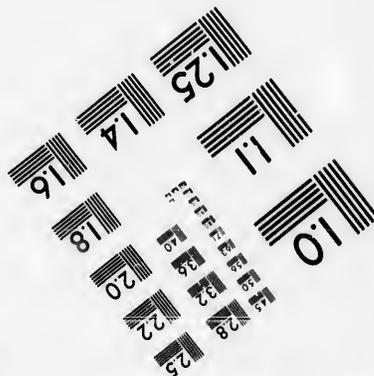
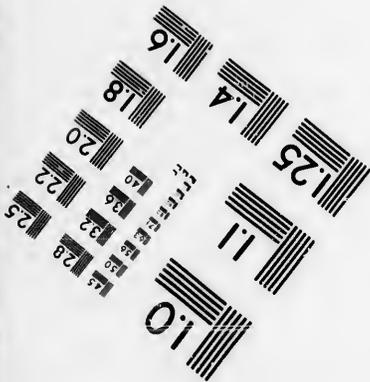
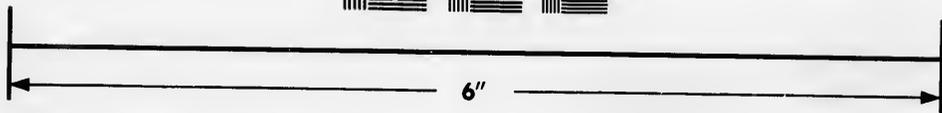
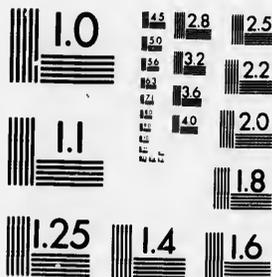


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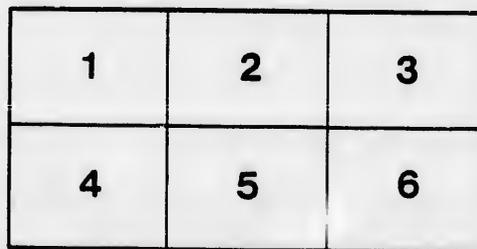
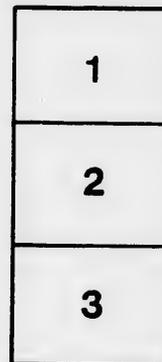
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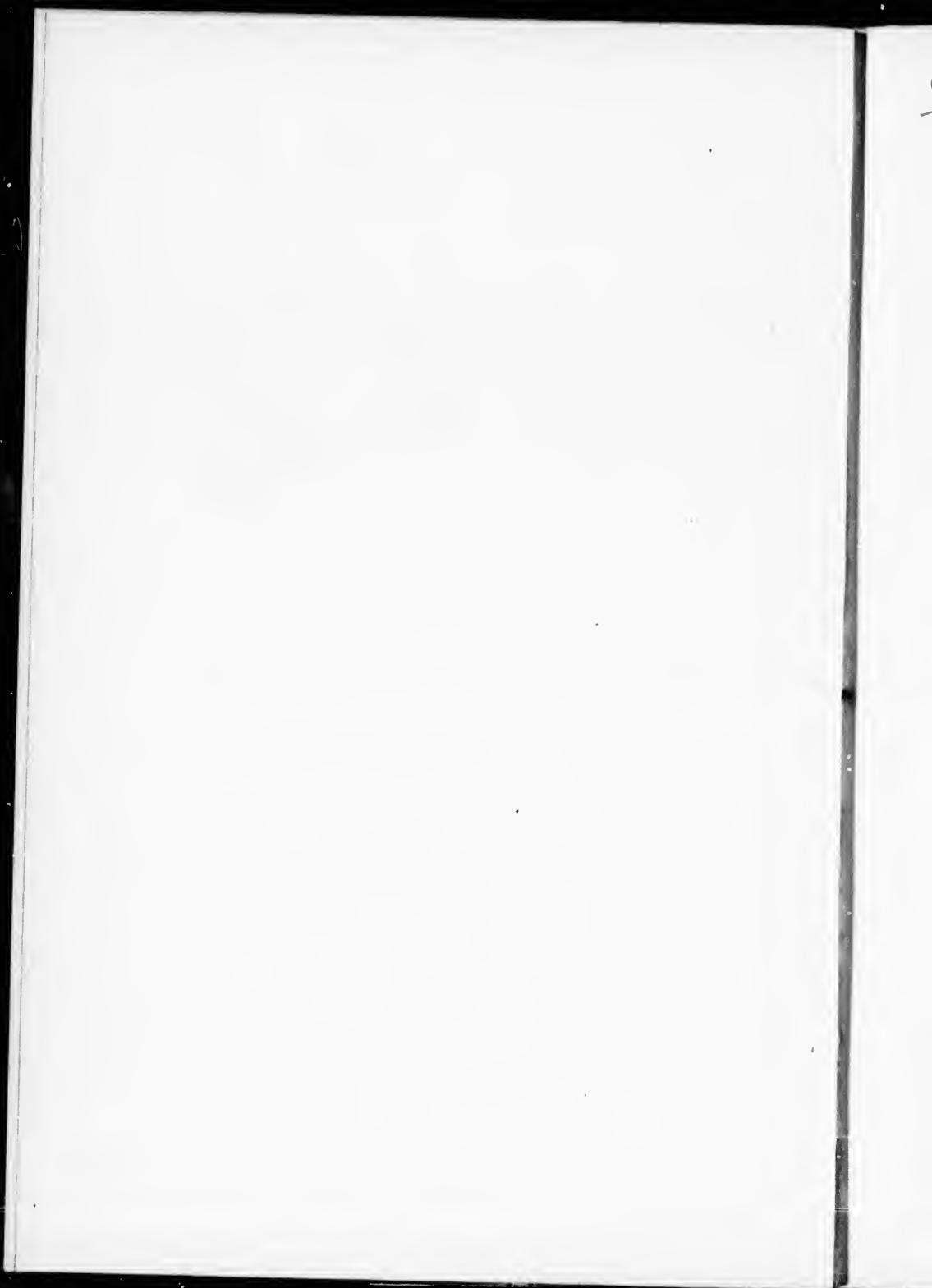
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GROTON

DURING

THE INDIAN WARS.

BY

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D.



GROTON, MASS.

1883.

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TO

The Memory

OF THE

BRAVE MEN AND HEROIC WOMEN

WHOSE HOMES WERE DESTROYED, WHOSE KINDRED WERE SLAIN, AND WHOSE
CHILDREN WERE CARRIED INTO CAPTIVITY, DURING THE
SEVERAL ASSAULTS ON THE TOWN BY
THE INDIANS,

THIS ACCOUNT OF THEIR SUFFERINGS

Is Inscribed

BY THE AUTHOR.



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CHAPTER I.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.

I.

THE early settlers of Groton encountered many trials and privations in planting the town. The men worked hard in felling trees and breaking ground, and the women toiled faithfully in their rude homes. They were used to hardships, and took them with Christian resignation. Their daily life taught them the true principles of philosophy. They lived on the rough edge of civilization, and nothing stood between them and an unbroken wilderness. These pioneers were a devout people; and the strength of their religious belief is shown in no way so clearly as in the fortitude with which they met their lot in life. The prowling Indians were their neighbors, whose movements required careful watching. There were families of savages scattered along the interval land of the Nashua Valley, from Lancaster to the Merrimack River, who at times annoyed the settlers by killing pigs and stealing chickens. Judging from the number of stone implements found in the neighborhood, there was an Indian village just above the Red Bridge, on the west side of the river. It probably consisted of a few families only, belonging to the Nashua Tribe, as they were called by the English. Like all their race these Indians were a shiftless people, and often

changed their abodes, going hither and thither, as they found good hunting-grounds and fishing-places. They bartered skins and furs with the planters; and so much business was carried on in this way, that the government sold to individuals the right to trade with them. As early as July, 1657, Mr. John Tinker, one of the original selectmen of the town, appointed by the General Court, paid eight pounds for the privilege of trafficking with them at Lancaster and Groton. A few of these natives knew a little English, which they had picked up from contact with the whites. Gookin refers to them in his "History of the Christian Indians," when he speaks of "some skulking Indians of the enemy, that formerly lived about Groton, the principal whereof was named Nathaniel, he and his party did this and other mischief afterward, in burning several houses at Chelmsford."¹ This Nathaniel was taken subsequently at Cocheco, now Dover, New Hampshire, and hanged in Boston. Some of these vagrants took an active part in the burning of Groton during King Philip's War. The leader of the savages at this assault was John Monaco, or Monoco, nicknamed "One-eyed John," from the loss of an eye. After he had taken by stratagem a garrison-house, he entered into a long conversation with Captain Parker, who was stationed in another house near by, and called him his *old neighbor*. From this fact I infer that "One-eyed John" knew Captain Parker, and had previously lived in the vicinity. Warfare among the aborigines did not require generalship so much as knowledge of places; and the head of an assaulting party was one familiar with the clearings and the lay of the land in the threatened territory. During the ensuing autumn this leader was brought to the gallows in Boston, where he suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

The Indians soon acquired from the English the love of strong drink, which is sure to lead to disputes and quarrels.

¹ Archaeologia Americana, II. 471.

The earliest documents at the State House, relating to Groton and the savages, give an account of a drunken brawl which ended in murder. The affair took place in the Merrimack Valley, and several men of this town were summoned to appear as witnesses at the investigation before the General Court in Boston. In the spring of 1668 Captain Richard Waldron built a trucking or trading house at Penacook, now Concord, New Hampshire, where a few weeks later one Thomas Dickinson was murdered by an Indian while under the influence of liquor. The homicide created great excitement, and it has been supposed to have delayed the permanent settlement of the place for many years. A warrant was issued directing the constable of Groton to summon John Page, Thomas Tarbell, Jr., Joseph Blood, and Robert Parish, all of this town, before the General Court in order to give their testimony, which they did under oath. It appeared by the evidence that there had been a drunken row, and that Dickinson was killed by an Indian, who acknowledged the crime and expressed great sorrow for it, but pleaded drunkenness in extenuation of the deed. The culprit was tried at once by a council of the Indians, who sentenced him to be shot, which was done the next day. It is interesting now to note the high temperance stand taken, more than two hundred years ago, by the Chief Tohaunto, which places him abreast of the most earnest opposers of the rum traffic at the present time.

Throughout this narration I purpose to give, as far as practicable, the exact language of the men connected with the events; and for this reason many original documents are printed in full. Some of the papers relating to the affair at Penacook are as follows:

To the Constable of Groton

These. Require yoⁿ in his Maj^{ty}'s name, to sumone & require John Page & such othe^r of y^e toune y^t went vp to Inquire for y^eir catle. at

Pemicook presently on the death of the Englishman murdered by y² Indians there lately in a drunken fitt. as is sayd & others y^t yo^a know to make their Appearances before the Generall [Court] now sitting in Boston on 27th Instan^t. at eight of y^e clocke in the morning to give in their evidences in y^e Case relating to y^e sd murthe^r & y² occasion thereof by selling strong liquo^s & by whom as they know or have heard making yo^r return of this warrant to the Secretary at or before y^t time hereof yo^a are not to faile dated in Boston. the 15th of Octobe^r 1668.

By the Court EDW: RAWSON Serē^t

[Endorsed]

These three men namely John Page Thomas an Robard
 Tarball Jun^r & Joseph Blood are Summanced Parish
 to appear^e at the Generall Court, according to the premises :
 by mee MATTHIAS FARNWORTH
 Constable of Grawton

To the Constable Grawten

[Massachusetts Archives, XXX. 155.]

The words "an Robard Parish" appear in the original, in one corner of the writing, as given above. They were evidently put in after the document was written.

The Deposition of Danll Waldron being called to speak what I know about the Death of Thomas Dikison who was killed by an Indian as they say: my selfe with many others was sent up by my father to see the corps and enquire into his death when we came there we found the man dead and an Indian lying dead by him and examining the Indians how he came by his death they said the Indian that lay dead by him killed him with his knife: and enquiring further why he killed him the Indians told us they asked him and he gave them no answere but bid them shoott him: and further enquiring whether the Indian were Drunk they answered that he was not Drunk and after this we saw him buried presently, and we returned home the next Day

This was taken vpon oath: this 20: {of y^e 8:} mō 1668 before vs

SIMON WILLARD
 W^m HATHORNE

[Massachusetts Archives, XXX. 157.]

Wee whose names are herevnto subscribed doe testifye that in or aboute y^e Month of June last past going to Pennycooke to enquire after Cattle yt were lost, rideing to y^e ffort at the sayd Pennicooke, meeteing wth some of the Indians belonging thereto told us, y^t an Englishman was Killed by an Indian, and that all our Englishmans Laws they had Killed the Indian, wee farther enquireing of them how and whether the Indians were drunck when the Englishman was Killed, and they answered all Indians were then drunck or else they had noe Kild Englishman; And farther wee Evidence Tohaunto a Sagamore being afrayd that wee had brought Liquors to sell desired us if wee had aay, that wee would power it vppon the ground for it would make ye Indians all one Divill, And farther wee meeteing wth Thomas Payne, who told us he was Cap^t Waldern's serv^t, asking him whether the Indians were druncke when the Englishman was Killed, and he answered not drunck; and after farther discourse wth ye sd Payne he sayd that ye pson that was Killed was Peter Coffins man and farther sayd that if the Killing of the Man did not prevent it his the sayd Paynes Master Capt Walderne and Peter Coffin did intend to send Carpenters to build there and also to have ground broake vpp to be improved, and wee farther affirme that wee saw a Rundlett which would hold at least six Gallons in the Trucking House near the sayd ffort; after wch wee meeteing wth the Indians then there, and telling them yt Thomas Payne told us that they were not drunck when The Englishman was Killed the Indians then sayd yt Payne much Lyed, for wee had Divers Quarts of Liquors the same day that the sayd Englishman was Killed upon and one of the Indians Co^mmanded his Squagh to wash a Bladder, wherein the Indian sayd there was a Quart of Liquors and wee doe adjudge it to be as much; or using words to the same effect

Octob^r 27th 1668

Sworne in Court, 27, octobe^r 1668:

EDW: RAWSON Sec^{ret}

JOHN PAGE

ROBB PARRE:

THOMAS TARBALL

JOSEPH BLOUD

[Massachusetts Archives, XXX. 161.]

During a series of years before King Philip's War the Indians had been supplied with arms and ammunition,

though this was contrary to the laws of the colonies. The French in Canada and the Dutch in New York had carried on considerable traffic with the natives in these contraband articles; and occasionally some avaricious settler would barter with them, giving powder and shot in exchange. The possession of firearms made the Indians bold and insolent, and the tendency of events was toward open hostilities. This tendency was strengthened by a feeling of suspicion on the part of the colonists, and by one of jealousy on the part of the savages. Distrust always grows out of suspicion, and the fears of the settlers began to be excited when they thought of their exposed situation. Under these circumstances, it was wise to prepare for all emergencies; and at an early day a military company was organized in this town. The following entry is made in the manuscript records of the General Court during the session beginning May 6, 1673: —

James Parker of Groaten having had the care of the military Company there for seuerall yeares. is Appointed & ordered to be their leiftennant & W^m Larkin to be ensigne to the sajd Company there

[General Court Records, IV. 718.]

The two officers of this organization were each promoted one grade during the next autumn, which would indicate that the company was filling up in numbers. At the session of the General Court beginning October 15, 1673, the record reads:

The military Company of Groaten being destitute of military officers The Court Judgeth it meet to choose & Appoint James Parker to be their captane W^m Lakin to be leiftennant & Nathaniel Lawrence to be their ensigne

[General Court Records, IV. 726.]

Before this time there had been in Middlesex County a company of troopers, or cavalry, made up of men living

in the frontier towns, of which Groton was one—as mentioned in the General Court Records of October, 1669.

One of the prominent men in the history of the Colony at this period was Major Simon Willard. A native of England, he came to Massachusetts in the year 1634. He had lived at Concord, Lancaster, and Groton, and in all these places exerted a wide influence. He had filled various civil offices, and in his day was a noted military man. His farm was situated at Nonacoicus, now included within the limits of Ayer; and his dwelling-house was the first building burned at the attack on Groton, March 13, 1676. During several months previously he had been engaged with his men in scouting along the line of frontier settlements and protecting the inhabitants. At this assault Major Willard came with a company of cavalry to the relief of the town, though he did not reach the place in time to be of service in its defence. He died at Charlestown, on April 24, 1676, a very few weeks after this town was abandoned. Benjamin Tompson, the earliest native American poet, pays the following tribute to his character, in a little pamphlet published during King Philip's War, and entitled "New England's Tears." It is certainly rude in expression, and probably just in its conception, but not accurate as to the date of his death:—

About this Time Died Major *Willard* Esq; who had continued one of our Senators many years, and Head of the *Massachuset* Bands. In 23 *April* 1676.

EPITAPHIUM.

*Great, Good, and Just, Valiant, and Wise,
New Englands Common Sacrifice :
The Prince of War, the Bond of Love,
A True Heroick Martial Dove :
Pardon I croud his Parts so close
Which all the World in measure knows,
We envy Death, and well we may,
Who keeps him under Lock and Key.*

His Praises will, or are more largely celebrated; but let this be accepted according to the Nature of my Writings, which are but Brief and General.

The first mention of anything in the town-records, relating to the Indians or the War, is the following: —

At a meeting of the select men July 2 July 22 75 a rat made for the defraying of the charge of the ware and put in to the hand of William Longley constable to gather the sume 23' 14' 4 added 7 shill more than the Just proportion

The mutterings of warfare were now beginning to be heard, and the colonists were looking for protection. Captain Parker writes to Governor Leverett, under date of August 25, 1675, that the inhabitants "are in a very great strait" and "much discouraged in their spirits;" that they want ammunition and twenty good muskets for their pikemen. The letter itself, with the quaint expressions of two centuries ago, gives a good idea of their narrow circumstances, and is as follows: —

To the honoured John Leucet Esquir Governour of the Massechusets collony

Honoured sir with the rest of your counsell I have made bold to enform your worships how the case stand with vs that the Indians are approach^d near to vs our scouts hau discouerd seuerall tracks very near the habetable parts of the town and one Indian they discouerd but escapt from them by skulking amongst the bushes and som of the Inhabitants of our town have heard them in the night singing and halloeing. which doe determin to vs their great height of Insolency: we are in a very great strait our Inhabitants are very much discouraged in their spirits and their by diseuaded from their callings I haue receiued 20 men from the worshipfull Major Wellard and Captain Mosselly men to help secur our town, but notwithstanding we are in a very weak capacity to defend ourselues against the Insolency and potency of the enemy if they shold appear in number and with that violenc that they did appear at quabog [Brookfield] the which the good lord forbid if it be his good pleasur, much honoured and

respected the good lord be with you In your consultations that you may vnderstand what to doe for your new england Israel at such a tim as this and in particular ourselues and for our dear neighbours at Lancaster vpon whom the enemy haue made an Inraid 6 persons are already found and buryed the 7th which they doe expect is kild is not as yet found you may be pleased to tak notice that we shall want ammunition spedily by reason that we hau parted with som to Cap^t Mosselly men and som we spent in the fight at quabog as also I hau suplyed the souldiers with aⁿmunition that were sent to me that was Employed in the seruice they hauing spent their ammunition If you could help vs with 20 good muskets for our pik men and I will return them again or else giu a valluable price for them in such pay as we can produce among ourselues not else at present but leaue you to the guidance of the God of heauen who is the only wise counsellor and remaine

Your seruant to coⁿiaund in any seruice to my power

JAMES PARKER Cap^t

from Groton

August 25 75

[Massachusetts Archives, LXVII. 244.]

A few days before the date of this letter, Captain Samuel Moseley writes from "Nashowah Allies Lankester: 16th Aug^t 1675" that, in accordance with instructions from Major-General Denison, he had sent "to Groatton: 12: men." These are among the ones alluded to in Captain Parker's letter, as having arrived to help secure the town. Captain Moseley further says:—

also last nightt about seaven A Clocke we martched Into Nashowah [Lancaster] where we are Att Presentt butt shall as soone as the Constable Hajth prest vs a dozen Horsses; Proceed for groatton & so to Chenceford; according to the ord's Majo^r Willerd gaue me yesterday Att Quoahbauge [Brookfield].

[Massachusetts Archives, LXVII. 239.]

The letter was written a few days after Major Willard and Captai Parker, both of Groton, had gone with forty-six men

and five Indians, to the rescue of Brookfield, on August 7, 1675, and just in the nick of time saved that town from massacre. An interesting account of this affair, written by Captain Thomas Wheeler, is found in the second volume of the "Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society." Captain Wheeler was a brave soldier, and severely wounded in that campaign. Evidently he could fight better than he could spell, judging from the following certificate: —

To the honored Governour & Councell of the Massathusets Colony in New England

These are to signifye that Cornellius Consert the Dutchman was vppon the Contryes Servis Att quabauge & by the Councle of warre there was sent out Cap^t of the forlorne And Afterward marched to Grotton & Chensford & According to my best Advice Continued in the Countryes servis six weekes Cornellius being Reddy to depart the Country & myselfe being here att boston the Major Willard being Absent I granted this ticket.

THOMAS WHEELER Cap^t

BOSTON October y^e 13
1675

[Massachusetts Archives, LXVIII. 7.]

In those days there was no physician here to offer his professional skill to the government in its time of need, and even a small military force was sure to require medical or surgical attendance. It therefore became necessary to impress into the public service a surgeon, as well as a horse with accoutrements, as we find from the following order: —

To the Constable of Boston.

These Require you in his Majes^{tyes} name forthwith to Impresse M^r W^m Haukins Chirurgeon: Immediately to prepare himself wth materials as Chirurgeon & to dispatch to Marlbury. to Capt Mosely & attend his motion & souldiers at Groaten. or elsewhere: for wch End you are

also to Impresse an able horse & furniture for him : to Goe : wth the post

Dated at *Boston* 17th August 1675 making Return hereof to the Secret^y

By y^e Council

EDW. RAWSON Secret^y

[Massachusetts Archives, LXVII. 241.]

The constable made the indorsement on the order that Dr. Hawkins was duly warned. According to Savage's Genealogical Dictionary he was a butcher, but in his will he is styled a surgeon, — a union of callings which is rather suggestive.

