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43 N.E.H. Hull. *Female felons: women and serious crime in colonial Massachusetts*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987. ISBN 0-252-01315-8. • Detailed examination of treatment of

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still seemed friendly to the English, but a year later Sassamon seems to have left the Wampanoags, and Philip made hostile statements regarding the English.

In 1671 the Wampanoags seemed to be preparing for war. Philip actually admitted this to the Plymouth leaders, but instead of war the sachem chose peace. However, the Treaty of Taunton, signed in April 1671, actually worsened relations because of a dispute over its interpretation. To save the peace, Eliot sent some emissaries, including Sassamon, to Philip. Sassamon reported to the English that Philip was seeking help from the Narragansett tribe, a necessary step for war. Eliot's suggestion of arbitration was accepted by both Plymouth and Philip. But all the arbitrators were English, and they found for Plymouth. In September 1671 Philip—opposed now by Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth—signed a harsh treaty that placed him under the control of Plymouth and forced him to pay a very heavy fine.

During late 1674 Sassamon visited Philip's encampment near Middleborough in the Plymouth colony. Sassamon warned the colonists that the Wampanoags were again getting ready for war, but he was not believed. Soon after, in January 1675, Sassamon was killed by Wampanoags who hated him. Another Indian informed on the murderers. Tried in June 1675 by Plymouth, they were found guilty by separate English and Indian juries and executed. Philip, however, denied that he was involved in Sassamon's murder.

Youthful Wampanoag warriors were infuriated by the execution of their comrades and demanded that Philip go to war. Other tribes were recruited. Still, Philip seems to have been reluctant to risk war. When, in June 1675, John Easton of Rhode Island suggested a fair arbitration—two arbitrators, one of whom would be Indian—Philip was evidently interested. But the Wampanoag advocates of war opposed the idea and appear to have decided to prevent arbitration by having the English start hostilities. Wampanoags came to the community of Swansea and began looting. When a colonist shot and killed one of the looters, King Philip's War (1675–1676) commenced.

At the outbreak of hostilities, Philip and his tribe were on the Mount Hope peninsula. Realizing that a colonial expedition was going to attack, the Indians avoided their enemies and removed themselves to the Pocasset swamp. In July 1675 the Wampanoags were attacked there, but the colonists decided upon a siege. The Indians easily avoided their foes by using rafts to traverse the Taunton River.

Philip's retreat continued. On 1 August he and his followers were at Nipsachuck Hill. Discovered by a force of colonists and allied Indians, Philip managed to avert a complete disaster because his enemies lost the element of surprise. The Wampanoag casualties were about fifty men despite Philip's retreating once more.

By the end of 1675 Philip decided to leave New England. His warriors had been reduced to about one hundred, due to losses in battle and to disease (especially influenza and smallpox). The morale of the

Wampanoags had declined too. Needing a respite, Philip and his followers moved into New York. Its governor, Edmund Andros, refused to tolerate their presence and urged the Iroquois to drive them away. During March 1676 the Iroquois attacked the Wampanoags, who then left New York.

Bravely changing tactics, Philip returned to Mount Hope, where he would meet his fate. Benjamin Church, who was an effective soldier, knew that area well. He had been successful in convincing the Saco-nett Indians and others to leave the ranks of Philip's supporters and ally themselves to him. Aided by these Indian colleagues, Church began to hunt Philip down.

In July 1676 Church captured Philip's wife and son. Soon after, the despondent Philip shot one of his warriors. The man's brother would lead Church to the sachem, and on 12 August 1676 Church and his forces attacked Philip's encampment. Philip was shot and killed by an Indian named Alderman, and the corpse was drawn, quartered, and beheaded. Philip's head was placed upon a pole at Plymouth, where it served as a grisly reminder of the war.

King Philip's War slowly came to an end after the sachem's death. Some Indians were executed for their part in the fighting. Others, including Philip's son, were sold into slavery abroad, even to Africa. The Wampanoag tribe was destroyed. Even Christian Indians who had backed the colonists suffered. Many colonists, angered by the heavy death toll of King Philip's War, grew to hate all Indians, irrespective of their religion.

Much confusion has arisen over what name to use for Philip and the war. The sachem's earlier name, Metacom, is preferred by some authors, but the sachem himself abandoned it. Indians commonly renamed themselves, and in 1674 he was calling himself Wewasowannett. Furthermore, the colonists were not ridiculing Philip when they referred to him by a European royal title. John Josselyn, who was sympathetic to the Indians, called the sachem "Prince Phillip" in his *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (1674). In addition, the term "King Philip's War" acknowledges Philip's great importance in the history of colonial New England. Therefore both King Philip and King Philip's War are acceptable usages.

• Philip was illiterate, so there are only a few letters. See Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 1st ser., 2 (1793): 40, and 6 (1799): 94. Another letter is in Great Britain, Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies* (1880), vol. for 1661–1668, p. 380. The *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth* are essential. All contemporary accounts must be used cautiously, but see Benjamin Church, *Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War* (1716); Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England* (1676); and William Hubbard, *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England* (1677). John Easton's narrative is in Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675–1699* (1913). There is no modern scholarly biography. His ancestry is given in Betty Groff Schroeder, "The True Lineage of King Philip (Sachem Metacom)," *New England Historical and Genealogical Regis-*

ter, 144 (1990): 211–14. Alden T. Vaughan, *New England Frontier*, rev. ed. (1979), is the best work for the years before the war. Douglas E. Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk* (1958), is the most thorough military history of the war itself. Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America* (1975), criticized Vaughan and Leach for being too favorable to the colonists. Jennings, in turn, has been criticized by Philip Ranlet, "Another Look at the Causes of King Philip's War," *New England Quarterly*, 61 (1988): 79–100, and others for being too favorable to the Indians.

