces. Decisive Terrain is ground that must be controlled in order to successfully accomplish the mission.

Obstacles: Obstacles are any features that prevent, restrict, or delay troop movements. Obstacles can be natural, manmade, or a combination of both and fall into two categories: existing (e.g. swamps, rivers, dense wood, town or village) and reinforcing (placed on a battlefield through military effort).

Cover and Concealment: Cover is protection from enemy's fire (e.g. palisade, stone wall, brow of a hill, wooded swamp), and Concealment is protection from observation and surveillance (e.g. ravines, swamps, intervening hill or wood).

Geographic Information System and Global Position System Application

The first step in determining the precise geographic location of battlefields, villages, encampments, artifacts (if applicable) and cultural and terrain features will be to establish a referencing system over the battlefield study area. (approximately 11,000 acres in the Towns of Deerfield, Grenfield, Gill, and Montague)). A GIS database will be developed to aid in the collection, maintenance, storage, analysis, and output of spatial data and information Bolstad, 2008). In its earliest stages, the GIS database consisted primarily of two foot contour base, maps, and other terrain features including hydrography and soils. Through the course of the field season the GIS database will be expanded to include: property information (i.e. boundaries, ownership, structures), and modern features such as roads, aerial photographs, disturbed areas, and battle-related artifacts and features if appropriate.

Provenience

To establish provenience throughout the battlefield Study a combination of methods will be used. The first step in establishing provenience will be to develop a procedure so that all cultural and natural and features identified within battlefield Study and Core Areas can be assigned a spatial reference using a Global Positioning System GPS. A conceptual 1-meter grid will be established over 2 ft. contour base maps within the battlefield Study Area with the intent of eventually identifying portions of the grid in real space through GPS (depending on landholder permissions), which can be used a later date to facilitate future field work. .

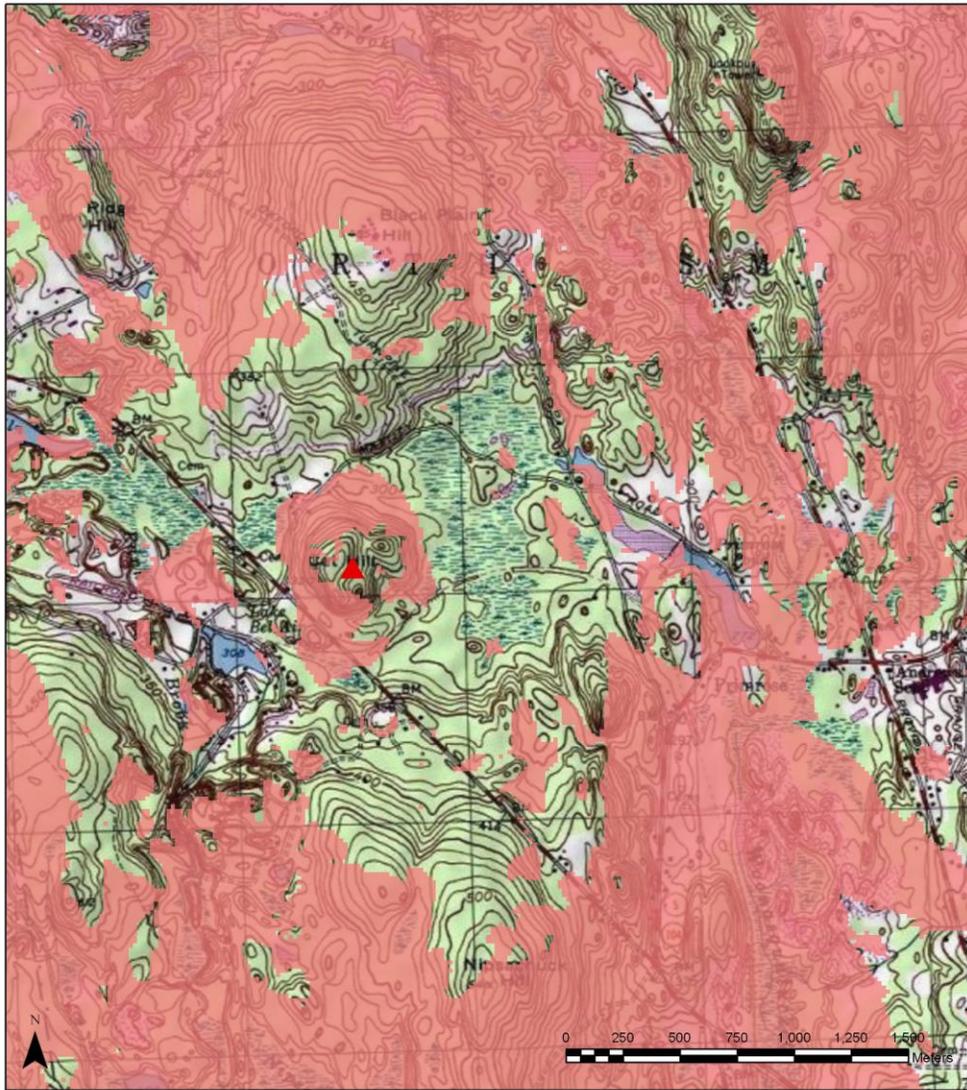
A Global Positioning System (GPS) is a series of orbiting satellites such that at any given time and place at least four are within range of any position on Earth's surface. By determining the distance from the four satellites, the receiver can calculate its precise location in horizontal and vertical space in a process called trilateration. Current technology now provides the means to achieve pinpoint location in real-time with a GPS yielding up to ten centimeter accuracy and sometimes even less. However, in reality there are many factors such as tree cover, aspect of availability, and position of satellites that sometimes caps accuracy to a five meter range, depending on conditions and the time of day. Property boundaries and cultural features can often be obtain from shapefiles provided by the planning departments of the various towns.