At this time King Philip's War had begun, and open hostilities had alarmed the inhabitants of the place. The Council passed an order on September 8, 1675, that Cornet Thomas Brattle and Lieutenant Thomas HENCHMAN should take fifty men, — of whom thirty were to come from Norfolk, then a different county from the present one, and twenty from Middlesex, — and place them in the garrisons at Dunstable, Groton, and Lancaster, in such proportions as they should deem expedient. The order is as follows:—

For Cornet Thomas Brattle & Lieutenant Thomas HENCHMAN

You are hereby impoured & appointed with a party of horsemen vnder your command, forthwith to march to Chelmsford to attend & put in execution the instructions following :

I first you are ordered with fifty soldiers that are appointed to meet you, at Leift HENCHMANS vizt thirty y^e are to come from the county of Norfolk & twenty out of the county of Middlesex, that are ordered to meet you at Groton these fifty men you are ordered to sett in garrisons in the frontier townes of Dunstable, Groton, and Lancaster &c in such proportion as in your discretion shal bee expedient placing them vnder the command of the cheefe military officers of each towne : giueing those officers direction : to joyne & lyst other meet persons of their owne companies with them, & order them euery day to surraund the townes y^e are to secure ; & if they can to carry doggs with y^m to search for & discouer any enimy that may aproch nere such towne &

at night to repaire vnto such corps du gaurd, as are appointed to them for the security of the s^t place, and there to keep watch by night ; & furthermore you are to declare vnto the Inhabitants of each Towne (you are herby orderd to garrison) that the Gouverno^r & council do expect their bee meet prouisions of victual made for the garrison soldiers herby ordered, at y^e charge of towne ; whch is not to bee brought vnto the acco^t of the publicke ; & if any town or people decline so to Doe so you are herby ordered not to leaue any soldiers with them.

Secondly you are further ordered, to Vse your best endeour to setle, compose & quiet matters respecting the indians our neighbors, particularly those that liue at Wamesit, Nashubah, & Malborough ; y^t you endeuer to put in execution the printed order, relating to those indians & particularly y^t you procure some english man or men to bee with y^m or at least, to visit y^m once a day to be as guardians for securing the english and indians, that neither the one or other may bee p*re*judiced or injured, & the council are willing to allow such person or p*er*sons a meet compensation for their seruice in y^t Employ. And concerning the Indians at Marlborow who are ordered to reside at Hassanamesit about twelue miles distant whether you are to order the cheefe officer of Malborow to conuey them, & if you can possibly procure, an english man or two to reside with them, at Hassanamesit according as the printed order proude but in case that can not bee obtained y^m those indians must be left at Hassanamesit with exp^{se} charge punctually to Obserue the printed order.

Lastly you are to endeauor either one or both of you (if it may bee) to gaine the Indian Sachem called Wannalanset to com in againe and liue at wamesit quietly [and] p*er*ceably ; you may promise him in the Councils name y^t if hee will returne & his people & liue quietly at Wamesit hee shal susteyne no p*re*judice by the english : only you are to p*ro*pose to him y^t he deliuer for a hostage to the english his sonne who shalbe wel vsed by vs, & in case hee come in & can bee gained then you are to impour him to informe the Pennakooke & Natacook indians & all other indians on the East side of Merrimack Riuer, that they may liue quietly & p*er*ceably in y^r places & shall not bee disturbed any more by the english prouided they do not assist or ioyne with any of our enimiy nor do any dammage or p*re*iudice to y^e english :

And hauing put in execution these instructions you are to returne home and giue an acco^t thereof to the Council.

And what euer is necessary for fulfilling these Instructions you are herby impowred by order of the Goũno^r & Councel to do it.

past by y^e Councel

8 September 1675

E R S.

[Massachusetts Archives, LXVII. 252.]

About this time the question of withdrawing a considerable force from the garrisons seems to have been considered; but a protest against such action was drawn up and signed by Simon Willard and three others, who were probably the officers in command. From the representation they made, it is not likely that any troops were taken away. The communication was as follows: —

Honerd Gentlemen the Gouvr^r & Councell

This afternoon, we had acordinge to your order, discourse with Capt Hincksman, in reference to his actings in his waye as to the comisione he recd frome you, he is to take: 80 men frome oure Garisons, that is all we haue or mor, & we: stand in neede of more but we dare not be so bold, our corne, that littill we haue, is time it weare gathered, but if our scouts be taken off heer is littill be gathered, & many will be hardly kept with vs, but will rune awaye frome all our townes, you hapily may thinke we are afrayd, we will not bost therabout, but we dare saye, our liues are not deare vnto vs, in any way that God shall call vs to, our thoughts are that it is not aduisable to march vp to penicooke wher ther are many Indians at the p'sent, yet many abroad about all our towns as apears dayly, but our p'sent thoughts are, that it might be for p'sent saftie for the country, that a Garison wear settled ouer Merrimake Riuer about donstable, that ther maye be enttercorse betwene our towns & that Garison, we haue apoyntted Capt Pakr & left Hinckesmen, who will relatte y^e things to giu you reall light, much further than is meet now to do, or then time will prmitt, we are not willinge to truble you any further, but rest your humble servants

GROATON this 25th: 7: 75

SIMON WILLARD,
SALOM^o ADAMES
JAMES PARKER:
JAMES KIDDER

[Massachusetts Archives, LXVII. 265.]

In the autumn of this year — October 27, 1675 — the town was assessed £11. 10s. as her rate to carry on the war; and, when paid in money, one quarter to be abated. (Archives, LXVIII. 29.) This amount appears to be in addition to the rate made at a general town meeting on July 22 of the previous summer.

It is evident, from an entry in the town-records, that there was about this time a slight lull in the local excitement. It is recorded: —

At a Generall Towne meeting held no- 8 1675 It was this day agreed vpon and by vote declared that there should be a committe chussen to treat with Mr Willard about sending down to the generall court to Enforme and supplicat to them that we may haue payd to vs what is our due from the countrey and also that the Billit of the soldiers may be vpon the countreys account and also agreed vpon that if this would not doe for to stand it out at law with them

and the committee chussen was Cap' Parker Leiftenant Lakin William Longley seni- John Page.

It will be seen by this vote that the inhabitants of the town did not now feel greatly alarmed; but one month later they had become more apprehensive of danger, as the following extract will show: —

At a Generall Towne meeting held Decem 9 75 It was this day agreed vpon and by vot declared that the soldiers that are still remaining in the town shalbe continued in the towne at the town charge till such tim as we heare a returne from the army goei[ng] against the naroganset and then the towne to meet againe to consider what is furdur to be done.

The ensuing winter must have been a hard one for the colonists, not only here but throughout New England. The Indians had burned some towns and threatened others, and it was a season of distrust and despair. The time was rapidly approaching when this place would suffer, and soon the stroke came. It seems from the following "request," now in

the possession of Dr. John S. H. Fogg, of South Boston, that the assault was not unexpected: —

*To the Hon^ord the Generall Co^t of the Massachusetts Colony,
in Æ:*

The humble request of the inhabitants of the Town of Groton,
humbly sheweth,

That Whereas in this day of Calamity & distresse, wee are fellow-sufferers with our brethren & neighbo's, in the sad & doleful consequences of the present unhappy warre; though wee have cause to adore & praise that mercy which hath preserved us from such desolation under which o' neere neighbo's are now bleeding; yet o' sufferings are such, as, except the Lord helpe, wee are sinking under. Esteeming it therefore o' duty to apply o'selves to yo' hono^r, whom wee account o' publicke fathers, & trust you will improve yo' wisdom & abilityes for us: wee doe earnestly crave o' present state to be considered, & weighed in a just balance; who are brought neere to utmost streights. The enemye (as we groundedly suppose) waiting an opportunity against us; the season of the yeere calling to employment, & hasting to passe away from us: ourselves brought into a narrow compasse, & ready to undergoe sore sufferings, by reason of necessary arising inconveniencies; o' provision neere consumed, & souldiers quartered amongst us hastening the expense of it; our wives & children, some removed, others removing; our cattel lying open to dayly hazards of being seized; These things portend to us a famine, & poverty, coming upon us with as great fury on the one hand, as the enemy on the other; & wee at the present are unable to be beneficial to the publicke & private interest incumbent upon us. Wee humbly, & upon o' knees crave yo' hono^r's direction & assistance in this case, as the Lord shall direct whither wee shall goe or stay, or what way we may be set in, & whereas we were summoned to send in o' deputy we did esteeme o' present state required the presence of o' souldiery at home, especially men in place & office with us: wee therefore, being small in number, & dayly waiting the approach of the enemye, have (not in any despising of authority) refrained from chusing one: & withal have chosen, o' Rever^d Pasto^r M^r Sam^uell Willard to present this o' humble request, & farther to expresse o' minds and humble desires, as occasion may present, & yo' hono^r's shall see meet to enquire into.

Commending you to the most hygh, & supplicating the God of heaven
to reveale counsell in this day of darknesse, & to make you instru-
ments of his glorye, & his peoples peace ; Wee rest,

Yo' hono^{rs}

From Groton this
Febr: 19. 75.

humble
Suppliants

SIMON WILLARD

JAMES PARKER :

[Superscription]

To the Hono^{ed} the Generall Co^t
of the Massachusetts Colony
Assembled in Boston
NE :

The following petition, sent to the Council then in session at Boston, was written four days before the burning of Lancaster, and five weeks before the destruction of Groton. The original paper, in the handwriting of the Reverend Samuel Willard, is now among the Shattuck Manuscripts in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Mr. Willard was the minister of Groton at that time, and the son of Major Simon Willard. The perilous condition of the frontier towns in the neighborhood is well portrayed in this document. Allusion is made to the sudden removal of the Wamesit Indians, — a friendly tribe living near the present site of the city of Lowell, — which created considerable alarm, as it was then feared that they had joined the enemy. It turned out, however, to be groundless, as they had gone into the wilderness only for a short time, in order to keep clear of the intricacies of King Philip's War.

To the hono^{ed} Council of the Massachusetts sitting in Boston.

The humble petition of us whose names are subscribed, humbly sheweth ;

That wheras it seemeth meet to yo' Worships to commend to o^r hon^{ed} Majo^r Willard, & impose upon him the mainteining a continued scout of forty troopers & Dragoons to range between Groton,

Lancaster, & Marlborough, for the securing of the interest of the Country in those parts; wee make bold humbly to p'sent o' conceptions upon that account: For Marlborough wee conceive the present supply left there in garison doe Answer the end more fully, & alsoe will render o' scout an unnecessary burden, for Lancaster & Groton, wee find by experience that o' safety is little advanced in this way, by reason of soe long absence, & soe great distance of this scout necessary in this method: besides the incumbrance lying upon us for quarters for horse & men, besides, the drawing up of o' men from severall Townes to such a limit, seemes to carry inconvenience with it, the Townes from whence o' forces are raised especially Chelmsford & Bellerikey, being weake & in want of more strength at home, & danger accruing to them, by the sudden and suspicious removall of the Wamassuk Indians, whose troopers doe hereupon desire a release; moreover the conceptions of the Townes related conceive humbly, that a scout of garrisoned souldiers, though of a lesse number, & those footmen, whom the Townes may out of themselves make Dragoons, by order frō authority, as occasion may present; would be more for the security of the Townes, besides the hazard in which so small a number must needs goe in, as wee have sufficient ground to suspect by experience, & many emergencyes which may suddenly fall out before addresse bee made to yo' Worships; wee humbly p'sent to yo' Hon's to consideration, & if it seeme Rationall, to alter, or adde to this matter according to yo' discretion.

Yo' Hono^{rs} humble suppliants:

JAMES PARKER:

THO: WHEELER

HENRY WOODIS

GROTON: Febr: 6. 1675.

[Endorsed]

Capt. Parke^r Wheeler & Woodys letter to y^e Couns'l Rec feb. 8. 1675.

[Superscription]

To the hono^{ed} the Councill of The Massachusetts sitting In Boston.

The following order, signed with the initials of Daniel Gookin and Thomas Danforth, the two members of the Council living in Cambridge, was issued during an emer-

gency, and subsequently approved by a majority of that body. The town was threatened, and there was no time for delay. Major Willard's quarters were at Nonacoicus, and it was to that place that Captain Cook and his command were ordered to go. It is highly probable that these Essex and Norfolk men formed a part of the force that came under Major Willard to the relief of the town, as mentioned by Mr. Hubbard in his Narrative.

To M^r Joseph Cooke

You are hereby ordered & impowred to take ye cōmand of the Dragoons & Troops, now Impressed out of Essex and Norff^e for the service of the Country, you are to conduct them vp to Major Willard, taking speciall care that they make no waste of their aḿunition, & demeane themselves silently & vigilantly, so as may be for their owne security, & gaineing an opportunity if providence put any, for distressing the enemy, & securing the English interest, all w^{ch} you are carefully to intend, and all the said soldjers, you are [to] take their names in a list, who are hereby required to obey you as their cōmander, & when you shall come to the Majors Quarters, you are required to attend his further order, & in so doing this shall be yo^r warrant, making returne to ye Councell of w^h you shall do herein.

By order of the Councill.

D. G.

T. D.

date in Cambr.

16. 1. 167⁵₆

Essex. 48.

Norff. 40.

The Council mett on the
16 : of March 1675 6.

And Approved of this Act of
Majo^r Gookin & M^r Danforth
as Attest E R S

p^sent

Gou^r

M^r BRADS'

M^r GOOKIN

M^r DNF^o

M^r STOUGHTON

M^r TYNG

Nearly one-and-twenty years had passed since the little settlement in the wilderness was begun, and Groton was fast approaching its majority. The new town had enjoyed a moderate share of prosperity, and was slowly working out its destiny. The founders were poor in this world's goods, but rich in faith and courage. They had now tasted the hardships of frontier life, but not as yet felt the horrors of savage warfare. The distant thunders of a threatening storm were beginning to be heard, and the occasional flashes put the early settlers on their guard. King Philip's War had broken out during the summer of 1675, and the outlying settlements were exposed to new dangers. The inhabitants of this town took such precautions as seemed needful, and trusted in Providence for the rest. They were just beginning to prepare for the work of another season, when a small band of prowling Indians alarmed the town by pillaging eight or nine houses and driving off some cattle. This occurred on March 2, 1676, and was a sufficient warning, probably, to send the inhabitants to the garrison-houses, whither they were wont to flee in time of danger. These places of refuge were usually houses surrounded by a strong wall of stone or timber, built up as high as the eaves, with a gateway, and port-holes for the use of musketry.

In Groton there were five such garrison-houses, and under their protection many a sleepless, anxious night was passed by the inmates. Four of these houses were very near each other, and the fifth was nearly a mile away. The sites of some of them are well known. One was Mr. Willard's house, which stood near the High School; another was Captain Parker's house, which stood just north of the Town Hall; and a third was John Nutting's house, on the other side of James's Brook. The fourth was probably north of John Nutting's, but perhaps south of Mr. Willard's. There is a tradition that one stood near the house formerly owned and occupied by the late Eber Woods, which would make the fifth garrison-house "near a mile distant from the rest." Richard Sawtell,

the first town-clerk, was living on this site at that time, and his house would have been a convenient rallying point for the neighbors. He probably was the Richard Sawtell who was a member of Major Appleton's company in this War.

It is recorded in the inventory of his estate, on file in the Middlesex Probate Office at East Cambridge, that Timothy Cooper,¹ of Groton, was "Sleine by the Indeins the Second day of march 1675-6." Cooper was an Englishman by birth, and lived, probably, somewhere between the present site of the Baptist meeting-house and the beginning of Farmers' Row. It is not known that there was other loss of life at this time, but the affair was serious enough to alarm the inhabitants. They sought refuge immediately in the garrison-houses, as the Indians were lurking in the vicinity. On March 9 the savages again threatened the beleaguered town, and, by a cunningly contrived ambush, managed to entrap four men at work, of whom one was killed and one captured, while the other two escaped. This second assault must have produced great alarm and consternation among the people of the town. The final and principal attack, however, came on the 13th, when the enemy appeared in full body, — thought to be not less than four hundred in number. The inhabitants at this time all were gathered into the several garrison-houses for protection. During the previous night the savages scattered throughout the neighborhood, and the first volley of shot on the morning of the 13th was the signal for the general burning of the town; and in this conflagration the first meeting-house of Groton was destroyed, together with about forty dwelling-houses. This building, erected at the cost of many and great privations, was the pride of the inhabitants. With its thatched roof it must have burned quickly; and in a very short time nothing was left but a heap of smoking embers. Although

¹ John Cooper, of Weston Hall, England, in his will, written November 21, 1654, and proved the next year, mentions his "brother Timothy Cooper now in New England," with children. The will is on file in the Registry of Probate, London.

it had never been formally dedicated to religious worship, it had been consecrated in spirit to the service of God by the prayers of the minister and the devotion of the congregation. In this assault John Nutting's garrison was taken by stratagem. The men defending it had been drawn out by two Indians, apparently alone, when the savages in ambush arose and killed one of the men, probably John Nutting himself, and wounded three others. At the same time the garrison-house, now defenceless, was attacked in the rear and the palisades pulled down, allowing the enemy to take possession. The women and children, comprising those of five families, escaped to Captain Parker's house, situated between James's Brook and the Town Hall.

There is a tradition, which is entitled to credence, that John Nutting was killed while defending his log-house fort during King Philip's War. His wife's name appears a few months later in the Woburn town-records as "Widow Nutting," which is confirmatory of the tradition.

II.

Several printed accounts of King Philip's War appeared very soon after it was ended, and these furnish nearly all that is known in regard to it. At that time there was no special correspondent on the spot to get the news; and, as the means for communication were limited, these narratives differ somewhat in the details, but they agree substantially in their general statements.

With the exception of Hubbard's Narrative, the contemporary accounts of this assault on the town are all short; and I purpose to give them, in the words of the writers, for what they are worth. The first is from "A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in Newe-England," by Increase Mather,

published in the year 1676. This account, one of the earliest in print, is as follows: —

March the 10th. Mischief was done, and several lives cut off by the *Indians* this day, at *Groton* and at *Sudbury*. An humbling Providence, inasmuch as many Churches were this day Fasting and Praying. (Page 23.)

March 13. The *Indians* assaulted *Groton*, and left but few houses standing. So that this day also another Candlestick was removed out of its place. One of the first houses that the Enemy destroyed in this place, was the *House of God, h. e.* which was built, and set apart for the celebration of the publick Worship of God.

When they had done that, they scoffed and blasphemed, and came to Mr. *Willard* (the worthy Pastor of the Church there) his house (which being Fortified, they attempted not to destroy it) and tauntingly, said, *What will you do for a house to pray in now we have burnt your Meeting-house?* Thus hath the enemy done wickedly in the Sanctuary, they have burnt up the Synagogues of God in the Land; they have cast fire into the Sanctuary; they have cast down the dwelling place of his name to the Ground. *O God, how long shall the Adversary reproach? shall the Enemy Blaspheme thy Name for ever? why withdrawest thou thine hand, even thy right hand? pluck it out of thy bosome.* (Page 24.)

Several accounts of the war appeared in London in 1676, only a few months after the destruction of this town. They were written in New England, and sent to Old England, where they were at once published in thin pamphlets. The authors of them are now unknown, but undoubtedly they gathered their materials from hearsay. At that time Indian affairs in New England attracted a good deal of attention in the mother country. One of these pamphlets is entitled: "A True Account of the most Considerable Occurrences that have hapned in the Warre between the English and the *Indians* in New England, . . . as it hath been communicated by Letters to a Friend in London." This narrative says: —

On the 13th of *March*, before our Forces could return towards our Parts, the *Indians* sent a strong party, and assaulted the Town of

Growthon, about forty miles North-west from *Boston*, and burn'd all the deserted Houses; the Garrison'd Houses, which were about ten, all escaped but one, which they carryed, but not the *English* in it; for there was but one slain and two wounded. (Page 2.)

Another account, entitled: "A New and Further Narration of the State of New England, being a continued account of the Bloody Indian-war," gives the following version: —

The 14th of *March* the savage Enemy set upon a Considerable Town called *Growthon*, and burnt Major *Wilberds* House first (who with his family removed to *Charls* Town) and afterwards destroyed sixty Five dwelling-houses more there, leaving but six houses standing in the whole Town, which they likewise furiously attempted to set on fire; But being fortified with Arms and Men as Garisons, they with their shot, killed several of the Enemy, and prevented so much of their designe; Nor do we hear that any person on our side was here either slain or taken captive. (Page 4.)

A few pages further on it says: "*Grantham* and *Nashaway* all ruined but one house or two." (Page 14.) Few persons would recognize this town under the disguise of *Grantham*.

A third one of these London pamphlets, bearing the title of "News from New-England," says: —

The 7th of *March* following these bloody *Indians* march't to a considerable Town called *Croaton* where they first set fire to Major *Wilberds* house, and afterwards burnt 65 more, there being Seaventy two houses at first so that there 'was left standing but six houses of the whole Town. (Page 4.)

The details of the burning of the town are found in "A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England," written by the Reverend William Hubbard, and printed in the year 1677. It is the fullest history of the events relating to Groton appearing near the time; and very likely many of the facts were obtained from the Reverend Mr. Willard. The

account is not as clear as might be desired, and contains some glaring discrepancies. It is as follows:—

March 2. They assaulted *Groton*: the next day over night Major *Willard* with seventy Horse came into the Town; forty Foot also came up to their relief from *Watertown*, but the Indians were all fled, having first burned all the Houses in the Town, save four that were Garisoned, the Meeting-house being the second house they fired, Soon after Capt. *Sill* was sent with a small Party of Dragoons of 8 Files to fetch off the Inhabitants of *Groton*, and what was left from the spoyle of the enemy, having under his conduct about sixty Carts, being in depth from front to reer above two mile: when a party of Indians lying in ambush, at a place of eminent advantage, fired upon the front and mortally wounded two of the vaunt Carriers, who dyed both the next night; and might (had God permitted) have done eminent damage to the whole Body, it being a full hour before the whole Body could be drawne up, which was done with care and Courage: but the Indians after a few more shot made. without doing harm, retired, and made no further assault upon them, being the same Party of *Indians* which the day before had burned some part of *Chelmsford*. Soon after this Village was deserted and destroyed by the enemy: yet was it a special providence, that though the carts were guarded with so slender a Convoy, yet there was not any considerable loss sustained.