PHILIP RANLET

PHILIPS, John Finis (31 Dec. 1834–13 Mar. 1919), jurist, was born near Thralls Prairie in Boone County, Missouri, the son of John G. Philips and Mary Copeland, farmers. He was educated in both public and private schools. Philips attended the University of Missouri in 1851–1852, then transferred to Centre College of Kentucky, where he received his degree in the spring of 1855. He returned to Missouri and read law, first independently at home, then under the tutelage of the respected General John B. Clarke in Fayette. In 1857 he married Fleecie Batterton; they had two children. Admitted to the bar in 1857, Philips began his practice in Georgetown. His success as an attorney and his oratorical skills brought him political recognition, and he served as a delegate to the state convention of 1861, at which Missouri's response to the nation's division over slavery was debated. A Union supporter, Philips was appointed by the governor to organize a northern cavalry regiment. The Seventh Missouri Cavalry gained recognition for battles in its home state and in Arkansas, and Colonel Philips was brevetted brigadier general. The permanent promotion fell through because of political reasons.

After the war, Philips resumed his legal practice in Sedalia, Missouri. In 1869 George G. Vest joined him in a partnership that soon gained a reputation as one of the leading law firms in the state. Philips and Vest, along with F. M. Cockrell and T. T. Crittenden, all attorneys and Democratic party leaders, became known as "the Big Four," handling most of the major legal cases in Central Missouri.

Meanwhile, Philips's involvement in politics continued. He ran for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1868 but lost the election. He ran again in 1874 and was elected, serving in the Forty-fourth Congress (1875–1877). His congressional committee duties included investigating the Samuel Tilden–Rutherford B. Hayes presidential electoral vote controversy. He was also elected to complete the unexpired term of Alfred M. Lay in the Forty-sixth Congress following Lay's death, but Philips lost his bid for reelection in 1880.

Moving to Kansas City, Missouri, Philips briefly resumed work as an attorney. Although rarely involved in criminal cases at this point in his career, he impressed some and outraged others by agreeing to defend the infamous outlaw Frank James (brother of Jesse James), who was tried for murder and robbery in Gallatin, Missouri, in 1883. James sent a friend to per-

sonally request Philips's services, gratis, as a demonstration that all people deserve a strong defense and a fair trial. Philips's oratorical eloquence is often cited as the reason for James's acquittal in the case.

In 1883 Philips was appointed one of three supreme court commissioners who aided the Missouri Supreme Court. After two years as a commissioner, he was appointed to the Kansas City Court of Appeals, serving from 1885 to 1888. He wrote more than 400 judicial opinions during his five years on the commission and the court of appeals, distinguishing himself for "his great capacity for work, the variety of his legal information, and the completeness of his opinions, which are marked by a strong individuality and the courage of his convictions" (Scott, p. 582).

In 1888 President Grover Cleveland appointed Philips judge of the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Missouri, a position he held until his retirement. Among the notable cases argued before Philips was the *Temple Lot* case, in which Philips's decision established the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints as the "true successor" of the original "Mormon" religion organized by Joseph Smith.

In addition to his judicial and political activities, Philips served as a delegate to the Pan Presbyterian Convention in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1877, developed a reputation as a raconteur from his frequent appearances as an after-dinner speaker, and contributed articles to the *Missouri Historical Review* as a member of the state historical society. Following his retirement from the federal bench in 1910, he occasionally served as a legal consultant and lecturer. He died during a visit to Hot Springs, Arkansas.

A historian once described Philips as "an exposé of the grotesque reconstruction government in South Carolina, opponent of the tariff, master of the technical side of the law, and wit and story teller of note" (*Missouri Historical Review* 36: 31). His willingness to handle the defense of the publicly reviled James in order to guarantee the right of all people to justice was indicative of his lifelong refusal to back down from controversial causes. Although never a figure of national renown, Philips commanded respect within his own state as one of the Big Four. His association with several notable legal cases as well as his years issuing hundreds of less notorious legal decisions at the appellate level secure his place in the legal history of the Midwest during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

• The most detailed treatments of Philips's life and work are in Henry W. Scott, *Distinguished American Lawyers, with Their Struggles and Triumphs in the Forum* (1891), and Floyd C. Shoemaker, "In Memoriam: Judge John F. Philips," *Missouri Historical Review* 13 (1919): 282–86. Fuller accounts of two of Philips's most notable cases are George Miller, Jr., *The Trial of Frank James for Murder* (1898), which includes the closing speeches to the jury by Philips and the state prosecutor; *Decision of John F. Philips, Judge, in the "Temple Lot" Case* (1894); and *The "Temple Lot" Case* (1964). Obituaries are in the *Kansas City Star*, 13 and 14 Mar. 1919.

JULIE A. THOMAS