These geo-referenced shapefiles or whatever part of the shapefile will be relevant to the battlefield Study and Core Areas will be imported into the GPS and used to locate natural and cultural features in real space.

Viewshed Analysis

Viewshed Models can be developed using elements of KOCOA and GIS. Identified cultural and terrain features can be geo-referenced and integrated into cumulative Viewshed Models. A Viewshed is a raster-based map of individual 'cells' in which from each cell a straight line is interpolated between a source point and all other cells within an elevation model to find whether or not the cell exceeds the height of the three dimensional line at that point. Therefore, the result of each calculation is either positive or negative. If the result is positive (1) then there is a direct line of sight, if it is negative (0), there is no line of sight (Wheatly & Gillings 2002). The resultant Viewshed Models illustrate locations (such as Native villages) that could be seen from

elevations, such as prospective hills (Figure 3). Viewshed Models provide insight into what locations the combatants could see from particular positions and potentially predict possible village and battlefield locations. The Viewshed Models are extremely useful for conceptualizing the battlefield landscape and identifying key terrain, avenues of approach and retreat, obstacles and areas of concealment and observation. Figure 1 (on the following page) is an example of a Viewshed reconstructed for the Second Battle of Nipsachuck (July 2, 1676) depicting areas that could be viewed from the summit of Cat Hill and the Narragansett village.



Cat Hill Viewshed

- Not Visible
- Visible

Figure 1.