The Surprizall of *Groton* was after this manner.

On *March, 2.* The Indians came in the night and rifled eight or nine houses and carried away some cattle, and alarmed the Town.

On *March, 9.* About ten in the morning a parcel of *Indians* (having two dayes lurked in the town, and taken possession of three out-houses and feasted themselves with corn, divers swine and poultry which they there seized) laid an ambush for two Carts, which went from their garison to fetch in some hay, attended with four men, two of which, espying the enemy, made a difficlt escape, the other two were set upon, and one of them slain, stript naked, his body mangled, and dragged into the high-way, and laid on his back in a most shamefull manner: the other taken Captive; and after sentenced to death, but the enemy not concurring in the manner of it, execution was deferred, and he by the providence of God escaped by a bold attempt the

night before he was designed to slaughter, and fled to the Garison at *Lancaster*, the cattle in both towns wounded, and five of them slain outright.

March, 13. Was the day when the enemy came in a full body, by their own account 400. and thought by the Inhabitants to be not many fewer. The town was at this time (having been put into a fright by the sad Catastrophe of *Lancaster* the next bordering town) gathered into five Garisons, four of which were so near together, as to be able to command from one to the other, between which were the cattle belonging to those Families driven into pastures, which afterward proved their preservation; the other was near a mile distant from the rest.

This morning the *Indians* (having in the night placed themselves in several parts of the town) made their Onset; which began near the four Garisons; for a body of them having placed themselves in *Ambuscado*, behind a hill, near one of the Garisons, two of them made discovery of themselves, as if they had stood upon discovery. At this time divers of the people, nothing suspecting any such matter, (for the day before, many had been upon discovery many miles, and found no signs of an Enemy being so near) were attending their occasions, some foddering their cattle, some milking their Cows, of whom the Enemy might easily have made a seizure, but God prevented; they having another design in hand, as soon after appeared: These two *Indians* were at length espyed, and the Alarm given; whereupon the most of the men in the next Garison, and some also of the second (which was about eight or nine pole distant) drew out and went to surprise these two *Indians*, who kept their station till our men reached the brow of the hill, then arose the ambush and discharged a volley upon them, which caused a disorderly retreat, or rather a rout, in which one was slain, and three others wounded: mean while another ambush had risen, and come upon the back side of the Garison so deserted of men, and pulled down the *Palizadoes*: The Souldiery in this rout, retreated not to their own, but passed by to the next Garison, the women and children meanwhile exposed to hazard, but by the goodness of God made a safe escape to the other fortified house without any harm, leaving their substance to the enemy, who made a prey of it, and spent the residue of the day in removing the corn and household-stuff (in which loss five Families were impoverished) and

firing upon the other Garison : here also they took some Cattle. No sooner was the signal given by the first volley of shot, but immediately in several parts of the town at once, did the smoakes arise, they firing the houses.

In the afternoon they used a stratagem not unlike the other, to have surprised the single Garison, but God prevented. An old *Indian* if an *Indian* passed along the street with a black sheep on his back, with a slow pace, as one decrepit : They made several shot at him, but missed him, at which several issued out to have taken him alive, but the Watchman, seasonably espying an ambush behind the house, gave the signal, whereby they were prevented.

The night following the enemy lodged in the town, some of them in the Garison they had surprized, but the Body of them in an adjacent valley, where they made themselves merry after their savage manner. The next morning they gave two or three Volleys at Capt. *Parkers* Garison, & so marched off, fearing as was thought that supply might be nigh at hand. This assault of theirs was managed with their wonted subtlety, and barbarous cruelty : for they stript the body of him whom they had slain in the first onset, and then cutting off his head, fixed it upon a pole looking towards his own land. The corpse of the man slain the week before, they dug up out of his grave, they cut off his head and one leg, and set them upon poles, and stript off his winding-sheet. A infant which they found dead in the house first surprized, they cut in pieces, which afterward they cast to the swine. There were about forty dwelling houses burnt at that time, besides other buildings. This desolation was followed with the breaking up of the town, and scattering of the Inhabitants, and removal of the Candlestick, after it had been there seated about twelve years.

Concerning the surprizing of *Groton, March 13*. There was not anything much more material, then what is already mentioned, save only the insolency of *John Monaco* or *one eyed John*, the chief Captain of the Indians in that design : who having by a sudden surprizal early in the morning seized upon a Garison house in one end of the Town, continued in it, plundering what was there ready at hand, all that day ; and at night did very familiarly in appearance, call out to Capt. *Parker* that was lodged in another Garison house, and entertained a great deal of Discourse with him, whom he called his *old Neighbour* : dilating upon the cause of the War, and putting an end

to it by a friendly peace : yet oft mixing bitter Sarcasmes, with several blasphemous scoffs and taunts at their praying and worshipping God in the meeting house, which he deridingly said he had burned. Among other things which he boastingly uttered that night : he said he burnt *Medfield* (though it be not known whither he was there personally present or no) *Lancaster*, and that now he would burn that Town of *Groton*, and the next time he would burn *Chelmsford*, *Concord*, *Watertown*, *Cambridge*, *Charlstown*, *Roxbury*, *Boston*, adding at last in their Dialect, *What Me will, Me do* : not much unlike the proud *Assyrian* (if his power had been equal to his pride) sometime threatned against *Jerusalem*, but was by the remarkable providence of God, so confounded within a few months after, that he was bereft of his four hundred and fourscore (of which he now boasted) and only with a few more Bragadozio's like himself, *Sagamore Sam*, *old Jethro*, and the *Sagamore* of *Quobaog* were taken by the English, and was seen (not long before the writing of this) marching towards the Gallows (through *Boston* Streets, which he threatned to burn at his pleasure) with an Halter about his neck, with which he was hanged at the Towns end, *September 26.* in this present year 1676. *So let thine Enemies perish O Lord*, and such contempt be poured on all them that open their mouthes to blaspheme thy holy Name.

Things looked with a pritty sad face about those parts at this time ; yet *though the Righteous fall seven times, let not their Enemies rejoyce, for the Righteous shall rise again, but their wicked Enemies shall fall into mischief, and rise no more.* It was ebbing water with *New-England* at this time, and a while after ; but God shall turn the stream before it be long, and bring down their Enemies to lick the dust before them.

After this *April 17.* Captain *Sill*, being appointed to keep *Garison* at *Groton*, some Indians coming to hunt for Swine, three Indians drew near the *Garison* house, supposing it to have been deserted, were two of them slain by one single shot made by the Captains own hands, and the third by another shot made from the *Garison.* (Pages 72-76.)

The following paragraph is taken from "A Table" in *Hubbard's Narrative*, and is found on the fourth page after page 132.

Groton, surprized *March 2.* as is related *pag. 60. & 61.* [72-76?] the place consisting of about 60. families, was soon after deserted, yet are there 14. or 15. houses left standing to this day, though not inhabited for the present. *pag. 73.*

I am inclined to think that the first paragraph in this account was written soon after the occurrence of the events, before the details were fully known, and that the remainder of the narrative was made up from more trustworthy sources. All after the second paragraph, beginning with "The Surprizall of *Groton*," is presumably accurate, and may have been written out after conference with persons knowing the facts. At any rate, the first paragraph is very confusing, and it is impossible now to explain the inconsistencies.

Mr. Butler, in his "History of *Groton*," has endeavored to reconcile them. He says: —

In order to make this narrative consistent with itself, as to time and a regular succession of events, as they happened, conjecture and explanations are necessary.

It seems there were three attacks upon *Groton*, one on the second of *March*, one on the ninth, and the third and principal one on the thirteenth. On the second of *March* they rifled houses, carried away cattle, &c.; on the ninth, feasted on swine, poultry, &c. killed one man, and made another captive, who afterwards escaped to *Lancaster*; and on the thirteenth they burnt the town, killed one man, and wounded three. After this, the inhabitants moved to *Concord*. The words in the first paragraph, under date of *March second*, "*the next day over night*," are evidently a misprint. Major *Willard*, with seventy horse, and forty foot from *Watertown*, could not have come to the relief of the town upon such short notice. Besides, it is said, "the Indians had all fled, having burnt all the houses in town, except four garrisons." Now this did not happen till the thirteenth. Suppose we read instead of "*next day over night*," next day fortnight; then would Major *Willard* have come on the seventeenth, when, to be sure, the Indians had all fled. The first paragraph gives only the general result of the principal attack, and the particulars of the removal of the inhabitants. Then, in the second paragraph, the author gives

the account of the first attack, and in the third paragraph, under date of March 9, the particulars of the second attack; the last clause in this paragraph seems to have no connection with the rest. Then follow the particulars of the third attack, on the thirteenth, and the departure of the enemy on the fourteenth. The "place of eminent advantage," where the Indians fired on the teams which were carrying off the inhabitants, under Captain Sill, is said to be "the ridges." (Pages 81, 82.)

The ambush, mentioned by Hubbard, — "Ambuscado," as he calls it, — lay probably back of the hill behind Governor Boutwell's house, and it was on the hill that the two Indians were discovered. The valley where the savages made themselves merry on the night after the assault may have been easterly of the cemetery.

The Indians were a cowardly set, and never attacked in open field. They never charged on works in regular column, but depended rather on craft or cunning to defeat their adversary. The red *hellhounds* — as they were sometimes called by our pious forefathers — were always ready to attack women and children, but afraid to meet men. The main body of the savages passed the night following the final attack in "an adjacent valley," which cannot now be easily identified, but some of them lodged in the garrison-house which they had taken; and the next morning, after firing two or three volleys at Captain Parker's house, they departed. They carried off a prisoner, — John Morse, the town-clerk, — who was ransomed a short time afterward. The following reference to him in an undated letter, written by the Reverend Thomas Cobbet to the Reverend Increase Mather, shows very nearly the time of his release: —

May y^r 12th [1676] Good wife Diuens [Divoll] and Good wife Kettle vpon ransom paid, came into concord. & vpon like ransom presently [a]fter John Moss of Groton & lieftenant Carlors [Kerley's] Daughter of Lancaster were set at liberty & 9 more w^out ransom.

[Mather Manuscripts in the Prince Collection, at the Boston Public Library, l. 76.]

The ransom for John Morse was paid by John Hubbard, of Boston, and amounted to "about five pounds." Morse's petition to the council, to have Hubbard reimbursed, is as follows: —

To the Hono^r Council convened at Boston Aug^r 17th 1676.

The humble Petition of John Morse

Sheweth. That yo^r petition^r being an Inhabitant of Groton; hath together (with many others) been deprived of his Estate by the calamity of the warr; and himselfe carried away captive by the Enemy; and about five pounds in mony laide down by M^r John Hubbard of Boston for his ransome, and understanding that there hath been some Stock raised by a contribution towards the ransoming of the captives. Yo^r petition^r doth humbly pray that hee may bee considered in the distribution of the s^d Stock, and that M^r Hubbard may be reimbursed thereout; hee having not of his own wherewith to pay him. and yo^r petition^r shall for ever thankfully acknowledge yo^r Hono^r's ffavo^r therein and for ever prayer.

This petition is Granted 17 August 1676:

per Consiliū: E R S.

[Massachusetts Archives, LXIX. 48.]

A few days passed after the final assault on the town before it was abandoned altogether by the settlers. Hubbard says that when the inhabitants, under convoy of some dragoons, left the place, they were attacked by a small party of Indians who the day before had burned a part of Chelmsford. The date of the affair at Chelmsford was, according to Hubbard's Narrative (page 83, *verso*), about March 18, and this fact helps to fix the time when the town was abandoned; although in another place, in "A Table" on the fifth unnumbered page after page 132, he says that it occurred in the beginning of April. A garrison, however, was still maintained here for some weeks later, under command of Captain Joseph Sill, of Cambridge; and from it three Indians were killed on April 17, — two of them by a single shot made by

the Captain himself, and the third by one of his men. Soon afterward it was given up as a military post. The following orders relate to supplying it with ammunition:—

It is ordered that twelve pound of powder wth shot answerable be delivered to the committee of Militia of Chelmsford for so much lent by them out of their store to Captain Sill at Groton.

And It is further ordered that the Comisarys M^r Jn^o faireweather &c Convey ouer to y^e Constable charlstown half a barrell of powde^r & propoytionable shott to be deliuered to the persons Appointed: to Carry the same, to Capt Scyll at Groaten: together wth twelve pounds of powde^r wth shott Answerable to be Conveyd & deliue^d to y^e Committee of militia of chelmsford for so much lent by them to Cap^t Scyll for the Country service.

past EDW RAWSON Secrety

22 April 1676.

To the Constables of Charls Towne.

These Require you in his Maj^{ty}'s name forthwith on sight heereof to Impresse two able men Completely Armed wth fower Day^s prouission and two very substantiall horses bridles & saddles & well shod to Convey & Carry the A^mntion to Chelmsford & Groaten & deliuer the same to Cap^t Scill: as Comissary faireweather shall direct, making y^e returne hereof dated in Boston the 22th of Aprill 1676.

By y^e Council

EDW^d RAWSON Secrety

Deacon Elliot.

you are ordered to deliuer two of the Country^s horses y^e best you haue in y^r hands to Constable Mousall for y^e ends aboue exprest

22 April 1676

By y^e Council

EDW RAWSON Secrety

Y^e substance of y^s as to horses was deliuered to y^e Constable of Maulden & Wooburne for y^t end.

[Massachusetts Archives, LXVIII. 221.]

E R S

The following petition and depositions are found among the Shattuck Manuscripts, and refer to this period. "Else" Woods was Alice, the wife of Samuel Woods.

To the Right Honorable the Gov^t and Council sitting in Boston

The Petition of Daniell Addams Humbly sheweth that yo^r Petition^r went out as a voluntear: upon the scout: from Concord in company with some of Concord and some of Lancaster: and they coming to Granton yo^r petition^r there killed an Indian: and hath rec^d no wages from the Country for any service that he hath done: notwithstanding he hath bene out upon the same acco^t severall times both the Last su^mner and the Last winter and is now goeing out againe under the Com^dand of Leift Curtis:

Yo^r Petition^r therefore humbly requests the favo^r of your Hono^rs to consider the premises and to grant him an order to the 'Treasure' for his satisfaction according as the Law allows in that case — so shall he be ever engaged to pray &c

DANIELL ADDAMS

[Endorsed]

The Petition of Daniell Addams 21 April 1676

Att Groton the 14th of march 1676 thire was Daniell Adams whoe was nary helpfull to the towne of groton with som others of Lankstar and the said Daniell adams did kill one Indlan att M^r Willards garason

Witness JOHN CADYE
and SAMUEL WODS

we whoe see him fall to the ground and not Rise againe

As witness NICKCOLASS CADYE

Samuell Woodes of Grotten aged abonte forty yers of age witnis that he saw tooe indens standing upon Captine parkers Land at grotten and danill adams shote at tham and one of thame falle donne and the other ran away

17: day of 2: month: 1676:

the mark T of SAMUELL WOODES

Else Woc^ds aged about forty yeares testifieth & saith; that at Grooton upon the day that the moste of the Towne was burnt by the

Indians: she heard severall say that Daniell Adams had killed an Indian; and she went vp presently into M^r Willards Garritt & saw two Indians stand over a dead Indian about halfe an hour & then they carried him away & further saith not

The mark O of ALSE WOODS

The spring of 1676 was a critical season for the frontier towns of Massachusetts. During the war some of them had been destroyed, others threatened, and all had been alarmed. A proposition was brought before the Council for the better protection of the towns in Middlesex County, and referred to a special committee. It will be noticed that the order of the Council was dated two days after the burning of Groton, though it was probably under consideration before the destruction of the town; but the report made by the committee was written a fortnight later. The particulars of this proposition are not now known; but they can be learned inferentially from the report, which is as follows:—

Cambridge 28 1^{mo} 1676

In Obediance to an order of the Hon^l Council, march, 15th 1676: appointing us whose names are vnder writtin, as a comittee to consult y^e severall townes of y^e County of middlesex, with reference to y^e best meanes of the preservation of our outtownes remote houses and farmes, for their planting and security from y^e common enemie. We haueing sent to y^e severall townes to send us their apprehensions by some one mete person of each towne, This day wee consulted concerning y^e same, and haue concluded to propose as followeth:

1. That y^e townes of Sudbury, Concord and Chelmsford be strengthened with forty men a peice, which sd men are to be improued in scouting betwen towne and towne, who are to be commanded by men of prudence, courage and interest in y^e sd townes and y^e partys in each towne are to be ordered to keepe together in some place comodious in y^e sd townes, and not in garison houses: and these men to bee vpon y^e towne charge of y^e country.

2. That for y^e security of Billerica there be a garison of a number competent at Weymessitt who may raise a thousand bushells of corne

vpon y^e land of y^e indians in that place may be improved dayly in scouting and ranging y^e woods between Weymissitt & andeuor and on y^e west of concord river on y^e east & north of Chelmsford, which will discover y^e enimie before hee comes to y^e townes, and prevent lurking indians about our townes. Also they shalbee in a readyness to y^e succour of any of the three townes at any time when in distress, Also shall be ready to joyne with others, to follow y^e enimie, vpon a suddin after their appearing.

3 That such townes as lankester, groaton & marlbrough that are forced to remoue : and haue not some aduantage of settlement (peculiar) in y^e bay, be ordered to settle at y^e frontire townes that remain for their strenghtening : and y^e people of y^e said townes to which they are appointed, are to see to their accomodations, in y^e sd townes.

4 : That y^e said townes haue their owne men returned, that are abroad, and their men freed from impress, during their present state.

5 : That there be appointed a select number of persons in each towne of middlesex who are vpon any information of the distress of any towne, forthwith to repaire to the releife thereof and y^e such information may be seasonable, the townes are to dispatch posts, each towne to y^e next, till notice be conueyed ouer y^e wholl County, if need bee.

And in reference to y^e line of stockadoes or stone worke, proposed to o^r serious Consideration, after our best aduice vpon it, it is conceived by our selues and by all y^e psons sent by y^e seuerall townes, That it is not aduisable, for y^e Reasons following

1. The excessiue charge to effect it, maintaine and keepe it, the line being conceived by those that know it best, to be longer than is proposed, neither can seuerall ponds fall in y^e said line, vnless it be run so crooked that it wilbee more disadvantage than profit.

2. The length of time before it can be accomplished, in which time it is to be feared that many of y^e townes included, wilbee depopulated, vnless other meanes prevent.

3 the damage it wilbe in taking off labourers, which in this season of y^e year had need be improved in sowing and planting, Help in many places being verry scarce,

ult : y^e vselesness of it when it is done, it being so easy a matter to break thro' it, and y^e Riuers which are to fence a great part of these townes are fordable, in seuerall places, and in all other places passable

by rafts &c. which is much in vse with y^e indians at this day. we might add y^e great discontent and murmuring of y^e people in generall so farr as wee haue had oppertunity to discourse concerning it. That wee fear y^e imposing of such a thing, would effect an ill consequence. These things considered besids seuerall other reasons of weight that might be added, cause us to present our apprehensions as in y^e first place wee did that y^e drawing of this line at this time is not aduisable. but all with Humbles submission to yo^r Hon^{rs} in y^e case.

Yo^r Humble Seru^{nts}

HUGH MASON
JONATHAN DANFORTH
RICHARD LOWDEN

[Endorsed]

Returne of Midd. co^mittee. 28. 1. 1676.

[Shattuck Manuscripts]

There was another proposition at this time before the Council, somewhat wider in its scope and later by a few days in its date, which may have been akin to the one just mentioned and considered by this committee, although it relates in no way to Groton. It was proposed to build a stockade or stone wall, eight feet high, from the Charles River to the Concord, — a distance of twelve miles, more or less, — as a defence against the Indians. This line, in connection with the Concord and the Merrimack Rivers, it was thought, would form a barrier against the savages, and protect all the towns lying within the district. This complicated system of defence was favored by the Council, and deemed sufficiently feasible to be referred to a board of twenty commissioners, appointed respectively by the towns most interested in the matter. The document giving the details of the affair is as follows: —

At a Councill held in Boston, 23 Mreh 167⁶

Wheras seueral considerable p^{er}sons, haue made aplication to vs and proposed it as a very n^ecessary expedient for the publike welfare, and particularly for the security of the whole county of Essex & a great part of Middlesex from inroads of the comon enemy, That a line or

fence of stockadoes or stones (as the matter best suteth) to be made about eight foot high; extenede[n]g from Charles Riuer, where it is nauigable, vnto Concord riuer not far from Georg farley house, (liuing in Billerkey,) which fence (as y^e Councill is informed) is not in length aboute twelue miles; a good part wherof is allready don by large ponds, that wil conueniently fal in the line, & vpon this fence seuerll inhabitants belonging to watertown Cambridge Wooburne & Bilerekey, are all ready seated; (as is iudged about halfe the distance), And vpon Merrimack riuer on the west side are planted the townes of Andeuer, Wamesit Bradford & Newbury, vnto the Sea, & vpon Charles riuer are planted part of Waterton Cambridge & Charles town vnto the bay; by which meanes that whole tract wilbe enuironed, for the security & safty (vnder God) of the people, their houses goods and cattel; from the rage & fury of the enimy

For the prosecuting this proposall, to effect, (which the Council apprehend is of Great concernement.)

It is ordered that the Seuerall townes that fall within this tract aboute mentioned; vizt Salem, Charles town, Cambridge Watertowne, Ipswich, Newbery, Rowly, Linne, Andeuer, Topsfield, Reding, Wooburne, Maldon, Billerekey, Gloster, Beuerly, Wenham Manchester Bradford & Meadford; doe each of them choose one able & fitt man as their commissioner wch comisioners are all ordered to meet at Cambridge vpon the last day of March at 8 of the clock in the morning and from thence pceed (takeing such guides & helpes as are nesciary and take an exact suruay of the place proposed for this line and to offer vnto the Councel in writing an expedient how the same may bee prosecuted & effected & what proportion wil fall vnto euery towne included w^hin the same (wherin respect is to bee; had to the quality of Estates & number of the inhabitants, within the said townes, & also to propose wais & methods how the said line or fence shalbe made, maintained & defended; for the Ends intended, And that the Returne to [be] made to the Counsel as soone as may bee

And the Council doe further declare & promise that they are & wilbe ready at all times to promote & incorage this Affayre, and to make such further orders & giue such other directions as may best conduce to the effectuall prosecution and finishing the said worke: puided all wais & it is herby intended y^t all charges respecting this affayre bee defrayed, by the inhabitants included within this line ac-

ording to a due & equal proption ; as the said Comissioners or the greater number of y^m shall determine ; and this order is to bee forthwith printed & sent by the Secretary ; to the Constables & select men of eny of y^e townes aboue named to bee put in execution accordingly

By y^e Council

Edw^d RAWSON Secrety

[Massachusetts Archives, LXVIII. 174.]

The population of Groton at the time of its destruction was about three hundred inhabitants. The Reverend Mr. Hubbard, in his Narrative, estimates the number of families at sixty, and five persons to a family may be considered a fair average. The same authority says that there were forty dwelling-houses, besides other buildings, burned in this assault, and only fourteen or fifteen houses left standing.

Fortunately the loss of life or limb on the part of the inhabitants of the town was small, and it is not known that more than three persons were killed—of whom one was Timothy Cooper, and another, without doubt, John Nutting—and three wounded; two were made prisoners, of whom one escaped from the savages and reached Lancaster, and the other, John Morse, was ransomed.

The lot of these early settlers was indeed hard and bitter; they had seen their houses destroyed and their cattle killed, leaving them nothing to live on. Their alternative now was to abandon the plantation, which they did with much sadness and sorrow. The settlement was broken up, and the inhabitants scattered in different directions among their friends and kindred.

According to the Reverend Elias Nason, in his "History of the Town of Dunstable, Massachusetts":—

HOUD MEADOW HILL, in the northwesterly section of the town [Dunstable], is said to have received its name from the circumstance that when Groton was assaulted by the Indians during Philip's War, a pack of hounds, employed by the English, pursued a party of the savages to this eminence, on which two of them were slain. (Page 69.)

In the autumn of 1879 the town of Groton erected a monument to commemorate the site of the meeting-house which was burned during this assault. It bears the following inscription:—

NEAR THIS SPOT

STOOD THE FIRST MEETING HOUSE OF GROTON

BUILT IN 1666

AND BURNT BY THE INDIANS

13 MARCH 1676

The monument, in connection with two others, was dedicated by appropriate exercises in the Town Hall, on February 20, 1880, when an historical address was delivered, and subsequently printed.

The following list of soldiers, who served in the garrisons at Groton during King Philip's War, is given in "A Journal appertaining to the Colony of Mattachusits," kept by John Hull, Treasurer of the Colony, and now in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. The respective dates refer to the time when the men were paid in Boston, and not necessarily to the time of their service. The figures within the parentheses indicate the page of the Journal where the name is found.

November 9, 1675.

	<i>£ s. d.</i>
Samuel Read (54)	01 16 00
John Bush (54)	03 07 08
Samuel Bull (54)	02 04 06
John Largin [Lakin?] (54)	02 02 00
Timothy Forgly (54)	02 02 00
Samuel Whitney (54)	00 04 04

November 30, 1675.

Thomas Chamberlain (62)	02 09 08
Jeremiah Morse (62)	* * *

Thomas Bancroft (62)	* * *
John Wood (62)	1 10 *
Josiah Wheeler (62)	02 12 02
Hugh Taylor (62)	03 01 08
Jacob Dane (62)	03 00 00
David Church (62)	04 10 00
Shuball Sternes (62)	03 00 00
Thomas Wood (62)	03 01 08
William Gill (62)	03 07 08
John Hawes (62)	01 10 00
Onesiphorus Stanly (62)	03 05 02
John Dañton (62)	03 01 08
Daniel Starling (62)	03 03 04
Jonathan Spragne (62)	03 00 00
Thomas Dunnell (62)	03 00 00
Jacob Winslow (62)	03 06 00
Pelatah Smith (62)	03 00 00
Thomas Micheson (63)	03 05 02

December 20, 1675.

John Codington (101)	01 15 02
Jonathan Parker (101)	03 08 00
Ephraim Bemish (101)	03 08 04
Timothy Frogly (101)	01 16 00
John Tedd (101)	03 06 00
Samuel Hagar (101)	03 06 00
Israel Hill (101)	02 06 02
Daniel Canada (101)	04 10 00
Nathaniel Domton (101)	03 00 00
Sebread Taylor (101)	03 00 00
Thomas Frost (101)	03 12 00
Samuel Allen (101)	03 09 04
William Doule (101)	03 00 00
William Halford (101)	03 18 00

January 25, 1675-6.

Benjamin Simons (130)	02 08 00
Lot Johnson (130)	03 00 00

Samuel Bull (130)	02 02 00
Samuel Cleaveland (130)	02 08 00
Daniel Canada (130)	00 18 00
Jacob Dane (130)	00 18 00
Jeremiah Moss (130)	00 06 00
Simon Stone (130)	03 18 00
Samuel Hager (130)	00 18 00
Ephraim Bemis (130)	00 12 00
Subaell Stearnes (130)	01 10 00
Thomas Frost (131)	00 07 00
Timothy Frogly (131)	00 07 00
David Church (131)	01 06 06

February 29, 1675-6.

Nath. Hill (154) "Under Capl Wheler & at Groton Garrison"	01 12 10
Jonathan Hill (154)	01 12 10
Joseph Foster (154)	01 12 10
John Waldo (154)	01 12 10
Francis Dudley (154)	01 12 10
Samuel Fletcher, Sen. (154)	01 04 05
Samuel Fletcher, Jr. (154)	01 12 10
Eleazer Brown (154)	01 19 04
Cyprian Stevens (154)	00 14 03
Benjamin Graves (154)	01 19 04
John Bates (154)	01 12 10
Stephen Goble (154)	01 12 10

April 24, 1676.

Thomas Foster (216)	03 00 00
Eleazer Ball (216)	00 06 00
Jonath Crisp (216)	02 10 06
Daniel Adams (216)	00 06 10

June 24, 1676.

Zachary Crisp (239)	02 15 08
Mathias Smith (246)	01 06 06
Nathaniel Green (246)	01 12 06

William Clough (246)	. . . . .	01 06 06
John Goff (246)	. . . . .	01 11 00
James Chever (246)	. . . . .	01 11 00
Edmund Gage (246)	. . . . .	01 06 06
William Bordman (246)	. . . . .	01 02 03
Benjamin Graves (246)	. . . . .	00 10 00
John Hands (246)	. . . . .	01 06 06
Morris Trulove (246)	. . . . .	01 06 06
Joseph Pollard (246)	. . . . .	01 11 00
Moses Wheat (262)	. . . . .	02 08 00
Humphry Millard (262)	. . . . .	00 06 10
Thomas Region (262)	. . . . .	02 14 00
Timothy Cutler (262)	. . . . .	02 08 08
Richard Griffeth (262)	. . . . .	01 16 00

July 24, 1676.

Richard Pasmore (338)	. . . . .	04 04 00
John Bush (338)	. . . . .	01 02 00
John Potter (338)	. . . . .	01 04 00
Symon Willard (338)	. . . . .	00 19 03

In the early spring of 1678, just two years after the attack, the old settlers returned to re-establish the town. Undaunted by their bitter experience, they came back to begin life anew in the wilderness, with all its attendant hardships. It does not appear that the inhabitants were molested by the Indians during this period to any great degree, but they were by no means leading lives of ease or security. The following petition to the General Court, one year after their return to the old settlement, gives a good idea of the situation and circumstances:—

The humble petition and request of the greatest number of the former inhabitants of y^e Towne of Groton

Humbly sheweth to the Honored Generall Court setting in Boston :
as followeth viz :

We who have been great sufferers, by y^e hand of God, in the late

Wars by our heathenish enemies, as is well knowne to all: &c by which we haue bine enforced, to flye before our enimyes; to our great & greivous losse, & trouble. By y^e good hand of God to us, haue had so much repreaue, & respitt, as we haue many of us, had y^e liberty & oppertunity, to returne to the places, though not y^e houses of our former abode. And now being under & exercised with many & great difficultyes; Apprehending it our duty, to addresse ourselues; not onely to our heavenly father; butt earthly fathers also, in this time of need: do humbly begg our case may be seriously considered, & weighed, & that some direction, and releife may be afforded unto us.

Some of us y^e Inhabitants haue ventured: our liues some while since to returne againe, and many others have followed us, whose welcome company is rejoycing unto us. Yett our poverty, & the non-residence of others, doth occasion us great and unavoidable trouble. We haue (through Gods goodnesse, & blessing our endeavours, & attempts) procured & obtained the ministry of y^e word among us; & haue bin at some considerable charge about it. And are willing (i God please) to keep, & maintaine, it among us. Butt there is some discouragements, upon sundrey accounts. We haue had seuerall towne meetings to consult the good, & welfare of the towne & place & how things may be caried on, as to defraing publiq charges, And it hath bin, voated in our meetings (our visible estate being small) to lay it on y^e lands, y^e so an equality in some respect might be reached unto. This is by y^e most judged to be the present best yea y^e onely present possible way for us to proceed in. which we desire your honoured selues to putt y^e countenance of authority upon. As also That our late dredfull suffering ruines, and impoverishments may by your honoured selues be so fare minded & considered, that we may for the present (till we a litle recover ourselues) be releised from Country charges. We would be rightly understood, as to our first request That the way by lands accomodations for the levyng towne charges may be stated butt for y^e present few years, till God by his providence may alter our capacity & condition: Thus craving pdone for this our boldnesse That successe & a blessing may Attend you in all your affaires; That God will accomplish his promises & built y^e wast places, sett up his house & ordinances whence they have been removed delight to build, & plant us againe, & not to pull us downe &

pluck us up That we may yett see This our Jerusalem a quiett habitation Thus prayeth your humble & unworthy petitioners :

Att A towne meeting at Groton
May 20th 1679 Ther red & voated
b^y the inhabitants :

JAMES PARKER
Select man
And clarke in y^e
name of y^e rest.

[Massachusetts Archives, LXIX. 224.]

It ans^w to this Petⁿ It is. ordered by this Court y^t for 3 : yeares next comeing in all levyes made for y^e benefit of y^e s^d place & y^e maintenance of Gods ordinances there, those y^t haue lands there & are not ressid^l upon y^e place shall pay rates for y^r Lands ther as those do y^t are ressid^l and y^t the Inhabitants ther ressid^l be abated one single rate p^r ann. to y^e country for ye like times The magis^{ts} haue past this their brethren the deputyes hereto consenting

29th May 1679

Edwth RAWSON Secret

The deputs Consent hereto provided that the cattle vpon the place be lyable to pay rates also wth refer^{en}ce to the consent of o^r Hon^{re}d magistrs hereto

WILLIAM TORREY Cleric.

30th May 1679 Consented to by the magis^{ts}

Edwth RAWSON Secret.

[Massachusetts Archives, LXIX. 229.]

Captain James Parker was the town-clerk during the years 1678 and 1679, and in the early history of Groton was without question its most influential inhabitant. The following letter among the Shattuck Manuscripts, written by him a year after the destruction of the town, would seem to show that he was then living in Chelmsford, where Major Henchman's farm was situated: —

From M^r hinchmanes ffarme ner meremack : 23 : 1^{mo} 1679

To the Honred Gouner and Counsell thes may informe youer honeres that Sagemore Wanalanset Came this morning to informe me, and then went to M^r tinges to informe him that his son being one

y^e outh^r sid of meremack Riuer : a hunting with his Dauter with him
 up the Riuer ouer against Souhegan upon the : 22 day of this instant
 about tene of the clock in y^e morning : he Discoured 15 Indens on
 this sid the Riuer which he soped to be Mohokes by ther spech he
 caled to them thay answard but he cild not understand ther spech :
 and he haning a Conow ther in the Riuer he went to breck his conow
 that thay might not haue ani ues of it, in y^e mene time thay shot about
 thurty gunes at him and he being much frighted fled and came home
 forth with to nahamcok wher ther wigowemes now stand

not Eles at Present but but [*sic*] I

Remain your saruan to Coffand

JAMES PARKER

Re^d 9. night answered 24 : march. 76

[Superscription]

To the Honred Gouerner
 and Counesuell att

Bostoun

hast post hast



CHAPTER II.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR.

I.

AFTER King Philip's War the colonists were at peace with the Indians, but it was a suspicious kind of peace. It required watching and a show of strength to keep it; there was no good-will between the native race and the white intruders. The savages at best made bad neighbors; they were treacherous and addicted to drink. The following entries in the town records show that they were a shiftless and drunken set: —

January 31 1681 It [was] agreed upon by the select men That the Indanes shall be warned out of the Towne forth with and if the shall neiglect the warning and if any of them be taken drounke or in drinke or with drinke Then these parsons ar to be sezed and brout be foure the select men either by counstable or by any other parson and be pounesed accordin as the law doth direct and the Informar shall be sattised for his paines

March 28 1682 two Indian squaws being apprehended In drinke & with drinke brought to y^e select men one squaw Nehatchechin swaw being drouncke was sentanced to receive & did receive ten stripes the other John Nasquuns sway was sentanced to pay 3^s 4^d cash and loose her two quart bottle and the Liquour in it awarded to Sarg^m Laken who seized them.

Captain Francis Nicholson, writing from Boston to London, August 31, 1688, speaks of the feeling here at that time. He says:—

Att night [August 19] I came to Dunstable (about 30 miles from hence) from thence I sent two English men and an Indian to Pene-cooke being sixty miles up the river Merymeck; the men told me they should be 3 dayes in doeing of it; soe next day I went through Groton and Lancaster, where the people were very much afraid! (being out towns) butt I told them as I did other places, that they should nott be soe much cast down, for that they had the happinesse of being subjects of a victorious King, who could protect them from all their enemies.

[Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, III. 551.]

Dunstable was formerly a very large township, and its original territory now includes several towns, lying mostly in New Hampshire. The earliest settled parts of it come within the present limits of Nashua.

The following letter is preserved among the Shattuck Manuscripts, and shows that the condition of the town was still unsettled. It gives in a few words a good insight of the situation of affairs at the time:—

GROTON, July: 16. 1689

To the honred Gouner and counsell and Representiues: thes Lins shew the Request of your humbell sarunts the inhabtants of the towne of groton and ouer presant unsetled and almost destrected condition; we mack bold to troubell you once more; crauing youer aduice and asistanc if it may be obtained that we may go on with ouer bisnes; to gat in our haruest and do other nessary worke: the barer heare of James Knop and James Parker Jun^r are fuly abell to aquaint the honred counsell ouer conditon both in militery & other cases; in the towne; ouer ofesers are by the new choice

James Parker sener cap^t

Jonas Prescot Lef^t

John Lacken ensin.

Ɔ order of the towne of groton

JOSIAH PARKER, *clark*.

July. 17. 1689. The commission officers nominated as above are allowed & confirmed by y^e Gov^r & Counsell. and they do order Cap^t Prout to deliver unto James Knop and James Parker for y^e use of s^t Town forty pounds of powder and one hundred weight of Lead taking their bill to repay it again into ye stoar in some Convenient time. & do also appoynt y^e Major of ye Low^e Regim^t of y^e Comd to order y^e Impressing of ten soldiers in a meet proportiō out of ye seu'all companies under his command. to be sent as soone as may be for their reliefe.

By order of ye Gov^r & Council

Is^a ADDINGTON, Sec^y.

[Endorsed]

Groton Military Officers. past 17^o July. 89.

The military company of the town was still kept up, and known as the Foot Company; and, during a part of the year 1689, was supported by some cavalry under the command of Captain Jacob Moore. James Parker, Sen., was appointed the captain of it; Jonas Prescott, the lieutenant; and John Lakin, the ensign; and these appointments were confirmed by the governor and council, at a convention held in Boston, July 13, 1689. A month later, August 10, Captain Parker was ordered to supply Hezekiah Usher's garrison at Nonacocus with "three men of the men sent up thither or of the Town's people for y^e defence of y^e Garrison being of publique concernment." Groton was one of the four towns that were designated, August 29, as the headquarters of the forces detached for the public service against the common enemy—Casco, Newichewanick (Berwick), and Haverhill being the others. The Middlesex Upper Regiment and the Suffolk Horse were stationed here; and soon afterward is recorded an order to send "to the head Quarter at Groton for supply of the Garrison there one Thousand weight of Bread, one barrell of Salt, one barrell of powder three hundred weight of Shott, and three hundred flints, Six quire of Paper." Eleven troopers were sent to this post, September 17, under Cornet

John Chubbuck, in order to relieve Corporal Ebenezer White and his command; a fortnight later Cornet Chubbuck was succeeded by John Pratt. (Archives, LXXXI. 24, 60, 63, 67, 74, 81.) The commissary of the post at this time was Jonathan Remington, who seems to have had but little duty to perform. Shortly afterward, the order came from the Governor and Council to discharge him, as well as Captain Moore and his company of cavalry, from the public service. The record is as follows: —

Upon information there is but little work for a Co^mmissary at Groton the Representatives do agree & order that the Co^mmissary there; be discharged from said Employment':

Ordered by the Representatives That Capt^{nc} Jaccob Moore wth his Company at Groton be forth wth drawne off and discharged desireing the Honrd Gov^r & Councill Consent

Novemb^r; 6th: 1689:

EBENEZER PROUT Clerk

Consent^d to by the Gov^r
& Councill

Is^d ADDINGTON Sec^{ry}

[Massachusetts Archives, XXXV. 71, 73.]

Jeremy Sweyne writes, from "Berwick att Salmon falls Octob^r 15. 89," —

Capt. Wiswell with ye biggest part of his part of his company scouted up westward into ye chestnut woods 4 dayes but found none of ye enemy nor yet where y^v haue lately binn, it is supposed y^r small party of Indians may be in ye chestnut cuntry beyond Groaton, . . .

[Massachusetts Archives, XXXV. 56.]

John Paige, of Groton, went in the expedition to Canada, in the year 1690, under Major Wade; he was wounded in the left arm, and did not entirely recover for two years. His surgeon's bill, amounting to seven pounds, was paid out of the public treasury. The petition in his behalf, now among the Shattuck Manuscripts, is as follows: —

To his Excellency Sr William Phips Knight Capⁿ Generall and Governour in chiefe of their Maj^{ties} Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and Honrd Council and Representatives thereof now assembled in Generall Court sitting att Boston ffbruary 23^d 169³

The petition of John Paige of Groton for himself and in behalf of his son John Paige who was a souldier under the comand of Major Wade in the Late Expedition to Canada against y^e coñon enemy

Humbly Sheweth That yo^r Petitio^s son the s^d John Paige att Canada received a Greivous wound in his left arme, of which after his returne home he lay lame und^r the Chyrurgeons hand for the Space of Twelve months and upwards, before he gatt cure, and after he gatt cure was a twelve month more before he could doe or performe any reasonable bodily Labour to procure himself a Lively hood.

That Yo^r Petition^s sons cure came to Seaven pounds w^{ch} yo^r Petition^r undertooke the payment of to the Chyrurgeon, and of wh^{ch} he hath only rec^d from the country thirty shillings, w^{ch} was soe much allowd and ordered by the Comittee formerly appointed to Inspect y^e affaires of Canada wounded men, his Son being att that time under cure, butt not cured till a very Considerable time aft^r and soe had said thirty shillings allowed him for payment of y^e Chyrurgeon for what he had done to that time

Now Forasmuch as yo^r Petition^r hath formerly made Application to yo^r Exc^{ty} and this honrd Court referring to y^e premisses Butt nothing hither haveing therein been done, yett hopes you will not deale by his son worse then by others of y^e wounded men.

Yo^r Petition^r Therefore for himself and in behalf of his said son humbly Entreats yo^r Exc^{ty} and this honrd Court to take y^e premisses into consideracoñ. and that you will please to allow and order unto yo^r petition^r the remainder of s^d moneys for the cure of his son, as also that you will please to allow unto his son Such compensation for the loss of his time and for payment of his Dyatt during the continuance of his afores^d lameness. as to yo^r wisdoms shall seeme most meet & requisite.

And yo^r Petition^r as in

duty bound Shall ever pray

JOHN PAIGE

This may certify that John Paige Sone of the Petition^r was under the hands of me Jonathan Prescott Chyrurgeon above a twelve months time, and that his cure pformed by me came to seaven pounds

JONATHAN PRESCOTT

voted that John Page Jun^r son of the Petition^r shall for the payment of the Chirurgeon and Dyet Dureing the time of his Cure Receive out of the publicque treasury of this province Twelve pounds deducting out of s^t suñe what he has all ready Reçed : passed in the Affirmative by the House Re.

NATH : BYFIELD *Speaker*

[Endorsed]

John Paige of Groton his petition

1693 27 febr. Vot^d in Council £. 12. to be p^d deducting &c.

Anything relating to the brave men who suffered in the Indian wars is now of interest, and I offer no apology for giving incidents that may to some persons seem trivial.

Cotton Mather mentions, in his *Magnalia*, a few instances of "mortal wounds upon the English not proving mortal," and gives the case of an inhabitant of this town who was in a garri-son at Exeter, New Hampshire, when that place was as-
saulted, July 4, 1690. He says:—

It is true, that one *Simon Stone* being here Wounded with Shot in *Nine* several places, lay for *Dead* (as it was time!) among the *Dead*. The *Indians* coming to Strip him, attempted with *Two* several Blows of an Hatchet at his *Neck* to cut off his *Head*, which Blows added you may be sure, more Enormous Wounds unto those *Port-holes of Death*, at which the *Life* of the poor Man was already running out as fast as it could. Being charged hard by Lieutenant *Bancroft* they left the Man without *Scalping* him; and the *English* now coming to Bury the *Dead*, one of the Soldiers perceived this poor Man to fetch a Gasp; whereupon an *Irish* Fellow then present, advised 'em to give him another Dab with an Hatchet, and so Bury him with the rest. The *English* detesting this Barbarous Advice, lifted up the Wounded Man, and poured a little *Fair Water* into his Mouth at which he Coughed; then they poured a little *Strong Water* after it, at which he opened his Eyes. The *Irish* Fellow was ordered now to hale a Canoo ashore

to carry the Wounded Men up the River unto a Chirurgeon; and as Teague was foolishly pulling the Canoo ashore with the Cock of his *Gun*, while he held the Muzzle in his *Hand*, his Gun went off and broke his *Arm*, whereof he remains a Cripple to *this Day*: But *Simon Stone* was thoroughly Cured, and is at *this Day* a very Lusty Man; and as he was Born with *Two Thumbs* on one Hand, his Neighbours have thought him to have at least as many *Hearts* as *Thumbs!*" (Book VII. page 74.)