Viewshed Analysis of Summit of Cat Hill – Second battle of Nipsachuck

Historical Context

King Philip's War (June 1675 – August 1676), sometimes called the First Indian War, Metacom's War or Metacom's Rebellion, and the Great Narragansett War was an armed conflict between dozens of Native American tribes and bands who inhabited (and still do) present-day southern New England and the United Colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, and Plymouth. Native allies of the various colonies played a significant role in the war including the Mohegan, Pequot, Tunxis, and Western Niantic of Connecticut and Christian Indians in Massachusetts and Plymouth. 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 25, 1675 when a group of Metacomet's warriors attacked and killed several English at Swansea, Massachusetts partly as retaliation for the execution of three Wampanoag men hanged by the English several months earlier (Leach 1958). This action initiated a sequence of events that engulfed all of New England region in a full-scale war within six months. By late August, the Nipmuck of central Massachusetts and northeastern Connecticut and the Pocumtuck and other tribes of the middle Connecticut Valley were at war with the English. On December 19, 1675, a force of 1,000 English soldiers and 150 Pequot and Mohegan allies conducted a preemptive surprise attack on a multi-village Narragansett fort in the Great Swamp in South Kingston, Rhode Island killing as many as 600 people. Until then the Narragansett had not taken an active role in the war against the English, but following the Great Swamp Fight the powerful Narragansett joined the fight against the English. Several of the principal sachems of the Narragansett were likely in the fort (and survived) including Pessicus, Canonchet, and the Squaw Sachem Quaiapan. The English suffered more than 170 wounded and killed in action and many more later died of their wounds or from exposure during the retreat in blizzard conditions. Many of the Narragansett leaders such as Pessicus, Canonchet, Ponham, Panoquian, and Quiapan sought safety initially in Nipmuc country, but made their way to the Connecticut Valley in February and March of 1676 to join with their Nipmuc, Wampanoag and River Indian allies.

Soon after, the majority of Native peoples of central and western Massachusetts 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, and the English frontier was pushed back to the outskirts of Boston. 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 children were battle casualties, and thousands more died from disease, starvation, and exposure or were sold into slavery throughout the Atlantic World (Brodhead 1855, 243-244). The conflict is often referred to as the deadliest in American history based on English and Native civilian and military casualties relative to population (Leach 1958). The war in southern New England ended when English soldiers and their Native allies killed Metacomb at Mount Hope in present-day Bristol, Rhode Island 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.

Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut

Following the Great Swamp Fight, many of the principal Narragansett sachems including Pessicus, Canonchet, Ponham (Panoquian), Canonicus, and Quaiapan withdrew to Nipmuc country and by February joined with their Nonotuck, Norwottuck, Peskeompscu, Pocumtuck Squawkeag, Nipmuc, and Wampanoag allies in the Turner's Falls area to decide what course to take against the English. Some of the sachems favored approaching the English for peace terms, while others were committed to continue the fight against the English. The contemporary Massachusetts Bay Colony historian William Hubbard stated that "Canonechet and Panoquian, said they would fight it out to the last man, rather than become servants of the English" (1677, 148).

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 the early winter of 1676 the Wampanoag, Narragansett, Nipmuc, and tribes from the Connecticut Valley including the Pocumtucs, Nonotucs, Agawams, Quaboags,

Nashawags, Norwottocks, and Skokis launched dozens of highly successful attacks against English towns throughout Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth colonies, and along the Connecticut River Valley. Native attacks in the Connecticut Valley forced the English settlements at Northfield (Squakeag) and Deerfield (Pocumtuc) to be abandoned by September of 1675, with the only remaining settlements at Hatfield, Hadley, and Northampton.

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 eventually turned in favor of the English as they began to aggressively pursue, harass, and attack Native communities 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.

Several peace overtures were made by Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay to the warring tribes between late January and May, but with little prospect of achieving any lasting results. William Hubbard 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” (Hubbard 1677, 145). The Connecticut War Council reported to the Commissioners of the United Colonies in mid-March that “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” (CSL 1676, 45). The English wanted to retrieve the many captives held by the enemy tribes and reach some kind of resolution to end the war. By early spring the Narragansett, Nipmuc, Wampanoag and other tribes were near the point of starvation. The English operating in Narragansett and Nipmuc country and the Connecticut valley had been thus far very successful in destroying stored corn and other food supplies, and their aggressive pursuit of the enemy kept them from pausing long enough to hunt, fish and gather wild foods.