Many families who have lived in Groton trace back their line of descent to this same Simon Stone, who was so hard to kill, and to whom, fortunately, the finishing "Dab with an Hatchet" was not given.

Occasionally the early settlers gave Christian names to the savages living in their neighborhood, perhaps with some baptismal rite. These names were used in connection with their Indian ones, though sometimes followed by the word "Indian" as a surname. Instances of this custom are not uncommon. The following certificates of Josiah Parker, the town-clerk, relate to Jacob Nonantinoah, or Jacob Indian, who had been living in the vicinity. From the official position of the writer they were of considerable authority: —

Josiah Parker of Groton testifies that he is very well acquainted wth y^e Indian now in prison named Jacob Nonantinoah & that he Can say of his certain knowledge y^t he hath seen him every month since y^e last Indian warr began, except it was when he y^e said Jacob was in y^e Countrey service under y^e Command of Captⁿ Noah Wiswall in the years Eighty nine & Ninety: also if he be required he Can produce severall y^t Can testify y^e same Hee further saith that as far as it is possible to know an Indian he is a friend to the English & hath manifested the same both in word an Action & whereas severall of y^e Inhabitants of Groton have been out in y^e woods on hunting they have taken this said Jacob wth them who in y^e night hath showne his Care more then any of them in his watchfullness: expressing himselfe to them that it did Concerne him so to do, for if they were Surprized by y^e enemy Indians he should be worse dealt wth then the English: also many other Instances might be mentioned:

JOSIAH PARKER

GROTON Decmbr. 8th 1691

The testomoneys of Josiah Parker aged. 36 : years : and of Joseph Parker aged 40 yeres : Thomas Tarball aged. 25 : years or thereabouts ; testify concerning Jacob Indeins now in prison ; that the two winters last past y^e s^d Jacob has bin gineraly in ovr towne with his famely Except when he was out a hunting and then the s^d Joseph Parker or s^d Tarball were out with him or som other Inglesh men who have geeuen sd Jacob a good coment as to his care and wachfulness as to y^e enemy boah by night and day and by the best inquiry that we can make s^d Jacob has never bin out a hunting aboue once without som English Company with him & then he was not gon aboue a fortnight and that was about two years sence ; the which if caled too am redy too testify upon oath pr me

JOSIAH PARKER

GROTON Decmbr. 8th. 1691

Concerning the man that has accused the Indeins in prison he is a man litell to be credeted for on the : 2th day of this Instent at Euening : Lef^t Boweres and : I : at Mr. Sumers's at charlestowne discorsing him namly Abraham Miller about y^e s^d Indeins : and, teling him that he was mistaken for thes Indeins ware not at Canedy at that time when he charged them ; s^d Miller sd Zoundes that if ever he saw them Indens again out of prison he would kill them : and being a litell cautioned to be sober minded he broke out with an oath that if he ware but out of ye countrey himselfe ; he wished the Indeins would knock out y^e braines of every porson in New england. This was spok before M^r Sumers & his wife and severall others ; y^e s^d porson being asked whether he ware not in a passion sometime after he Replied no he was of y^e same mind still that if he ware out of y^e countrey he did not care if all the Rest ware knocked their braines out—to which if caled to am redy too testify upon oath. Pr me

JOSIAH PARKER

[Massachusetts Archives, XXX. 323.]

Thirteen chapters of a history of the town were published in the "Groton Herald" between December 12, 1829, and July 3, 1830, of which Mr. Butler wrote the first eleven, and Mr. Lemuel Shattuck the other two chapters. The following

extract is taken from the last one, which appeared in the issue of July 3:—

For many years subsequent to this period, the system which had been followed in 1675 and 6, of settling in garrisons for protection against the Indians, was continued. From an account of the "settlement of the garrisons in the west regiment of Middlesex," the following, relating to Groton, is extracted and is valuable.

Groton, March 17th, 1691-2

Ensign Jno. Lakin and Jno. Paris, Widdow Blood, Junr. William Sanders, Jno. Lakin, Nathaniel Blood, Jno. Alexander, Benjamin Palmer and their familys.	}	10 men.
--	---	---------

Capt. [James] Parker and Samuel Parker, James Parker, Zac. Parker, William Longley, Jno. Nutting, Thomas Tarbell, James Robinson, James Nutting, and their familys.	}	11 men.
--	---	---------

Enosh Lawrence Lieut. Lakin and 3 sons, Joseph Lawrence, Samuel Walmer, James Blood, Jno. Shadock, Samuel Kemp, Daniel Barney and their familys.	}	13 men.
--	---	---------

Lt. [Jonas] Prescott and
 Nathaniel Lawrence,
 James Knop,
 Elias Barnes,
 Samuel Scripture,
 Ephraim Filbrook,
 Daniel Peirce,
 Jno. Barnes,
 Steven Holding,
 Jno. Perrum,
 Samuel Davis and
 their familys.
 widdow Sawtle with
 y^m.

Jno. Davis,
 Nicholas Cade,
 Cornelius Church,
 Jno. Cade,
 Joseph Cade,
 Joshua Whitting, [Whitney]
 Joshua Whitting, Junr. [Whitney]
 Peleg Lawrence,
 Jonathan Lawrence,
 James Fisk,
 Samuel Fisk,
 Robert Robin and
 their familys.. In all 31 men.

Jno. Farnsworth and
 Mathew Farnsworth,
 Benjamin Farnsworth,
 Samuel Farnsworth,
 Widdow Farnsworth,
 Simon Stone,
 Jno. Stone,
 Nicholas Hutchins and
 their familys. } 10 men.

At Mr. Hezekiah Usher's farm.

Samuel Bennet,	} 5 men.
Bennet, and	
Three Souldiers.	

(91 men.)

The "Whitting's" names are wrongly spelt. They should have been *Whitney*. They and many other of these families were from Watertown. Their sister Ruth, the widow of Mr. John Shattuck, who was drowned in Charlestown Ferry in 1675, and the mother of the Shattuck families in Groton and Pepperell, married Enosh Lawrence. Several curious facts might be related concerning many of these families, were it consistent with the time and object of this communication. Could not the location of each of these eight garrisons be ascertained?

Mr. Butler prints this list of garrisons in his History (page 91), and gives an additional one between Enosh Lawrence's and Jonas Prescott's, as follows:—

William Green and	} 11 men.
John Lawrence,	
Abigail Parker, widow,	
Joshua Wheat,	
Samuel Church,	
Joseph Parker,	
John Greene,	
Daniel Cady,	
John Page and sons,	
Samuel Woods, sen.,	
Thomas Woods, and their families.	

This garrison was omitted from Mr. Shattuck's list, probably by an oversight; and the "11 men" are needed to make up the sum total of "91 men." It would gratify curiosity to know the sites of these several garrison-houses, and where each family lived; but this can be stated only in a general and imperfect manner.

Ensign John Lakin, and the families named with him, are believed to have lived in that part of the town known as Nod, and the outlying district.

Captain James Parker's land lay, in part, on both sides of the present Main Street, and his house stood near the site of the Town Hall. The persons named with him lived, mostly, in the northerly part of the village.

Enosh Lawrence, and those associated with him, occupied the northerly part of the town.

Lieutenant Jonas Prescott's house-lot was at the southerly end of the village, and those in the garrison with Prescott lived near by.

John Davis and his associates dwelt in the southeasterly part of the town, on the "Great Road" to the Ridges.

John Farnsworth and the others with him lived in the south part of the town.

Hezekiah Usher's farm was at Nonacoicus, now included in the town of Ayer. Usher's will, on file in the Suffolk County Probate Office, is dated Nonacoicus, ~~Apr~~^{Aug} 17, 1689. He had married the widow of President Hoar, of Harvard College, who was a daughter of John Lisle, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, under Cromwell; but the marriage was not a happy one. She left him and went to England in the year 1687, and did not return until after his death, which took place at Lynn on July 11, 1697. In his will he refers very plainly to his domestic troubles, and bitterly blames his absent wife.

William Green lived near the site of Lawrence Academy; and those with him, southerly and easterly of this neighborhood.

During this period the Indians began again to be troublesome, and for the next fifteen or twenty years continued their occasional depredations by murdering the inhabitants, burning their houses, destroying their crops, or killing their cattle. Into these garrison-houses the neighboring families gathered at night, where they were guarded by armed men who warned the inmates of any approach of danger.

David Jeffries, writing from Boston, September 16, 1692, to Lieutenant-Governor John Usher, says:—

.. y^e 14th Inst at night a Post came to towne frō Majo' Hincksman, w^{ch} gave an acc^t of about 80 or 100 Indians, y^t our scouts had made discovery of in y^e night siting p^r their fires hammering of slugs for their guns our scouts was soe neare them y^t they could see y^e Indians & heare them talke, yesterday morning we had news y^t y^e Indians had killd two men at Groton Jera: Bowers is gone out wth about 100 men after them. . . .

The letter is now in the possession of Mr. William Lloyd Jeffries, of Boston.

A few weeks later James Blood was killed by the "French and Indian enemy" on October 13, 1692, according to Mr. Lemuel Shattuck, in his Shattuck Memorials (page 78). Mr. Butler mentions the fact, but does not give the date. Possibly there is an error in regard to the time, and Blood may have been one of the men killed, as mentioned by David Jeffries.

At times troops were stationed here by the Colonial authorities for the protection of the town; and the orders and counter-orders to the small garrison tell too well that danger was threatening. In the mean while King William's War was going on; and the enemy had material and sympathetic aid from the French in Canada. The second attack on the town came in the summer of 1694, and the accounts of it I prefer to give in the words of contemporary writers. Sometimes there are discrepancies, but, in the main, such narratives are trustworthy.

The attack was made on Friday, July 27, and Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, thus refers to it:—

Nor did the Storm go over so: Some Drops of it fell upon the Town of *Groton*, a Town that lay, one would think, far enough off the Place where was the last *Scene* of the *Tragedy*.

On *July 27*. [1694.] about break of Day *Groton* felt some surprising Blows from the *Indian Hatchets*. They began their Attacks

at the House of one Lieutenant *Lakin*, in the Out-skirts of the *Town*; but met with a Repulse there, and lost one of their Crew. Nevertheless, in other Parts of that Plantation, (when the good People had been so tired out as to lay down their *Military Watch*) there were more than Twenty Persons killed, and more than a Dozen carried away. Mr. *Gershom Hobart*, the Minister of the Place, with part of his Family, was Remarkably preserved from falling into their Hands, when they made themselves the Masters of his House; though they Took Two of his Children, whereof the one was Killed, and the other some time after happily Rescued out of his Captivity. (Book VII. page 86.)

Charlevoix, a French missionary in Canada, gives from his own standpoint another version, as follows:—

The Abénaqui chief was Taxous, already celebrated for many exploits, and commendable attachment to our interests. This brave man, not satisfied with what he had just so valiantly achieved, chose forty of his most active men, and after three days' march, by making a long circuit, arrived at the foot of a fort [at Groton] near Boston, and attacked it in broad day. The English made a better defence than they did at Pescadoué [Piscataqua]. Taxous had two of his nephews killed by his side, and himself received more than a dozen musket balls in his clothes, but he at last carried the place, and then continued his ravages to the very doors of the capital.

[History of New France, IV. 257, Shea's edition.]

The following reference to the assault is found in the report, made October 26, 1694, by M. Champigny, to the Minister Pontchartrain. The original document is in the Archives of the Marine and Colonies at Paris; and I am indebted to Mr. Francis Parkman, the distinguished historian, for a copy of it:—

These Indians did not stop there; four parties of them have since been detached, who have been within half a day's journey of Boston [*i. e.*, at Groton], where they have killed or captured more than sixty persons, ravaged and pillaged everything they found, which has thrown all the people into such consternation that they are leaving the open country to seek refuge in the towns.

A French "Relation" of an expedition by Villieu also mentions the assault. A copy of the paper is found in the Massachusetts Archives at the State House, in the volume marked "Documents collected in France," IV. 251. The writer gives the date of the attack some days later than is usually assigned. He says:—

On the 30th the Indians of the Penobscot, not having taken as many prisoners and as much booty as those of the Kennebec, because they had not found enough to employ themselves; at the solicitation of Villieu and of Taxous their chief, some fifty of them detached themselves to follow this last person, who was piqued at the little that had been done. They were joined by some of the bravest warriors of the Kennebec, to go on a war party above Boston to break heads by surprise [*casser des têtes à la surprise*], after dividing themselves into several squads of four or five each, which cannot fail of producing a good effect. (Pages 260, 261.)

Judge Sewall, in his Diary, printed in the "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society," writes:—

Friday, July 27. Groton set upon by the Indians, 21 persons kill'd, 13 captivated, 3 badly wounded. About 9. night, Mr. Lodowick comes to Boston. Between 10. and 11. there is an Alarm through the Town kept up till near day-break. Mr. Brattle was arriv'd at Col. Shrimpton's, there he told me of Mr. Lodowick's unhappiness in coming just then. During the Alarm, Mr. Willard's little daughter Sarah dies, buried on Sabbath-day a little before Sunset. (V. Fifth series, 391.)

The child Sarah, mentioned by Sewall, was a daughter, only a few months old, of the Reverend Samuel Willard, the minister of Groton when the town was previously burned; but at this time he was settled over the Old South Church in Boston.

The Reverend John Pike makes the following reference to the assault, in his Journal, printed in the Proceedings of the same Society for September, 1875:—

July 27. The enemy fell upon Groton ab' day-break, killed 22 persons & Captivated 13. (XIV. 128.)

Governor Hutchinson, in his "History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay," published during the following century, writes: —

Having crossed Merrimack, on the 27th of July [1694] they fell upon Groton, about 40 miles from Boston. They were repulsed at Lakin's garrison house, but fell upon other houses, where the people were off their guard, and killed and carried away from the vicinity about forty persons. Toxus's two nephews were killed by his side, and he had a dozen bullets through his blanket, according to Charlevoix, who adds that he carried the fort or garrison and then went to make spoil at the gates of Boston; in both which facts the French account is erroneous. (II. 82.)

II.

In the assault of July, 1694, the loss on the part of the inhabitants was considerably greater than when the town was destroyed in the attack of 1676. It is said that the scalps of the unfortunate victims were given to the Count de Frontenac, governor of Canada. A large majority, and perhaps all, of the prisoners taken at this time were children. The Indians had learned that captives had a market value; and children, when carried off, could be more easily guarded than adults. It was more profitable for the savages to exchange prisoners for a ransom, or sell them to the French, than it was to kill them. It is now too late to give the names of all the sufferers, but a few facts in regard to them may be gathered from fragmentary sources. The families that suffered the severest lived, for the most part, in the same general neighborhood, which was near the site of the first meeting-house. Lieutenant William Lakin's house, where the fight began, was situated in the vicinity of Chicopee Row.

The following list of casualties, necessarily incomplete and in part conjectural, is given as an approximation to the loss sustained by the town:—

	Killed.	Captured.
John Longley's family	7	3
Rev. Mr. Hobart's „	1	1
John Shepley's „	4 [?]	1
James Parker, Jr.'s „	2	3 [?]
Alexander Rouse's „	2	1

Mr. Gershom Hobart, the minister, whose house was captured in this assault, lived where the Baptist meeting-house now stands. One of his boys was killed, and another, Gershom, Jr., was carried off. There is a tradition extant that a third child was concealed under a tub in the cellar, and thus saved from the fury of the savages. Judge Sewall writes in his Diary, under the date of May 1, 1695:—

Mr. Hobart's son Gershom is well at a new Fort a days Journey above Nerigawag [Norridgewock], Masters name is Nassacombêwit, a good Master, and Mistress. Master is chief Captain, now Bambazeen is absent.

[Massachusetts Historical Collections, V. Fifth series, 403, 404.]

It is not known exactly when he was rescued from captivity, but probably not long afterwards. The inscription on the Shepley monument says that "the Indians massacred all the Sheples in Groton save a John Sheple 16 years old who the[y] carried captive to Canada and kept him 4 years, after which he returned to Groton and from him descended all the Shepleys or Shepleys in this Vicinity;" but there is no record to show how many there were in this family. Mr. Butler, in his History (page 97), makes substantially the same statement, but does not mention any number. In my list it is placed at five, which is conjectural; of this number probably four were slain. Shepley lived near where the Martin's Pond road starts off from the North Common. The knowledge which the boy

John obtained of their language and customs, while a prisoner among the Indians, was of much use to him in after-life. Tradition relates that, when buying furs and skins of them, he used to put his foot in one scale of the balance instead of a pound weight. In the summer of 1704, while he and thirteen other men were reaping in a field at Groton, they were attacked by about twenty Indians. After much skirmishing, Shepley and one of his comrades, Butterfield by name, succeeded in killing one of the assailants, for which act they each were allowed four pounds by the government. He was the direct ancestor of the late Honorable Ether Shepley, of Portland, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Maine, and of his son, the late General George Foster Shepley, formerly a Justice of the Circuit Court of the First Circuit of the United States.

Shepley's petition to the General Court, which gives the particulars of the attack, is as follows:—

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esq^r Cap^t. General and Govern^r, in Chief in & over her Maj^{ties} Provinces of the Massachusetts-Bay &^{ms} in New England To the Hon^{ble} her Maj^{ties} Council in s^t Province and To the Hon^{ble} the House of Representatives now convened in General Assembly within & for said Province, Octob^r. 25th. 1704.

The Humble Petition of John Shepley of Groton Sheweth

That when Major Taylor was at Groton, having drawn off most of his men from the place, and marched to Col. Tyngs yo^r Petitioner and Thirteen men more being some reaping and yo^r rest Warding in a field at Groton afores^d the Indians to the number of about twenty came upon them when yo^r Petitioner and the rest betook themselves to their Arms, and three others being along with yo^r Petitioner, the Indians ran round the field & met them & the s^d Indians made several shott at the English, but amongst the rest one lusty stout Indian with a holland shirt on ran about 8 or 10 Rodd side by side with yo^r Petitioner & the other 3 men in his Company, about 10 Rodd to the right hand of them when he fired upon us, and as soon as he had fired yo^r Petitioner fired being loaded with a slugg & another of the Company at the same

time fired a Bullet at him, whereupon the s^d Indian fell down and cry'd out; There were 3 of our first Company kill'd or carry'd away, Afterwards ye s^d Indian was found dead & a slugg & Bullet in his Body his Scalp being sent up to his Excellency by Major Taylor.

Yo^r Petitioner therefore humbly prays yo^r Excellency & Hon^{rs} to take the premises into yo^r Consideration and he may be allowed such Encouragem^t for his service herein as the Law allows or as to yo^r Excellency & Hono^{rs} in yo^r Wisdoms shall seem meet

and yo^r Petitioner shall pray &c^{te}

JOHN SHEPLEY.

Octob^r 26th 1704.

In Council,

Read and sent down.

On the back of the petition is written :--

In the House of Representatives

Octo^r 27 : 1704

Read and

Resolved That the sum of four Pounds be allowed and Paid out of the publick Treasury to the Petition^r and the like Sum of four Pounds to Samuel Butterfield, who this House is Inform^d did assist in the killing of the Indian mentioned in the Petition, and that no other or further sum be allowed for the killing of the s^d Indian

JAM^s CONVERSE Speaker

Sent up for Concurrence
in Council.

Die pdict.

Read and Concurr'd

Is^s ADDINGTON Sec^y.

[Endorsed]

John Shepley's Petition Octo^r 1704

[Massachusetts Archives, XXX. 496, 497.]

While it was resolved, in connection with this petition, that no further sum be allowed for the killing of the Indian, Butterfield subsequently obtained an additional sum of five pounds

from the public treasury in consequence of his services and the loss of his accoutrements. The application for help, dated April 10, 1706, is printed on page 95; and from this document it appears that Butterfield was captured with another man at this time, and a third one was killed. The attack occurred in the month of August, 1704.

A petition to the General Court, dated May 31, 1699, and signed by Josiah Parker, says that "James Parker Jun^r Brother to yo^r humble Pet^r was killed, with his Wife, several of his Children also were then carried away Captive." In the list of casualties I have placed the number of these children at three, which is conjectural on my part. The site of Parker's house is unknown.

The petition for the relief of the family is as follows:—

PROVINCE OF Y^e MASSACHUSETTS BAY: May 31st 1699

To his Excellency The Right Hon^{ble} Richard Earle of Bellomont Govern^r in Chief of his Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England and to y^e Hon^{ble} y^e Council and Representatives in Gen^l Court Assembled

The Petition of Josiah Parker of Cambridge humbly sheweth

That whereas in the year 1693 [1694?] the Indian enemy made an assault upon the Town of Groton in which, among others James Parker Jun^r Brother to yo^r humble Pet^r was killed, with his Wife, several of his Children also were then carried away Captive, one of which named Phinchas Parker something less than a year ago was (by a Master of a Vessell belonging to Ipswich) redeemed from the Indians at y^e Eastward: which said Master has been reimbursed by yo^r Pet^r w^{ch} is to the Value of about six pounds in Money.

The earnest request of yo^r humble Pet^r to yo^r Excellency & to this Hon^{ble} Court is that you would please to consider him & that allowance may be made him out of the publick Treasury for what he has disburs^t. Also he desires humbly that you would please something to consider the said Phinchas who is a poor Orphan now about twelve years old, and is like wise lame of one of his Leggs occasioned by y^e crnelty of y^e Salvages and it is very questionable whether ever he will

be cured, & has little or nothing left him of his Fathers estate for his support. If therefore what has here been suggested by yo^r humble Pet^r may be accordingly considered and granted, it will greatly oblige him, as in duty Bound,

Ever to Pray, &c

JOSIAH PARKER

June 3 1699 Read 1st tyme

June 6th 1699 read a 2^d time, June 7th read a 3rd time and Voted that the Petitioner be Allowed six pounds money out of the publick Treas^y

Sent up for Concurrence

JAM^S CONVERSE

[Massachusetts Archives, LXX. 401.]

The late Reverend James Delap Farnsworth, in a manuscript account of William Longley, now in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, says that "two of his neighbors named Rouse" were killed in the same massacre. Alexander Rouse lived in the vicinity, and this reference by Mr. Farnsworth is to him and his wife. There was one "Tamasin Rouse of Grotten" received January 17, 1698-99, on board the Province Galley at Casco Bay; and she, doubtless, was a daughter. (Archives, LXX. 399.) Two commissioners had been sent to Casco Bay, in order to make a treaty of peace with the Indians, and to bring away the prisoners. One of the commissioners "took certain Minutes of *Remarkable Things* from some of the captives," and Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, gives his readers what he calls "a Taste of them." Mather speaks of the little girl, and says: —

Assacombuit sent *Thomasin Rouse*, a Child of about Ten Years old, unto the Water-side to carry something. The Child cried: He took a Stick and struck her down: She lay for Dead: He took her up and threw her into the Water: Some Indians not far off ran in and fetch'd her out. This Child we have now brought home with us. (Book VII. Page 95.)

Among the "Nams of thos Remaining Still in hands of the french at Canada," found in a document dated October, 1695, are those of "Lidey Langly gerl" and "Jn" Shiply boy." In this list the residences of both these children are incorrectly written, Lydia's being given as Dover, New Hampshire, and John's as Oyster River. They both belonged in this town, and were taken at the assault of July 27, 1694. The name of Thomas Drew appears in the same list as of Groton, which is a mistake, as he was of Oyster River. (Archives, XXXVIII. A 2.)

This expedition against Groton was planned in part by the Indians at a fort called Amsaquonte above Norridgewock, in Maine. It was arranged also in the plan of operations that Oyster River—now Durham, New Hampshire—should be attacked on the way; and the assault on that town was made July 18, nine days before the one on Groton. At Oyster River more than ninety persons were either killed or captured; the prisoners from the two towns appear to have been taken to Maine, where they were brought frequently together during their captivity. On January 21, 1695, Lieutenant-Governor William Stoughton issued a proclamation, in which he refers to the "tragical outrages and barberous murders" at Oyster River and Groton. He says that several of the prisoners taken at these places "are now detained by the said Indians at Amarascoggin and other adjoining places."¹

Hezekiah Miles, *alias* Hector, a friendly Indian, at one time a captive in the enemy's hands, made a deposition before the Lieutenant-Governor and Council, at Boston, May 31, 1695, stating that, —

in the month of July 1694. there was a gathering of the Indians at the said new Fort [Amsaquonte] and preparations to go forth to war, and that two or three days before they intended to set out, they kild and boyld several dogs, and held a Feast, where was present

¹ Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, IX. 613, 614.

Egeremet, Bomaseen, Warumbee, & Ahasombamet with divers others, of the chief among them, they discoursed of falling upon Oyster River and Groton; and Bomaseen was to command one of the Company, & the day before they intended to set forth, myself with four Indians more were despatched away to Canada with a Letter from the Fryar and were upon our Voyage thither and back again about four days and brought down about two barrels of powder, shot proportionable & some fire armes. About the time of our return, the Indians came in after the Mischief done at Oyster River & Groton, and in particular, I saw Bomaseen in his Canoo, which was well laden, there was two English Captives, some scalps, and a large pack of Plunder brought in that Canoo, and Bomaseen two or three days after his return home went away to Canada.

[Massachusetts Archives, VIII. 39.]

Ann Jenkins, in a deposition given June 11, 1695, testifies that she was taken on July 18, 1694, at Oyster River, and that she, —

with nine Captives more were Carried up to penecook & were Left with Three Indians & that party went to Groaten Bomazeen being their Commander. In nine dayes they returned & brought twelve Captives & from thence with their Cannoes sometimes a float & sometimes Carried untill that we Came to Norridgeawocke which tooke us fifteen dayes & staid about two months there then dispersed into the woods twoe or thre families in a place & kept Removeing toe and froe staieing about a week in a place untill they brought vss down to pemaquid & delivered vss to Cap^t March.

[Massachusetts Archives, VIII. 40.]

The story of William and Deliverance Longley's family is a sad one to relate. They were living, with their eight children, on a small farm, perhaps a mile and a quarter from the village, on the east side of the Hollis road. Their house was built of hewn logs, and was standing at the beginning of the present century. The old cellar, with its well-laid walls, was distinctly visible forty years ago, and traces of it could be

seen even to very modern times. The site of this house has recently been marked by a monument bearing the following inscription: —

HERE DWELT

WILLIAM AND DELIVERANCE LONGLEY

WITH THEIR EIGHT CHILDREN.

ON THE 27TH OF JULY 1694

THE INDIANS KILLED THE FATHER AND MOTHER

AND FIVE OF THE CHILDREN

AND CARRIED INTO CAPTIVITY

THE OTHER THREE.

It was erected in the autumn of 1879, at the expense of the town, on land generously given for the purpose by Mr. Zechariah Fitch, the present owner of the farm.

On the fatal morning of July 27, 1694, the massacre of this family took place. The savages appeared suddenly, coming from the other side of the Merrimack River, and began the attack at Lieutenant William Lakin's house, where they were repulsed with the loss of one of their number. They followed it up by assaulting other houses in the same neighborhood. They made quick work of it, and left the town as speedily as they came. With the exception of John Shepley's house, it is not known that they destroyed any of the buildings; but they pillaged them before they departed. They carried off thirteen prisoners, mostly children, — and perhaps all, — who must have retarded their march. There is a tradition that, early in the morning of the attack, the Indians turned Longley's cattle out of the barnyard into

the cornfield, and then lay in ambush. The stratagem had the desired effect. Longley rushed out of the house, unarmed, in order to drive the cattle back, when he was murdered, and all his family either killed or captured. The bodies of the slain were buried in one grave, a few rods northwest of the house. A small apple-tree growing over the spot, and a stone lying even with the ground, for many years furnished the only clew to the final resting-place of this unfortunate family, but these have now disappeared.

William Longley was town-clerk in the year 1687, and also from 1692 till his death in 1694; and only one week before he was killed, he had made entries in the town records. His father, William Longley, Sen., also had been town-clerk, during the years 1666 and 1667, and died November 29, 1680. The father was one of the earliest settlers of the town, as well as the owner of a thirty-acre right in the original Groton plantation. Lydia, John, and Betty were the names of the three children carried off by the savages, and taken to Canada. Lydia was sold to the French, and placed in the Congregation of Notre Dame, a convent in Montreal, where she embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and died July 20, 1758, at the advanced age of eighty-four years. Betty perished soon after her capture, from hunger and exposure; and John, the third child, remained with the savages for more than four years, when he was ransomed and brought away, much against his own will. At one time during his captivity he was on the verge of starving, when an Indian kindly gave him a dog's foot to gnaw, which for the time appeased his hunger. He was known among his captors as John Augary. After he came home, his sister Lydia wrote from Canada, urging him to abjure the Protestant religion; but he remained true to the faith of his early instruction.

Their grandmother, the widow of Benjamin Crispe, made her will April 13, 1698, which was admitted to probate in Middlesex County, on the 28th of the following Decem-

ber; and in it she remembered these absent children as follows: —

I give and bequeath Vnto my three Grand-Children y^e are in Captivity if they returne Vizdt three books one of y^m a bible another a Sermon booke treating of faith and the other a psalme book.

The old lady herself, doubtless, had read the "Sermon booke treating of faith;" and it must have strengthened her belief in Divine wisdom, and been a great consolation in her trials. She did not know at this time that her granddaughter was a convert to the Roman Catholic faith. The knowledge of this fact would have been to her an affliction scarcely less than the massacre of her daughter's family.

John Longley returned about the time that his grandmother died; and subsequently he filled many important offices in the church and town. Like his father and grandfather, he was the town-clerk during several years. The following paper signed by him is now in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society: —

John Longley of Groton of about fifty four Years of age Testifyes & Saith That he was Taken Captive by the Indians at Groton in July 1694. and Lived in Captivity with them More than four Years; And the Two Last years and an half at Penobscot as Servant to Madocawando of s^d Penobscot And he was always Accounted as Chief or One of y^e Chief Sachems or Captains among the Indians there and I have Often Seen the Indians Sitting in Council When he always Sat as Chief: And Once in perticuler I Observed a present was made him of a Considerable Number of Skins of Considerable Vallue As an Acknowledgement of his Superiority.

JOHN LONGLEY

Midd^s ss. Groton July 24th 1736.

Deacon John Longley above named personally appearing Made Oath to y^e Truth of the above written Testimony.

Before me Benj^s Prescott Jus^t of peace.

[Knox Manuscripts, Waldo Papers, L. 13.]

In the month of July, 1877, I was in Montreal, where I procured, through the kindness of the Mother Superior at the Congregation of Nôtre Dame, a copy of the French record of Lydia's baptism, of which the following is a translation: —

On Tuesday, April 24, 1696, the ceremony of baptism was performed on an English girl, named Lydia Longley, who was born April 14, 1674, at Groton, a few miles from Boston in New England. She was the daughter of William Longley and Deliverance Crisp, both Protestants. She was captured in the month of July, 1680 [1694?] by the Abénaqui Indians, and has lived for the past month in the house of the Sisters of the Congregation of Nôtre Dame. The godfather was M. Jacques Leber, merchant; the godmother was Madame Marie Madeleine Dupont, wife of M. de Maricourt, Ecuier, Captain of a company of Marines: she named this English girl Lydia Madeleine.

[Signed]

LYDIA MADELEINE LONGLEY,

MADELEINE DUPONT,

LEBER,

M. CAILLE, *acting curate.*

[The date of capture in this record is written out in full, and the omission of one word would cause the mistake; *i.e.*, "mil six cent quatre-vingt," omitting *quatorze.*]

After this attack of July 27 the town was left in straitened circumstances, and the inhabitants found it difficult to meet the demands made on them. In this emergency they petitioned the General Court for relief, which was duly granted, as appears by the following document: —

GROTON October 15th 1694

To the Honored General Court:

The humble petition and earnest request of the Inhabitants of Groton humbly sheweth; That whereas we the present survivors of this Towne do understand that ourselves either without invoice, or according to some former or according to your honours pressures are willed & domed for a rate or Levy, a considerable some of moneys amounting to 50^{lbs}; we therefore being feelingly apprehensive of our utter incapacity, in present circumstances without apparent wrong to

us, to pay said sum humbly make bold under God to addresse this honored great generall Court, with both our humble petition and a discovery of our condition: our petition is that we may It it be your honorable pleasure to remitt us our assessment and not putt us upō further inevitable streights & Miseryes, Thus we humbly petition, and that we may not be thought unjustly to withdraw y^e shoulder from putting our strength & help to support and carry on the government of their, our Majestyes, in this part of their domniou, and be unwilling to bear our part with the rest of their Majestyes subjects on this New England shoar as we have constantly & propotionably hitherto done and as arguments and Reason to prevail in this case. we make bold to spread our conditiō before your honored selues: not to run back very far.

1 It pleased God the disposer of all men & humane affairs to place us upon y^e outward borders of y^e inhabited land on this side y^e country, which by some is alledged as an argument against us, yett lett Reason butt speak & the union and communion not onely of naturall, but christian societys have its argument and it will tell us of bearing one another's burdens, and of that sympathetick property that is a naturall body & rationally ought to be both in cyvill & politick also: and therefore whatever our alledged priveledges are, or have bin, we ought not to be Grudged them, for indeed our out edge & distant Living hath bin in these times of late awfull dealing our hurt & damage both as to psons & estates beyond partekell with any inward Townes, as plaine & undeniable Reason & argument is ready to be given.

2 The providence of y^e wise God, did order it That very grievous troublesome and mortall sicknesse, was amongst us the last year by wh we were not onely leasoned considerably in our numbers, but diminished in our estates It being so generall That one could not help y^e other by wh great charge of Doct's came upō us, losse of y^e seasonable Labour of our inhabitants, to the indamaging the estates of y^e most, unrecovered by many to this day.

3 we might add our constant (in these late times) standing upon our guard, and considerable charge, of building & repairing forts, for our owne and the countyes safy, & securing their majestyes subjects, both here, and in the inmost places.

4 This years soar and awfull troubles by y^e late deaths captivities

and consequent meseryes, whereby we lost severall able valuable psons, whose estates are either, much lessened, or removed by others, out our reach: beside by inevitable losse of corne, It is Judged by many of our Towne that a third part at lest of our Indian corne, is wholly lost; and now of late psons haue bin hendred much in their corne, & hay harvest, beside the hand of God upon our husbandry, as to rye much blasted, not halfe a usuall crop and by early frost, Indian corne much hurt, & damnyfyed, that severall familyes will be at a losse for corne, not having for halfe y^e year through: Thus Leaving our petition & condition to your honours serious consideration hoping you may see, reason to indolge us in that matter praying to God who settis among y^e god to direct, & preside, and bless, your psons & consultations to conclude & determine what may be for y^e present & future weal & prosperity, of these plantation, we rest and remaine yours in all duty & service.

James Parker Sen^r: William Laken Sen^r, Select men in the name of y^e Select men by y^e voat of y^e Towne of Groton:

[Massachusetts Archives, CXIII. 89.]

Upon reading this Petition of the Inhabitants of Groton Setting forth their great distress and impoverishm^t by reason of the desolations made upon them by the Enemy Praying to be Eased and abated of their proportion to the last publick Tax or Assessm^t amounting to the sum of Fifty pounds.

Voted,

That the said Town be abated one halfe of the afores^d Sum of Fifty pounds, and that M^r Treasurer do Suspend the calling for the other halfe until the Fifteenth day of December next. The Assessor forthwith to proportion the same upon their Inhabitant^s and to commit the List thereof unto their Constables, so that they may be collecting

Octob^r 22^d 1694: Past in the affirmative by the house of Representatives and sent up to his Ex^{ty} and Council for Consent

NEHEMIAH JEWET speaker

Vot^d a concurrence in Council, die pdict.

Is^d ADDINGTON Secy^r.

[Endorsed]

Vote for abatement to Groton. Oct^r 1694.

[Massachusetts Archives, CXIII. 97.]

Lieutenant-Governor William Stoughton writes from Boston, September 5, 1695, to Captain James Converse: —

I order That at your next passing over Merrimack with your Company towards Dunstable &c That you advise with Maj^r Henchman and M^r Jon^s Ting concerning the posting yo^r men in the several Frontiers of Dunstable, Bilrica Chelmsford Groton, Lancaster and Marlboro for the better inforcem^t of the Garrisons there & maintaining a good brisk Scout for the discovery of the Enemy to prevent their annoying of those Towns during the Harvest Season, . . .

[Massachusetts Archives, LI. 44.]

In accordance with this order, eight men were posted at Groton; soon afterward there were nine, of whom seven were inhabitants of the town.

Captain James Converse writes from Woburn: —

WOBOURNE (7th y^e 7th (1696)

May it pleas your Hon^r

The Subscriber receiving a letter from your Hon^r of y^e first Courant, and therein, a Com^{and} to wait upon your Hon^r y^e next day in ord^r to receive some further Instructions, referring to a Journey to Groaton, to speak with some Volanteers &c: I was also ordered to take Cap Bowers & L^t Crasby with me to Groaton, but I hearing their scouts had discovered sundrey track of the Enemy, I suposed those men might be in y^e Woods with their scouts, and so it proued, for this reson I took with me Cap^{tn} Tho^s Bancroft of Redding, and only one soldier with vs, we came to Groaton on fryday morning (the time y^e I was ordered to be there) where I mett with M^r Daniel fitch & his second, and y^e rest of their Volanteers all but two or 3 Indians, y^e left them (by force) in y^e morning, pretending to returne hom, . . .

[Massachusetts Archives, LI. 68.]

John Haywood, in his "Gazetteer of Massachusetts" (Boston, 1849), under *Groton*, says that one man was killed here, May 20, 1697, and three wounded. (Page 162.) The same

statement is made in George Wingate Chase's "History of Haverhill, Massachusetts" (page 201); though I find no other authority for it. Perhaps it is the same affair mentioned in the next sentence.

Cotton Mather says that one man was killed at Groton, in the year 1697, and another, with two children, carried into captivity. (Magnalia, Book VII, page 91.) He does not give the date clearly, but inferentially it is June. The prisoner was Stephen Holden, who was captured, with his two oldest sons, John and Stephen, Jr. John was released in January, 1699, at which time the father and the other boy were yet remaining in the hands of the savages. It was not long, however, before they too were freed; for, in the following June, the House of Representatives voted three pounds and twelve shillings for the expenses that had been incurred in bringing them back.

Holden's petition to the General Court to be reimbursed for buying his own freedom, is as follows: —

To The Honored & great Assembly now setting in Boston The humble petition and Request of Stephen Holden of Groton

Honored S^s It having pleased the Almighty God to order it that my selfe & my two biggest sons thō small were taken captives by the Indian enemies from our towne of Groton and being with the Esterne enemy & my 2 sons about one year & ten moneth when thō it was my portion to escape with my life thro Gods mercy beyond what I did expect or look for & I think fared better than some other English yett great hardship and difficilties I underwent. but being very desirous with one of my sons that was there to gitt home If it might be fore the English vessells came I was necessitated to give my promise to my Indian Pilates whom I satisfied att Richmans Island by English that I borrowed of there thre pound & twelue shillings If I might haue y^e boldnesse I would humbly craue That It might be payd out of Publiq stock I should take it thankfully att your hands Thus with my thankfulnessse to God that both my selfe & both my children he hath graisously returned to our home againe commend your honours

and concerments into y^e hands & wishing y^e Presence & benidiction of
y^e souveraine God I take Leave & subscribe myselfe your humble servant
& suppliant

STEPHEN HOLDEN

GROTON May 27th 1699

June 6th 1699 once read. & Voted by the house of Representatives
that the aboves^d Peticōner Stephen Holden of Groton be paied out
of the publick Treafy Three pounds & twelve shillings money

Sent up for Concurrence,

JAM^s CONVERSE Speaker

19. July, 99. Read an^d past in Council

Is^d ADDINGTON Secry

Consented to

BELMONT

[Massachusetts Archives, LXX. 400.]

Among the names of the captives received on board the
Province Gally, January 17, 1698-9, at Casco Bay, were
"John Houlding of Groton" and "Tamasin Rouce of Gro-
ten." It is recorded, a week later, that "Steven Houlding of
Groton" and "Steven Houlding Jun' of ditto" are "yet in
the Indian hands." (Archives, LXX. 398, 399.)

It is evident that the early settlers were still having a hard
time during this period. All the records go to show that
between the assaults of the savages and the short crops they
found it difficult to obtain a livelihood. Again they were
obliged to ask the General Court for an abatement of their
taxes, which they did, in a petition, as follows: —

To the Honored Luten^{ts} Govern^r the Honored Council and Repre-
sentitives In the Court Assembled: The humble petition of the towne
of Groton by orderly warning mett upon octob^r the (4th) 1697 then
voating (after Serious discourse upon the present times & awfull cir-
cumstances of them and our pticular immergencyes) our dislike of the
present help granted to us as we are greeved att y^e management &
oversight of it: & voating that capt^m James Parker and Ensigne John

Farnsworth should be our Agents to present and promote this petition of ours by such discourse as might be needfull in our behalfe att the Court. Honored Sirs: We being in some measure necessitated (by the constancy and Long continuance of the righteous hand of Almighty God upon us) to know more experimentally the troubles concomitant and consequent of bloody & cruell warr, Then by Sympathy it can be possibly knowne by others: And that by Reason our stages & dwellings happene to be upon y^e very dint, brinck & in y^e mouth of more unavoidable difficultyes, fears dangers & death by the cruell sword of the wilderness, then many others are or can be, Therefore as we apprehend the case to stand with us, being diminished in our numbers, and greatly impoverished in our out wards, desirous as we hope in measure we have done to be constantly putting up our petitions to the Lord of hosts and god of armies to afford us conduct & Assistance every way so we would not wanting to cry to & humbly call upon our Moses & Aaron to give us advise & to extend their helping hand who if any are, we are in the wilderness where y^r is Scorpions and subtle Finny Serpents mortally wounding and killing of us as your Honor^l Selves hear by Rumour upon Rumour, but we not onely hear butt feel see & woefully experience the same. Honored Sirs we desire with all gratitude and thankfulness to acknowledge your fatherly care of us hitherto, Butt yett we for our parts If still we must abide in the Front. We beg If it may seem good in your eyes that we may be Released from country charges to his Majesty or in plaine words country Rates & that we may be pleased with some sutable proportion of souldiers not of ourselves which if we may be worthy once more to obtaine we haue agreed not to sell them away for men of ourselves as we wickedly did. The way of a changable scout we thought might do us a kindnesse, which if it had bin with good inspection & management attended It might have done It hath appeared to us more ways than one that getting y^e Money hath bin more aimed at the carefull ordering, or doing the worke to earn it hath bin; we beg that If for this autumnal & winter season you may soe meet to order y^e chargable scout that it may be no lesse the¹²; & that it it may be putt into a carefuller & honest hand than it hath bin both for the place & benefit of this poor Towne we are able if called thereto to Alledge sufficient Argum^{nt} that if we have the same or other souldiers It is a thing requisite that some other pson might Inspect them

Thus craving pdone for our boldnesse wishing y^r Lord to be your president in all publike matters that may be before you we humbly subscribe ourselves yours in all obedience & loyalty

SIMON STONE
 THOMAS TARBELL } Select
 SAMUEL PARKER } men

ELIEZAR PARKER
 Constable of Groton

Oct^o 15th 1697. Read
 [Endorsed]

Oct. 97

Voted in y^e house of Representatives

In answer to sd petition. That they are Eased in this Last tax as they desired : & as to y^e Scout y^t they Judg it needfull y^t Six of their owne Souldiers be Employed dayly : & y^t y^e Comand^r in cheif put in a sutable pson to Inspect y^e same

Sent up for Concurrence :

PENN TOWNSEND Speaker

[Massachusetts Archives, LXX. 360, 361.]

It is said, on the authority of Judge Sewall's Diary, that there were three persons badly wounded in the assault of July 27, 1694. One of them, undoubtedly, was Enoch Lawrence, whose given name is sometimes written Enosh. His petition to the Governor for help is as follows: —

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esq^r Cap^t Gen^l and Govern^r in Chief in and over her Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.

To the Honorable Council and Representatives of y^e said p^rvince In Court assembled,

The humble Petition of Enoch Lawrence Humbly Sheweth that your petitioner is a very poor man and by reason of wounds in his hand, received in a fight with the Indians in the former indian War is allmost wholly disabled from following his dayly Labour upon which he depend^s for a Livelyhood both for himself and his family.