Hundreds died from starvation during the winter and hundreds more died of exposure and disease. With the loss of their prospects for planting, the Narragansett and other Connecticut Valley tribes gathered at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut in March and April to take advantage of the spring fish runs and to plant corn.

During this period The Connecticut War Council made several peace overtures to the sachems gathered at Wissantinnewag- Peskeompskut and 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” (Trumbull 1859, 425) On May 1st, the Connecticut Council offered formal terms to “Pessicus, Wequaquat, Wanchequit, Sunggumachoe and the rest of the Indian sachems up the river at Suckquackheage [Northfield, Massachusetts near the border with Vermont]” (Trumbull 1859, 439). Many other sachems and their people were also in the Turner’s Falls area, 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 9th) (Trumbull 1859, 439). On May 15th, Reverend Russell of Hadley reported to the Connecticut Council that captive Mary Rowlandson had been released and carried a letter from “Philip and the Old Queen [Quaiapan] & sundry sachems containing a desire for peace” (CSL 1676, 71a).

Captain William Turner, commander of the garrison at Hadley, grew increasingly frustrated with Connecticut’s inaction against the tribes upriver, and the peace process generally, and advocated taking action against the tribes gathered at the falls. On April 19th he wrote the Massachusetts General Court and reported “it is strange to see how much spirit (more than formerly) appears in our men to be out against the enemy...[who] now come so near us, that we count we might go forth in the evening, and come upon them in darkness of the same night” (Bodge 1906, 242). The ‘close encampment’ referred to by Turner were the Native encampments gathered at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut 30 miles to the north.

The Reverend Russell echoed Turner's sentiments in a letter to the Connecticut War Council on April 29th just a few weeks before the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. He 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... The people of Hadley were encouraged to the prosecution of the war and their spirits more than ever heightened with desire and earnestness to be going forth against the enemy.

At this juncture it appears that Connecticut was serious about peace negotiations, as the Connecticut War Council and they cautioned Russell and the rest of the settlers at Hadley against engaging in hostilities "with the Indians about the River" while peace negotiations were ongoing "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" (Trumbull 1859, 440). The tone of the correspondence from the Connecticut War Council was starkly different than that conveyed by Russell and Turner – both of whom clearly advocated for renewed hostilities against the gathered tribes to the north and were frustrated by Connecticut's lack of action against the enemy. Some of the English in the Hadley area were refugees from the destroyed Northfield and Deerfield settlements and harbored a great deal of resentment toward the tribes gathered at the falls. The deaths of more than 100 English soldiers and settlers in the upper valley at the area at the hands of the gathered tribes also contributed to a growing desire on the part of the settlers at Hadley to attack the Native people gathered at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. Given the situation, any incident would provide an excuse for the settlers in the upper valley to attack the gathered tribes. The stage was set for the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut.

During this period, the tribes gathered at Turner's Falls and took advantage of the deployment of Connecticut soldiers to the south and raided Hatfield and Hadley for livestock on May 12th. Two days later two English "lads" taken captive during the raid and escaped and informed the settlers and garrison at Hatfield and Hadley about the raid and the whereabouts and disposition of the Natives at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. Captain Turner quickly assembled a mounted force of 150-180 men comprised of inexperienced settlers and garrison soldiers with little or no