Yo^r Petition^r therefore prays That he may have Freedome from Taxes, and something allowed him for a maintainance granted by yo^r

Excclency and this honour^{ble} Court and yo^r Petition^r shall ever
pray &c

ENOCH LAWRENCE

In Council,

16 Octo. 1702. Read and sent down.

IS^A ADDINGTON Sec^y.

Octobr; 17th 1702.

Read in the house of Representatives.

In answer to y^e prayer of Enoch Lawrence, y^e petitioner

Resolved that the said Petition^r be freed from publick Taxes & be
allowed and paid out of the Publick Treasury of the Province as a
Pension during his life; three pounds p^r annū.

Sent up for Concurrence

JAM^S CONVERSE Speaker

Oct^o 19th 1702. In Council,

Read and Voted a Concurrence

IS^A ADDINGTON, Sec^y.

[Massachusetts Archives, LXX. 583.]



CHAPTER III.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.

I.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR, as it is commonly called in America, broke out in the year 1702; when England declared war against France and Spain; and the American colonies were drawn into the contest. The Indians in New England were in sympathy with the French; and they kept the frontier settlements continually on the alert. Strict vigilance, on the part of the colonists, was the price of their safety. Military companies were still held under discipline and drill, and from time to time were reviewed by the proper officers. In the year 1702, Chief Justice Samuel Sewall accompanied Governor Joseph Dudley through Middlesex County on a tour of inspection; and in his Diary, under date of October 28, he writes:—

Went to Groton, saw Capt. Prescott and his company in Arms. (Gov' had sent to them from Dunstable that would visit them). Lancaster is about 12 Miles Southward from Groton. Concord is 16 Miles $\frac{3}{4}$ and Ten-Rod from Groton.

[Massachusetts Historical Collections, VI fifth series, 67.]

The captain of this company was Jonas Prescott, an active man in the affairs of the town. He was a blacksmith

by trade, and the ancestor of a long line of distinguished families. He was the grandfather of Colonel William Prescott, the commander of the American forces at the Battle of Bunker Hill; who was himself the father of William Prescott, the lawyer and jurist, and the grandfather of William Hickling Prescott, the historian.

After these alarms there was a short respite, which continued till 1704; when the frontier towns were again exposed to savage warfare, and this town suffered with the others.

Samuel Penhallow, in "The History of the Wars of *New-England*" (Boston, 1726), thus refers to the attack on this place in August, 1704: The Indians —

afterwards fell on *Lancaster*, and *Groton*, where they did some Spoil, but not what they expected, for that these Towns were seasonably strengthened, . . .

And yet a little while after they fell on *Groton*, and *Nashaway* [*Lancaster*], where they kill'd Lieut. *Wylor* [*Wilder*], and several more. (Pages 24, 25.)

In the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society is a manuscript diary of John Marshall, of Braintree, which has the following entry: —

The begining of this month of august [1704] the indians did mischeif at Lancaster Killed 3 or 4 persons burnt their meeting house: and did some harm also at Groton. the same week. Killed one or more about 200 men went out after them who weer gone 20 days under Major Taylor, but Returned Without doing any spoill on them:

The attack on Lancaster was on July 31, and that on Groton probably within a day or two of the same time.

There were two regiments in Middlesex County at this period; one made up of men living in towns near Boston, called the Lower Regiment, and the other of men living in the more distant sections of the county, known as the Upper Regiment. The following letter, from Major James Converse,

is printed in the Reverend Samuel Sewall's "History of Woburn" (pages 543, 544), and refers to "y^e towns in y^e Lower Regam^t," meaning the towns from which the Lower Regiment was raised. There were some prowling Indians in the neighborhood at this time, and the outlying settlements were alarmed: —

[Superscription]

*For His Exc^{ty} Joseph Dudley, Esq^r Capt^l Gen^l Gov^r In Chief, &c.
These.*

Woods August 14th, 1704.

May it pleas Your Exc^{ty},

I Received Your Excels^{ty} Order of y^e 10th Courrant, I Rec^d it y^e same day about 4 in y^e afternoone, for the detaching 45 Soldiers &c; and to post y^m in 3 squadrons under y^e Comand of a Sarg^t to Each, viz. Groaton, Lanchester & Malburow. I forthwith sent out my Warrants to all y^e towns in y^e Lower Regam^t; the Soldiers were all Impress^d y^e night and y^e 11th day and began to March, the 12 day I went and posted them according to Order, Giuing the sarg^{ts} written Orders to obserue till further Orders, directing them to take advice of the Capt^l of the Respective towns;

At Malburow, John Benjamin sarg ^t 15 men	} 45.
Lanchester, Benjamin Wilson sarg ^t 14 men	
Groaton, Joseph Child, sarg ^t 16 men	

here is y^e whole Number Your Excelency sent for, posted according to order. I think there are too many garrasons in every towne. If these men be Reposted, one at a garrison, and two at another, I shall account my laboir lost, and y^e men next to thrown away, Saving alwayes, what is in Obedience to Your Exc^{ty} Comand there is nothing lost or thrown away.

Exc^{ty} S^r I pray for a gracious pardon, and am
Your Very Humble Ready and Obedient Serv^t

JAMS. CONVERSE.

A party of Indians, numbering about thirty, made their appearance in town, and killed a man on the night of October 25. 1704. Pursuit was at once made for them, but it was un-

successful. "The Boston News-Letter," October 30, 1704, gives the following account of the affair:—

On *Wednesday* night [October 25] an English man was kill'd in the Woods at *Groton* by the Indians which were afterwards descryed in the night by the Light of their Fires, by a Person Travailing from *Groton* to *Lancaster*, and judged they might be about Thirty in number; pursuit was made after them, but none could be found,

From Marshall's Diary we learn the name of the man who was skint. It is there recorded:—

on the 25 day [October, 1704.] mr Breck was ordained at marlborough. the next day a man was killed and scalped by the indians he belonged to the town of Groton his name was davis: a very usefull man and much Lamented:

It has been a tradition that Samuel Davis was killed by the Indians, but the date of his death was unknown; this entry, however, seems to fix it. It is said to have happened in the early part of the evening, while he was taking in some clothes which had been washed and hung out to dry. He lived near the present "Community," where W. Dickson resided when the map in Mr. Butler's History was made; and Davis's Fordway in the river near by, named after him, is still remembered by the older people of that neighborhood

It is not surprising that the inhabitants, upon the renewal of hostilities, were obliged to ask for help from the General Court. They had already suffered much in life and property, and were little able to bear new burdens. They represented to the Governor that they had been greatly impoverished by their loss of horses and cattle, of corn and hay, and that they were scarcely able to hold out much longer; but the crowning calamity of all was the illness of the minister, Mr. Hobart, which prevented him from preaching. Their means were so limited that they could not support him and supply his place besides. They were obliged to earn their living at the peril of their lives; and some were thinking of leaving

the town. They spent so much time in watching and guarding, that they seemed to be soldiers rather than farmers. Under these discouraging circumstances they asked for help, and were allowed out of the public treasury twenty pounds to assist them in procuring another minister, besides ten pounds to be divided among those who were the greatest sufferers in the late attack upon them.

Their petition to the General Court is in the handwriting of Jonas Prescott, and gives a pathetic account of their situation. It is as follows: —

*To his excellency Joseph Dudley esquire captain generall commander in in
and over his majesties provinces of the massachusetts bay in new
England and to the honorable council and representatives in generall
court assembled at boston this Instant December 1704:*

The humble petition of the Inhabitants of the town of groton in the county of midsax in the provinces aforesd humbly sheweth

1 That whereas by the all desposing hand of god who orders all things in infant wisdom it is our portion to live In such a part of the land which by reason of the enemy Is become verry dangrus as by wofull experients we have felt both formerly and of late to our great damidge & discoridgment and spashaly this last yere having lost so many parsons som killed som captanated and som rannoued and also much corn & cattell and horses & hay wharby wee ar gratly Impouerrished and brought verry low & in a verry pore capacity to subsist any longer As the barers herof can inform your honors

2 And more then all this our paster mr hobard is & hath been for aboute a yere incapable of desspansing the ordinaunces of God amongst vs & we have aduised with the Raurant Elders of our nayboring churches and thay aduise to hyare another maister and to saport mr hobard and to make our adras to your honours we have but litel left to pay our dens with being so pore and few In numbr athar to town or cuntry & we being a framere town & lyable to dangor there being no safty in going out nor coming in but for a long time we have got our brad with the parel of our liues & also broght verry low by so grat a charg of bilding garisons & fortifycations by ordur of athenety & thar is samal of our Inhabitants rannoued out of town & others ar

providing to remove, except something be don for our Incrediment
 for we are so few & so poor that we cannot pay two Assistors neither
 if we willing to live without any we spend so much time in watch-
 ing & warding that we can doe but litle else & truly we have lived
 almost 2 yers more like soulders then other wise & accept your
 honors can find out some better way for our safety and support we
 cannot uphold as a town either by remitting our tax or to allow pay
 for building the sawrall torts allowed and ordered by authority or alls
 to allow the one half of our own Inhabitants to be under pay or to
 grant liberty for our remove into our neighboring towms to tak care for
 ourselfs all which if your honors shall see meet to grant you will
 hereby gratly increidg your humble pateccners to connect with the
 many tribls we are ensadent into

whar fore your humble pationars humbly prays your axcellancy & this
 honored court to tak this mater into your seares consideration and
 grant releef accordingly and your pationars shall as in duty bound
 foreur pray

by order of the town of Grotton

JONAS PRESCOTT
 JAMES NUTTING
 JOSEPH LAKEN
 SAMUEL PARKER

Jan^y 2^d 1704 Read,

Jan^y 3: 1704

In the House of Representatives.

In Answer to the Petition on the other side

Resolved That there be allowed, and Paid out of the Publick Treas-
 ury, the sum of Twenty Pounds, to the Town of Grotton to Encourage
 & Assist them in Procuring another Minister, to help them under the
 present Disability of their Pastour M^r. Hubbard, & Ten Pounds more
 be allowed & Paid out of the publick Treasury, to Jonathan Tyng
 Esq. & M^r. Nathan Hill, to be by them proportionably distributed
 to such of the s^d Town, as in their Judgment have been greatest suf-
 ferers, in the late outrages made upon them by the Enemy

Sent up for concurrence.

JAM^s CONVERSE Speaker

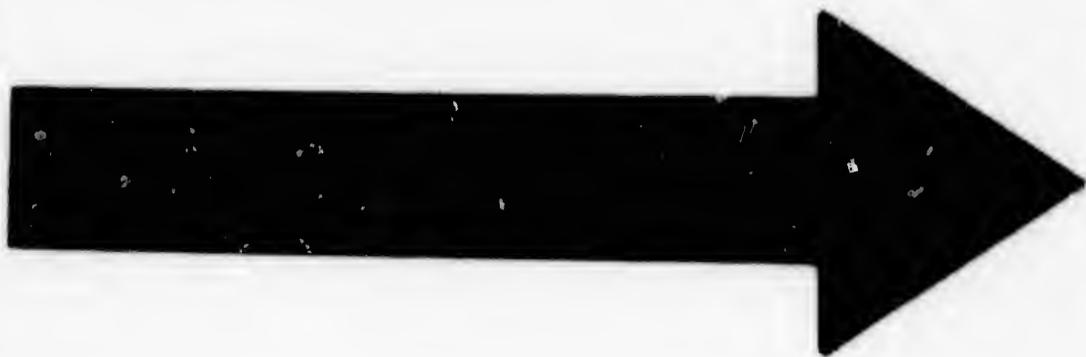
In Council.

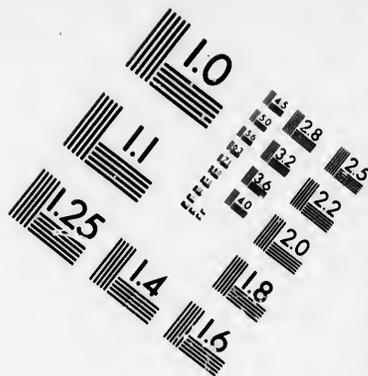
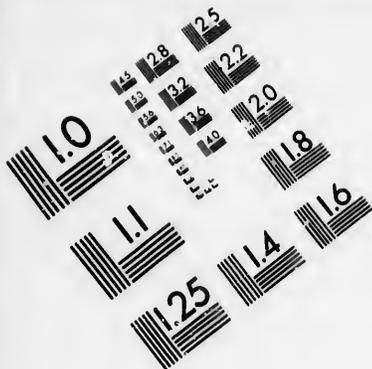
Read and concurr'd,

IS^a ADDINGTON Secy

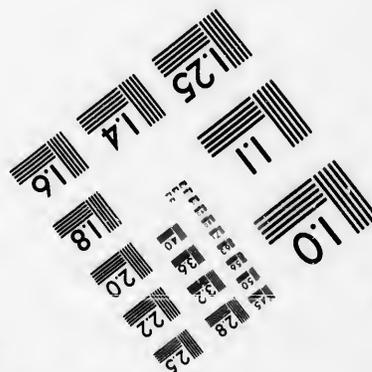
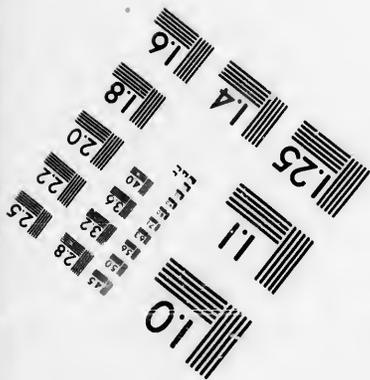
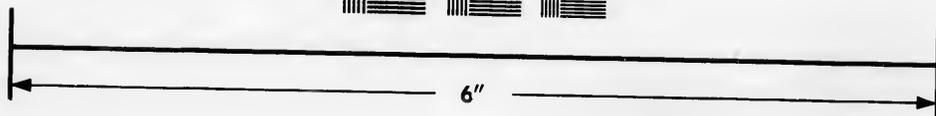
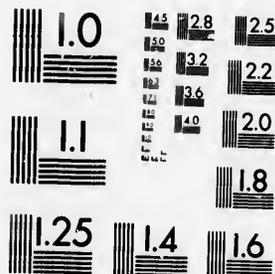
4th January. 1704.

[Massachusetts Archives, LXXI 107, 108.]





**IMAGE EVALUATION
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Two years later, another assault was made on the town, though with little damage. I again quote from Penhallow's History of the Wars of New-England: —

[July 21, 1706.] Several Strokes were afterwards made on *Chelmsford*, *Sudbury* and *Groton*, where three Soldiers as they were going to publick Worship, were way-laid by a small Party, who kill'd two, and made the other a Prisoner. (Page 36.)

A few additional particulars of these "Strokes" are found in the Reverend John Pike's Journal, printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for September, 1875: —

July 21, 1706. Sab: 2 souldiers slain, & one carried away by the enemy at Groton. They were all new-Cambridge [Newton] men, & were returned to their Post from one Bloods house, who had invited y^m to Dinner. (XIV. 143.)

Marshall, in his Diary, briefly alludes to this affair thus: —
on the 21 [July] they Killed 2 and took one captive at groton.

The Reverend Jonathan Homer, in his History of Newton, as published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, V. 273, gives the names of these men as John Myrick, Nathaniel Healy, and Ebenezer Seger, and says they were all three killed by the Indians. This statement, however, is inaccurate, as John Myrick was not one of the three soldiers, and furthermore was alive after this date. It is sufficiently clear from the following contemporaneous petitions that two of these men were brothers by the name of Seager, and the third one was Nathaniel Healy. It was one of the Seager brothers who was taken prisoner.

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esq. Captain Generall and Governour in Chief in and Over her Majesties Province of the Massachusetts bay & the Hon^{ble} y^e Council & Representatives in Generall Court Assembled —

The Humble Petition of Nathaniel Healy of Newtown in said Province

May it please your Excell^y Your Humble Petitioner having at his own proper Cost Armed his Son Nathaniel Healy into her Majesties Service under the Command of Captⁿ Josiah Parker At Groton on the 21 day of July 1706. Yo^r Petitioners said Son was slain and his Gun Carried away by the Enemy who Waylaid him and Others as they were going to Meeting On the Sabbath day

Your Petitioner humbly Prays that he may be Supplied with Another Gun at the Province Charge for Another of his Sons, Or be otherwise allowed as Your Excellency shall think meet

And Your Petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray &c

NATHANAEL HEALY

In the House of Representatives.

June 5th 1707. Read.

Resolved That the Sum of Twenty Shillings be Allowed & Paid out of the publick Treasury to Nath^l Healy the Petitioner in full for the Gun above mentioned

Sent up for Concurrence.

JOHN BURRILL Speak^r

[Endorsed]

5^o June. 1707.

Read and Concurr'd

In Council.

IS^A ADDINGTON Secry

[Massachusetts Archives, LXXI. 345.]

To His Excellency the Governour And the Honorable Council & to the Representatives the humble Petition of Henry Scager of Newtown

Sheweth

That y^r Petitioner had, The Summer before Last, Two Sors prest out in to y^e Countreys Service at Groton, And were whilst in the Service by the Providence of God, one of them Kill'd by the Enemy y^e other Taken Captive; So y^r they bot'h of them Lost their Arms w^{ch} I think were Justly valuable at five pounds, and four Powder horns, half a Pound of Powder, twenty bullets & a Snapsack,

Y^r Petitioner therefore humbly prays that he may be Considered herein, out of the Countrey Treasure as shall be y^r Good Pleasure And y^r Petitioner shall ever Pray &c^a

HENRY H SEAGER
[his mark]

4^o Nov^m 1707

In Council.

Read and Recommended to the House.

[Endorsed]

In the House of Representatives

Nov: 14: 1707. Read.

In Answer to the Petition on the other side

Resolved That the sum of forty shillings be Allowed & Paid, out of the publick Treary to Henry Seager the Petitioner.

Sent up for Concurrence.

JOHN BURRILL Speak^r

15^o Nov. 1707.

In Council

Read and Concurr'd

IS ADDINGTON Seery.

[Massachusetts Archives, LXXI. 419.]

Penhallow, in his History, gives several instances of extreme cruelty to the prisoners on the part of the savages, and mentions the following case of a man who was captured in this town: —

A third was of *Samuel Butterfield*, who being sent to *Groton* as a Soldier, was with others attackt, as they were gathering in the Harvest; his bravery was such, that he kill'd one and wounded another, but being overpower'd by strength, was forc'd to submit; and it hapned that the slain *Indian* was a *Sagamore*, and of great dexterity in War, which caused matter of Lamentation, and enrag'd them to such degree that they vow'd the utmost revenge; Some were for whipping him to Death; others for burning him alive; but differing in their Sentiments, they submitted the Issue to the *Squaw Widow*, concluding she would determine something very dreadful, but when the matter was opened, and the Fact considered, her Spirits were so moderate as to make no other reply, than, "*Fortune L'guare*. Upon which some were uneasy;

to whom she answered, *If by killing him, you can bring my Husband to life again, I beg you to study what Death you please; but if not let him be my Servant*; which he accordingly was, during his Captivity, and had favour shewn him." (Pages 38, 39.)

The account of Butterfield's case was in substance originally printed in a pamphlet entitled "A MEMORIAL of the Present Deplorable STATE of *New England*" (1707),—now of great rarity,—which appeared twenty years before Judge Penhallow's History was published. This pamphlet has since been reprinted in the introduction to the sixth volume, fifth series, of the "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society." The account is as follows:—

A Man had Valiantly Killed an Indian or two before the Salvages took him. He was next Morning to undergo an horrible Death, whereof the Manner and the Torture was to be assigned by the Widow *Squa* of the Dead Indian. The French Priests told him, they had indeavoured to divert the Tygres from ther bloody Interion, but could not prevail with them; he must prepare for the terrible Execution. His cries to God were hard, and heard; when the Sentence of the *Squa*, was demanded, quite contrary to every ones Expectation, and the Revengeful Inclination so usual and well-known among these Creatures, she only said, *His Death won't fetch my Husband to Life; Do nothing to him!* So nothing was done to him. (Page 58.*)

Butterfield remained a captive for more than a year. It is not known how he obtained his release. His petition to the General Court sets forth the fact that he was an inhabitant of Chelmsford, and was sent by Captain Jerathmel Bowers to Groton, in order to help Colonel Taylor, in August, 1704, when the enemy came upon the place. It is as follows:—

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esq: Cap: General and Governo: in Chief and To the Hono^{ble}: the Council and House of Representatives now in General Assembly convened at Boston within & for her Majesties Province of the Massachus: Bay April 10th 1706.

The Humble Petition of Samuel Butterfield Sheweth
That yo^r Petitioner is an Inhabitant of the Town of Chelmsford,

and in the month of August 1704, when the Enemy came upon Nashoway & Groton & yo^r Petitioner (with others) was sent out by the Cap^t Jerathmel Bowers to Groton to assist Col: Taylor, when yo^r Petitioner being ordered out with some others to Guard a Man who was going to work in the field, the Enemy came upon them, killd one man and took yo^r Petitioner and one other Prisoners, thô yo^r Petitioner made all the resistance possible, killed one, and knockt down two more after they had seized him, for which yo^r Petitioner was cruelly used by them afterwards & threatened to be burnt, several times. May it please this Great and Generall Assembly. yo^r Petitioner was very well accoutred in all respects when he was taken, and then was stript of all and was between fourteen and fifteen months a Captive exposd to great hardships, and has sustained great Loss and damage.

Yo^r Petitioner therefore humbly prays the favor of this great and General Assembly to take the premises into yo^r serious Consideration and Grant him such Recompense for his Losses and sufferings. as afores^t as to yo^r wisdom and Goodness shall seem meet.

and yo^r Petitioner (as in duty bound) shall ever pray &c.

SAMUELL BUTTERFIELD

[Endorsed]

Apr^l 10 : 1706, Read.

In the House of Representative,

Resolved That the Sum of Five Pounds be allowed, & Paid out of the Publick Treasury to Sam^l Butterfield the Petitioner in Consideration of his Losse, & service.

Sent up for concurrence.

THOMAS WAKES Speaker

April. 11. 1706.

In Council.

Read & concurr'd.

Is^a ADDINGTON Sec^y.

[Massachusetts Archives, LXXI. 195, 196.]

Butterfield had previously received, October 27, 1704, a bounty of four pounds for killing the Indian mentioned in this petition; but the present award was for his services and personal loss.