experience fighting an experienced and determined enemy. Turner was counting on the element of surprise and marched the 25 miles to the falls at night, arriving on the west side of the Fall River in the morning. Leaving the horses with a few guards, the main body crossed the Fall River and ascended to the high ground overlooking the falls and the village at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. Believing the main force of English soldiers were too far to the south, or to be a threat, none of the tribes had posted sentries and were completely surprised. The English rushed down the hill and attacked the sleeping Natives in their wigwams, most of them women, children, and old men. Hundreds of Native people died in the attack, many of them drowned in the Connecticut River as they tried to escape (Hubbard 1677, 204-206). Hubbard reports the Indians “lost above 300 in the attack some whereof were principle sachems” (1677, 206). The “battle” was over in little more than an hour. While the main village may have been surprised, groups of Native men in the other encampments around the falls were beginning to mobilize to attack the English. As the English regrouped and begin their withdrawal a rumor spread that King Philip was on his way with 1,000 men. At the same time a group of Native men reached the tethered horses on the west side of the Fall River and attacked the small force guarding the horses and managed to run several off before a group of twenty soldiers arrived to recover at least some of the mounts. The rumor of the impending arrival of King Philip, combined with the attack on the horses threw the inexperienced and undisciplined settlers into a panic (l’Estrange 1676, 4). What began as a retreat was taking on the characteristics of a disorganized rout. Groups of panic-stricken soldiers, some on foot and some mounted tried to escape to the safety of what remained of Deerfield five miles to the south. All along the way the English were attacked from the flanks, rear, and front, with ambushes laid in the woods and swamps as the soldiers passed by. Captain Turner was shot as he attempted to cross the Green River and his body was recovered several days later. Colonial authorities estimate that approximately 40 men were killed during the retreat (Hubbard 1677, 207).

The Turner’s Falls attack effectively ended any serious attempts by either side to pursue peace negotiations for the remainder of the war. Several days after the battle English scouts reported that the enemy had regrouped and were still encamped at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. Connecticut immediately sent 80 men to Hadley strengthen the settlements in the upper valley.

On May 30th Hatfield was attacked, presumably by Native men from Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut, but they were driven off by the Connecticut men recently arrived at Hadley.

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 24th to assemble an army at Norwich and "go forth against the Indians at Pocumtuck and those parts" (Trumbull 1859, 443). The Connecticut army of 450 men, including 100 Mohegan and Pequot were ordered to rendezvous with 500 Massachusetts Bay soldiers at Hadley to conduct joint operations and seek out the enemy in the upper Connecticut Valley. The two forces joined at Hadley on June 16th. With an army of 1,000 men, this was the largest force to conduct operations in the Connecticut River Valley since the war began. The combined force advanced north on both sides of the river to Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut and sent scouts as far as Squakeag (Northfield). No sign of the gathered tribes was found, only abandoned wigwams. They had all left for other regions and Native resistance in the upper Connecticut Valley was effectively over.

Proposed Work Plan

Task 1: Develop an archeological research design to standards acceptable by the ABPP

An historical and archaeological research design will be developed following initial meetings and discussions with the stakeholders identified by the Town of Montague which will include but not necessarily be limited to the Battlefield Grant Advisory board. The research design will outline the work plan, schedule, and methods to be followed for the various research and field components of the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Research and Documentation project including historical and archaeological research, walkover/reconnaissance survey of the battlefield Study and Core Areas, oral histories, interviews with individuals and institutions knowledgeable about the material culture, history, and locations of actions and sites associated with the battle, KOCO analysis, production of GIS

maps, and an outline for the final technical report. A draft research design will be submitted to the Battlefield Grant Advisory board for review and comment in anticipation of the Town of Montague submitting the the final draft to the NPS ABPP for approval prior to commencing research and fieldwork.

Task 2: Conduct Military and Colonial History Research Battlefield projects require extensive primary and secondary research to establish a cultural, military, and historical context to identify potential battlefield locations and sites, guide future fieldwork, and reconstruct and interpret battlefield events and sequences. With respect to the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut information obtained from a variety of historical sources, oral histories and informants will be used to reconstruct the nature and disposition of the opposing forces (including non-combatants), avenues of approach and withdrawal for the opposing forces, potential locations of battlefield sites (e.g. attack on Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut, English retreat), villages (e.g. Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut), ancillary sites (e.g. Native sentry post, villages and encampments on islands), the nature of weapons, equipment, and personal items associated with opposing forces as well as domestic and military objects associated with villages, encampments, ancillary sites. Historical sources can also provide important information on historic terrain such as rivers, streams, swamps, woods, and trails. Secondary sources such as town histories are often overlooked in battlefield research but often provide information not necessarily found in the primary records because of the author's familiarity of the author with local events, history, terrain, and oral traditions. Town histories as well as larger works on the history of King Philip's War can also provide important perspectives on particular events or battles.

Native American tribal consultants, cultural specialists, and historians often bring a unique cultural perspective to battlefield projects because of their familiarity with relevant primary sources, but can also draw upon a rich oral tradition as well. In previous battlefield projects participation and regular input from tribal representatives was key for understanding battle events and the eventual reconstruction of the battlefield

There are a number of institutions, archives, and repositories which contain information on King Philip's War generally, and the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut specifically. These institutions include but are not limited to the Massachusetts State Archives, Connecticut State Archives, Connecticut Historical Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Forbes Library, Kew National Archives of London, London Metropolitan Archives, and New Braintree Historical Society of Massachusetts just to name a few. Previous experience researching King Philip's War battlefields indicates that many of the primary sources have been partially transcribed and published (e.g. Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, Military Papers of the State of Massachusetts). However, over the last ten years Battlefield Staff have spent time extensively locating (in the United States and abroad), cataloging and transcribing contemporary King Philips War documents.

The final phase will be to integrate the findings of the military and Colonial history and historical archaeological research (see below) to evaluate the military significance of terrain associated with the develop KOCOA.

Task 3: Conduct Historical Archeological Research:

Historic and archaeological research will be conducted to identify significant terrain features associated with the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut to identify potential avenues of approach and retreat, battlefield locations, locations of villages, encampments, and ancillary sites. Land records can be very useful in this respect as they may refer to battlefield locations and events, trails or paths, and significant terrain features such as hills, swamps, streams, and rivers. Archaeological collections in various repositories and in private hands may also provide important clues to battlefield sites and other locations. Repositories, museums, and historical societies which contain artifacts from the Turner's Falls area in their collections include but are not limited to the Springfield Museum and Science Center, American Indian Research Institute (previously the American Indian Archaeological Institute), University of Massachusetts and New Braintree Historical Society, New Braintree, Massachusetts. An additional source of information are the metal detecting enthusiasts and metal detecting clubs

whose members often have knowledge of battlefield locations and associated sites from the recovery of seventeenth century military and domestic objects such as lead musket balls, brass arrow points, brass beads, etc.

Individuals with knowledge and perspectives on the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut will be identified and consulted, as well as the descendants and descendant communities of the Native and English combatants. Local historical societies and institutions such as the Montague Historical Commission, Historic Deerfield, Town of Gill Historical Commission, Town of Greenfield Historical Commission, and the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association will be invaluable sources of information on relevant historical sources and artifact collections, and to identify individuals with an interest in and knowledge of the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. Previous experience in the Pequot and King Philip's War battlefield projects has demonstrated rich oral traditions among both the English and Native descendants are often associated with Seventeenth Century battlefields. This is particularly true with respect to Native American communities not only because of the importance of oral traditions in Native communities as history, but because King Philip's War continues to be part of the living memory of many native people in southern New England.

Following this phase of research, relevant information will be assessed and synthesized to identify potential avenues of approach and withdrawal, and the locations of battles, actions, villages, encampments, and ancillary sites. A windshield and walkover survey of these areas will then be conducted to test the "fit" between the information obtained from primary and secondary sources and informants, and the terrain features on the landscape. It is preferable and necessary for the battlefield research team to be accompanied by knowledgeable individuals and tribal representatives during this phase of research.

The final phase of research will be to integrate the findings of the military and colonial history research and historical archaeological research to evaluate the military significance of the terrain associated with the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut using a military terrain model KOCOA.

Task 4: Coordinate Tribal History Research

Tribal oral histories and perspectives regarding King Philip's War generally, and the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut specifically are extremely valuable sources of information regarding battle events from a Native American perspective. Native histories and perspectives are generally lacking from Euro-centric accounts of the battle and it is often difficult to obtain Native accounts and perspectives as they are not often recorded except from a Colonial perspective. Tribal historians and cultural specialists have the benefit of integrating the historical record with tribal oral traditions which result in a perspective not available in most published accounts. This information and perspective is invaluable for understanding and reconstructing battlefield events. The histories of the battle prepared by tribal historians and cultural specialists will be integrated into a battlefield timeline and KOCOA analysis. In addition ongoing meetings and conversations with tribal historians, including field walks, will also prove invaluable to understanding the specifics and broader context of the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. Tribal representatives/historians/cultural specialists will also participate in the production and editing of the final technical report. Unedited tribal histories of the battle and related events will also be included in the final technical report.

Task 5: Coordinate a Public Planning Process.

Public informational meetings are one of the most critical aspects of battlefield projects. Informational meetings directly involve the stakeholders (e.g. general public, landowners, historical societies, etc.) in the process of battlefield research and reconstruction. The Town of Montague identified three meetings be held, the first to present the goals of the project, the second to solicit public comment on the draft technical report, and the third to present the final report. Informational meetings, if widely advertised, are also effective ways of soliciting information from collectors and knowledgeable individuals and obtaining additional perspectives on battlefield events. As it is anticipated that fieldwork may follow the conclusion of this phase of battlefield research, an additional consideration is to hold landowner information meetings, once individual landowners have been identified within the battlefield Core Areas. The key to

success of informational meetings is advertising and notification in a number of media, including, newspapers, twitter feeds, newsletters of local historical societies, and direct mailings of appropriate. The MPMRC maintains a website for their Battlefields of the Pequot War and King Philip's War which has been very successful in disseminating information and soliciting comments and information from the general public. The MPMRC website could be amended to include the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut and/or a page could be created on the town's website or a designated historical society.

Task 6: Prepare GIS map of project area using NPS battlefield survey data dictionary. Data gathered from GIS survey should correlate with historical descriptions of action during the battle

A GIS map of battle terrain and cultural features will be generated and georeferenced to 7 ½ minute series U.S.G.S. topographic maps. precise geographic locations of battlefields, villages, encampments, artifacts (if applicable) and cultural and terrain features will be integrated into a GIS data base of the battlefield Study Area. The data base may include, but not be limited to terrain cultural and terrain features: property information (i.e. boundaries, ownership, structures), and modern features such as roads, aerial photographs, disturbed areas, and battle-related artifacts and features if appropriate.

Task 7: Prepare a Final Technical report and Final Performance Report

The Final Technical report and Performance Report will include the following if applicable:

I. Introduction

- a. Description of project and short summary of findings
- b. Purpose, goals, and objectives of battlefield surveys
- c. Project Scope and Objectives
- d. Project History

II. Brief Descriptive History and Significance of King Phillip's War & Battle at Great Falls

III. Methodology: informant interviews, documentary history, terrain analysis & tribal oral history

IV. Results of Historical Research

- a. Archeological collections and historical archaeology
- b. Military History

c. Tribal Histories (to be presented as separate narratives produced and approved by each participating tribe's historic preservation officer)

V. Results of Public Outreach

VI. Synthesis: Identification of probable battlefield areas

VII. Research Design for Future Battlefield Verification

VIII. Provisional Long-Range Protection Plan

IX. Conclusions

X. References

XI. Various appendices including project correspondence, news releases, newspaper and magazine articles, meeting announcements, etc.

Task 8. Coordinate with various municipal and state agencies, and the Battlefield Advisory Board. Periodic meetings as needed will be held with the Battlefield Advisory Board as well as local, and state if needed. Regular updates on the progress of the battlefield survey will be provided to the Battlefield Advisory Board.

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