The following petition to the Governor was presented in the year 1706, probably in the summer, as at that time the town was engaged in settling the Reverend Mr. Bradstreet as the minister: —

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esq Capl. General and Governr in Chief in and over her Majestyes Province of the Massachusetts Bay &c. and to the Hon^{ble} the Council and Representatives of s^t Province.

Wee the inhabitants of the Towne of Groton cannot but with all thankfulness acknowledge the great Care that his Ex^{cy} and Govern^r hath taken for our Preservation and defense in these times of danger. Notwithstanding all which, wee have bin by our Enemy extremely impoverished not being capable of making those improvements which are necessary for our subsistance, but our Outlands upon which wee have a Considerable dependance lye neglected; and many of us are reduced to the Last necessity; our Stocks are like to Suffer much in the Winter; and are in great fears that wee have mett wth Considerable losses in them already from the Enemy and wee are now at Extream Charge in the Settling of our Minister; So that wee are greatly reduced and impoverished;

Wee would therefore humbly intreat that our Languishing Circumstances may be taken into your Consideration; and that our proportion of the Publique tax may this year be remitted to us; and wee hope that not only our present afflicted State but our future dutyfull deportment will be Such as may testifie for us, and afford yo^r hon^{rs} Satisfaction in so notable an instance of Charity, and Compassion

JONAS PRESCOTT
JONATHAN LAWRENCE
JN^o FARNESWORTH

SAM^l PARKER } Select
NATH. WOODS } men.
ROBT. ROBBINS }

In behalf of the Towne of Groton;

[Massachusetts Archives, CXIII. 391.]

The following account of a court-martial, held at Groton, has some interest from the fact that it gives the names of a few of the men engaged in the public service at that time. The officers composing the court-martial were undoubtedly in command of companies in this neighborhood: —

GROTON Feb^r 17, 1706-7
1 o'clock in ye morning

May it please your Ex^cy.

I rec^d your Ex^cy's Letter, and immediatly upon the return of our forces this evening Call'd a Court Marshal and made perticuler inquisitiō into Waymans affair, the Cobby of which I send enclosed, and pray your Excellency's perticuler direction thereupon; Tarbol who was the person who pretended the discovery altho. imprudent and so blamable yet would begg your Excellencies favour for him as a very honest man willing to do service and infinitely concern'd for this ill accident, So that the uneasiness and trouble that has posses'd him is in it self so considerable a punishment that he seems to need no other Gladly should wee have found out the Ringleaders of the mutinous and disorderly returne but after much Examination cant effect it. Wee all wait your Ex^cys ord^s and shall proceed accordingly and am

Yor Ex^cys most obedt Servt

EPHR: HUNT.

Die Solis Ferbruary 16. 1706-7.

At a Court Marshal held at Groton By orders of his Excellency [Joseph Dudley], For the Tryal of Lieut^t Seth Wayman, Serj^t Thomas Tarbol and Comp^s &c.

Present

Col^o Ephraim Hunt Presid^t

Cap^t Jonathan Prescott.

Cap^t Jonas Prescott

Cap^t Josiah Parker

Cap^t Steph. Williams

Cap^t Thomas Nichols

Cap^t Joseph Bulkeley

Cap^t Benjamin Willard.

Col^o Eph. Hunt the Presid^t opned the Court, By declaring themselves by his Excellencys perticul^r Ord^r to be a Court Marshal for ye Tryal of Lieu^t Seth Wayman, for a false report brought by s^d Way-

man of the discovery of the Indian Enemy near Monadnock on the 6th instant, and for their returne home, in a mutinous disorderly manner without Endeavours after a Sufficient discovery.

Liev^t Seth Wayman examin'd about the sending out of his scouts on the Sixth instant sayth that

On the Sixth instant on our incamping on Sun about an hour high wee Sent out Two Scouts, of four men each; One to march on the left Wing; the other on the Right; To march about a mile and a half right out upon discovery from the Noyse of our Hatchetts

He further Saith that after they had bin upon the Scout about an hour, that he Saw both Scouts returning together, running towards our Camp as men affrightened, and called to me at a distance to put out our fires, for they had discover'd a Body of the Enemy. Then Corp^l Tarbol coming up to me told me that he had discover'd the Enemy; The first of their Camps that he discover'd, he sd the Noyse of their Hatchetts, were as bigg as our Company, and so reached halfe a mile.

The other part of our Scout told me they had discover'd the Track of Doggs, which they Judg'd to be Twenty or Thirty.

Corp^l Tarbol conduct of the Scout March'd on the Right wing; being Examined concerning his discovery saith

That they took a Circular March till they had stear'd out of the noyse of our owne Camp; and then thinking wee had heard the Noyse of our owne Hatchetts, wee took another Circle to the left that wee might be sure wee were out of the noyse of Hatchetts; After a short time travelling wee heard a noyse of Hatchetts, upon the left wing on the side of a Hill which was near us upon which wee march'd towards the Place upon discovery, and presently I discover'd a Smoak and immediatly march'd towards it till the smoke cover'd me; (leaving the rest of the men behind) I then heard a great discourse of men which I took to be Indian: and French, and so it held a Considerable way round the Hill, at least half a mile as I judged, upon which wee return'd another way till wee came to our owne tracks; and then wee met with the other Scout, and upon our account to them of what wee had discov'd, they told us they had met with a track of twenty or Thirty Doggs, which they Judg'd to be the Enemys Doggs, upon which we return'd together to the Camp, to make report to our Cap^t Coimander and thereupon Liev^t Wayman our

Command' call'd his Officers together, but before he had liberty to speak his men interrupted him; he bid them move off, Scatter, and stand on their Guard, upon which three quarters of our men ran away homewards, the Cap' Sent his Serjeants and went himself to stop them, but could not do it, and so wee were forced to march home.

Samuel Shaddock and William Nutting of Serj' Tarbol's scout confirme Tarbol's account, and peticularly that article of the disorderly returning of our men or ru'ing away from their Cap' upon the information rec'd of this discovery.

The Examination of Samuel Scripture Conduct of the Scout on the left wing who saith That on the sixth of february upon our incamping I was sent upon discovery about Sun an hour high at night to march on the left wing, and having march'd about a mile and a quarter, wee met with a Track which Jonathan Butterfield who was wth me thought to have bin a bitch wolfe and her Whelps, but I thought to be Indian Doggs, and followed their track about a quarter of a mile, and after a small Stop wee saw Tarbols scout who call'd us away and told us they believ'd there was a thousand Indians upon which wee hastened away but Tarbols scout ran so fast that I could not come up with them to und'stand what their discovery was till I came to the Camp; where Tarbol related what he had seen, all our men Crowded to hear news; Lieu' Wyman Ord'd his men to stand farther off and give room that he might discourse his officers, upon which many of them ran away, and the Cap' Sent Serj' Parham to stop them; Lieu' Wayman seing his men desert him, and Tarbols men representing y^e Enemy as so very numerous thought it adviseable to draw off and accordingly wee made the best of our way home.

The Exam. of Jonathan Butterfield being of the scout on the Left wing Confirnes Sam' Scriptures information, and tells us Lieu' Wayman talk'd of marching immediately to the Place of discovery but many of our men moved off disorderly which the Cap' sent the Serj's to Stopp, but could not do it and so were forced to return home.

Serj' Jn^o Parham being examin'd upon the Article of Lieu' Waymans men's disorderly and mutinous running away sayth

That Above half of them ran away upon Tarbol's Examination and that Leiv' Wayman sent him after them with Orders to turne about and fire in case of an attack in the rear.

Leiv^t Seth Wayman being examin'd of his proceedings upon his receiving advice of Tarbols Scout Sayth

That upon receiving this account he encouraged his men by telling them that they had a brave advantage of the Enemy, in that they had discover'd them and were not themselves discover'd, and there was a great prospect of doing Spoil upon them, and determined that four squadrons of men which we had stated, should fall upon four scouts of the Enemy My officers advised me not to go on, saying it would be presumption, and an apparent hazzard of mens lives to Encounter so great a Company, upon which Serj^t Tarbol threw down his Cap, and offer'd himself to go if but four men would go with him, but officers advising to the Company and many of my men withdrawing and running away disorderly I found myself too weak to attaque them and accordingly made the best of my way home

[Endorsed]

Court Martial at Groton. 16th Feb^r 1706.

[Massachusetts Archives, LL. 153-157.]

At various times in its early history, the town was threatened by bands of roving Indians, who did whatever damage lay in their power to do. Such incursions kept the inhabitants on the alert, and from time to time companies were organized for the purpose of scouring the neighborhood. It was in an emergency of this kind, probably, that Lieutenant Wayman's company was reconnoitring through the region around and about the Monadnock Mountain.

On March 12, 1694-5, an Act was passed by the General Court, which prohibited the desertion of frontier towns by the inhabitants, unless permission was first granted by the Governor and Council. There were eleven such towns, and Groton was one of them. The law required the inhabitants of these out-towns, who owned land or houses, to take out a spécial license, on pain of forfeiting their property, before they could quit their homes and live elsewhere. It was thought that the interest of the Crown would be prejudiced,

and encouragement given to the enemy, if any of these posts were deserted, or exposed by lessening their strength. Many towns were threatened by the Indians about this time, and a few were attacked. It is recorded that some of the settlers here left the town, and there was probably a movement among the inhabitants in other places to do the same. This fact, undoubtedly, occasioned the enactment, which was to remain in force "unto the end of the session of the general assembly to convene in May, one thousand six hundred ninety-six (if the present war so long last), and no longer, nor afterwards."

A similar Act was again passed on March 22, 1699-1700, which embraced fourteen frontier towns, of which Groton was one, and seven other towns that "lye more open than many others to an attack of an enemy." This enactment had a limitation in point of time similar to the preceding one. Subsequently this Act was revived on June 8, 1702, with the limitation, though no towns are specified by name; again on June 28, 1706, it was re-enacted, to remain in force until June 29, 1707; and still later, but not for the last time, it was passed on June 10, 1707. This continuous legislation to prevent the desertion of the frontiers shows clearly the unsettled condition of the out-lying towns during Queen Anne's War, and Groton was no exception. In the following letter, Captain Josiah Parker refers to the law, which was passed a month before the date of writing: —

On a lecter day. Groton July 9. 1707

May it plesse your Excelency I have Read your Excelencies order to y^e Inhabitants and the law against deserting the frontiers, I could do it no sooner for several of the inhabitants ware gon to plainfeild and Returned yesterday, only two stayd behind; S^r one of those that designe to Remove is the Barer & a selectman and lives on the outsid the Towne. I thought good to send him, who can acquaint your Excelency who is Removed & who are meditating the same

Cap^t Bulkely & $\frac{1}{2}$ his men are gon to Lancaster and the other halfe

here, and do Expect a Relece thay being men of concidrabl husbandry ; y^e most of them. all y^e people that will worke in Companey have gards to Cover them to their Content, if your Excelency Plese I should very glad of a Relie ; I am your

Excelences most Humble

Servent JOSIAH PARKER

[Superscribed]

To His

Excelency The

Gounour att

Roxbury

On Her Maj^{ty} Service

GROTON July 9. 1707.

May it please yo^r Excy.

According to yo^r Ex^{ty}es Co^mmands wee have Sent an account of those that are either actually remov'd, or meditating of it. Our People are reduc'd to that degree that they find themselves unable to subsist any long! Would pray your Ex^{ty} either to grant Liberty for their Remove or that they may be reduc'd here intirely to a Garrison (of the Towne militia) for the pr^serving the frontiers ; wee thankfully acknowledge your Ex^{ty}es great Care of us hitherto, and would pray the Continuance of your R^e gards, without which wee are an undone people Wee take leave to subscribe

(may it please yo^r Ex^{ty})

Your Ex^{ty}s most obed^t Serv^{ts}

JOSEPH LAKIN

Town clark

JOHN FARNSWORTH }
 JONATHAN BOIDON } Select
 JOSEPH LAKIN } men

[Superscribed]

To His Excelency

The Gounour att

Roxbury

GROTON July ye 9 day 1707

John Ston	Joseph Paraham
Jonathan Pag	Samuill Daus
Nathanill Woods	Danjill Cadein
Danill lawranc	John Cadein
John Shattuck	John hoare
Nathanill Parker	Samuill farnsworth
Benimin Lakin	Joseph Boidon
Jonathan boidon	Josiah Whetney
John huchin	Corenallus Whitney
Zachariah lawranc	Joseph lawranc
Edlman Chambrlin	Ebenezer Nutting
John Hall	of persons gon
Samuell Shattuck	
Zerrubbubl Kamp	
Zachariah Sartwall	
John Gilson	
Abraham lakin	
Josiah iakin	
Joseph lakin	
Willuam Lakin	
Willuam Shattuck	
John Farnsworth	

of the persons that are consedring of going

JOSEPH LAKIN	} Select	
JOHN FARNWORTH		} men
JONATHAN BOIDON		

JOSEPH LAKIN
Town clarck
for Groton

[Massachusetts Archives, CXIII. 418-420.]

A man by the name of Brown was killed here, on June 11, 1707. The affair is thus referred to in Pike's Journal, printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for September, 1875: —

Jun. 11, 1707. mr Dudley Bradstreets man was slain by the Indians at Groton — nomine Brown. (XIV. 145.)

During this period the savages were still skulking in the neighborhood, doing what injury they could. The following item, taken from "The Boston News-Letter," of August 25, 1707, describes an event which alarmed the people of this town: —

On Monday last the 16th Currant, Thirteen Indians on the Frontiers, surprized two men at their Labour in the Meadows at *Martborough*, about 4 miles distant from the Body of the Town, took them both alive; and as they parted out of the Town, took a Woman also in their marching off, whom they kill'd: *How* one of the Prisoners broke away in a Scuffle, and brought home the Indians Gun and Hatchet, and acquainted the Garison and Inhabitants, who speedily followed them, and were joynd by 20 from *Lancaster*, being in all 40 odd came up with the Enemy, who were also encreased to 36, and on *Tuesday* at ten of the Clock found them, and in two hours exchanged ten Shot a man, in which Skirmish we lost two men, and had too slightly wounded; and no doubt we kill'd several of the Enemy, whose Tracts of being dragg'd away we saw, but recover'd but one of them, tho' tis probably conjectur'd that we kill'd 10 or 12 at least; we took 24 of their Packs, and drove them off their ground, and are yet pursued by two Parties of the Forces from *Lancaster* and *Groton*, at our Forces overtaking and attacking the Enemy, they barbarously murdered the Captive.

The people must have lived in constant dread of the Indians during most of Queen Anne's War. Sometimes an outlying farmhouse was attacked and burned, some of the inmates killed and others carried away in captivity; sometimes the farmer was shot down while at labor in the field, or while going or coming. This was the fate of John Shattuck, and his son John, a young man about nineteen years of age, who were killed May 8, 1709.

They were returning from the west side of the Nashua River, where Mr. Shattuck owned land, and were attacked just as they were crossing the Stony Fordway, near the present site of Hollingsworth's paper-mills, where they were killed. At the time of his death Mr. Shattuck was one of the selectmen of the town. During the autumn of 1882 Messrs. Tileston

and Hollingsworth, of Boston, the owners of the mills, caused a suitable stone to be placed by the wayside, bearing the following inscription: —

NEAR THIS SPOT
 JOHN SHATTUCK,
 A SELECTMAN OF GROTON,
 AND
 HIS SON JOHN
 WERE KILLED BY THE INDIANS,
 MAY 8, 1709,
 WHILE CROSSING STONY FORDWAY,
 JUST BELOW THE PRESEN^T DAM.
 1882.

A remarkable fatality seems to have followed Mrs. Shattuck's kindred. Her husband and eldest son were killed by the Indians, as has just been mentioned. Her father, James Blood, was likewise killed, September 13, 1692. So also were her uncle, William Longley, his wife and five children, July 27, 1694; and three others of their children were carried away into captivity at the same time. A relative, James Parker, Jr., and his wife were killed in this assault, and their children taken prisoners. Her step-father, Enoch Lawrence, received a wound in an engagement with the Indians, probably in the same attack of July 27, 1694, which almost wholly prevented him from earning a livelihood for himself and family. The three Tarbell children, who were carried off to Canada by the Indians, June 20, 1707, were cousins of Mrs. Shattuck. John Ames, who was shot by the savages at the gate of his own garrison, July 9, 1724, was the father of Jacob, who married her niece, Ruth Shattuck. And lastly, her son-in-law, Isaac Lakin, the husband of her daughter

Elizabeth, was wounded in Lovewell's Fight at Pequawket, May 8, 1725. These calamities covered a period of only one generation, extending from the year 1692 to 1725.

The Reverend Wilkes Allen, in his "History of Chelmsford" (page 35, *note*), says that Major Tyng was wounded by the Indians between Groton and Concord, some time during the year 1711, and that he was taken to the latter town, where he died.

Near the end of Queen Anne's War there were eighteen garrisons in this town, containing, in all, fifty-eight families, or three hundred and seventy-eight persons. Of this number, seventeen were soldiers in the public service. The details are given in "A List of Frontier Garrisons Reviewed by Order of his Excellency the Governour [Joseph Dudley], In Novemb^r 1711," as follows:—

No	Garrisons	Familys	Inhabits	Souldiers	Souls
1	Serj ^t Gillson	3	6	1	25
2	Deacon Whittneys	4	8	—	32
3	Lieu ^t Lawrance	1	1	—	2
4	Cap ^t Prescott	4	8	1	41
5	Samuel Parker	3	8	0	27
6	M ^r Bradstreet	1	1	3	10
7	M ^r Hubbards	3	12	0	32
8	M ^r Lakins	7	9	1	30
9	Ens ^s Shipple	6	7	2	30
10	M ^r Shaddock	5	6	2	26
11	Corp ^o Tarbell	4	6	2	23
12	M ^r Holdings	1	3	2	12
13	Ens ^s Farnsworth	3	4	1	18
14	M ^r Filbrick	7	8	0	40
15	M ^r Stones	2	3	0	12
16	Chamberlain	1	—	—	4
17	y ^e Cap ^t Mill	1	1	1	6
18	M ^r Farnsworth	2	2	1	8
		58	93	17	378

[Massachusetts Archives, LXXI. 874.]

It would be interesting to identify the several sites of these garrison-houses, but that is now impossible. Mr. Bradstreet's house is the only one in the list still standing. It was built during the year 1706, and is situated on Hollis Street; it was occupied by A. W. Churchill when the map, — opposite to page 247, — in Mr. Butler's History was made.

Captain Prescott lived at the southerly end of the village, on the farm known as the birthplace of Colonel William Prescott. Mr. Hubbard — or Hobart, as commonly written — dwelt on the site of the Baptist Meeting-house. Mr. Lakin's house was probably in the neighborhood of the cemetery, and Ensign Shepley's stood near by, on the Martin's Pond road. Mr. "Shaddock" was perhaps William Shattuck, who lived in the vicinity of Wattle's Pond; and Corporal Tarbell's farm is now occupied by James Lawrence. Captain Prescott's mill at the Forge Village, now in Westford, is evidently meant by "y^e Cap' Mill."

An allusion is made probably to some one captured during Queen Anne's War, in the following extract from the account of a "Missionary Tour in Maine," written in the year 1798, by the Reverend Paul Coffin, and printed in the fourth volume of the "Collections of the Maine Historical Society: " —

Mr. Russel of Canaan [Maine] told me he lived in an house at Groton, the owner of which was captivated by the indians, about ninety years past and brought to Norridgewogg, where he built the first Moss-house which the indians and French first had there. This pleased his new masters so well that they gave him his redemption. (Pages 379, 380.)

II.

IN a list of prisoners held by the French and Indians in Canada, March 5, 1710-11, are the names of "Zech: Tarbal, John Tarbal, Sarah Tarbal, Matt. Farnsworth [and] Lydia Longley" (Archives, LXXI. 765), all of Groton, though no date of capture is given. Lydia Longley was taken by the Indians on July 27, 1694, and the particulars of her case have already been told. The Tarbell children were carried off on June 20, 1707; but it is unknown when Matthias Farnsworth was captured, and this entry appears to be the only record of the fact. Sarah, John, and Zechariah were children of Thomas and Elizabeth (Wood) Tarbell, who, with a large family, lived on Farmers' Row, near where James Lawrence's house now stands. Sarah was a girl nearly fourteen years of age, John a lad of twelve years, and Zechariah only seven, at the time when they were taken. They were near kindred of the Longley family, who had been massacred thirteen years before. The father was unquestionably the Corporal Tarbell who commanded, in the autumn of 1711, one of the eighteen garrisons in the town.

The story of their capture and captivity is a singular one, and sounds like a romance. They were picking cherries early one evening, — so tradition relates, — and were taken before they had time to get down from the tree. It should be borne in mind that the date of capture, according to the new style of reckoning, was July 1, when cherries would be ripe enough to tempt the appetite of climbing youngsters. These children were carried to Canada, where, it would seem, they were treated kindly, as no inducement afterward was strong enough to make them return permanently to their old home. The girl, Sarah, was sold to the French, and placed in a convent at Lachine, near Montreal; but what became of her subsequently I am unable to say.

Thomas Tarbell, the father of these children, made his will September 26, 1715, which was admitted to probate six weeks later, and is now on file at the Middlesex Probate Office in East Cambridge. After making certain bequests to different members of his family, he says: —

all the rest & residue of my Reall Estate I give to be Equally divided between my three children, John, Zachary, & Sarah Tarbell, upon their return from Captivity, or In Proportion unto any of them that shall return, & the rest, or the parts belonging to them that do not return, shall be Equally divided among the rest of my children.

During my visit to Montreal in the summer of 1877 I saw, at the Congregation of Nôtre Dame, the French record, of which the following is a translation: —

On Monday, July 23, 1708, the ceremony of baptism was performed on Sarah Tarbell, who was born at Groton in New England, October 9, 1693. Her parents were Thomas Tarbell and Elizabeth Wood, both Protestants, and she was baptized by the minister shortly after her birth. Having been taken by the savages on Monday, June 20, 1707, she was brought to Canada; she has since been sold, and has lived with the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame, established at Lachine, where she abjured her religion on May 1. Her godfather was M. Jacques Urbain Robert de Lamorandière, Secretary of M. l'Intendant; and her godmother was Madame Marguerite Bonat, wife of M. Étienne Pascaud, the deputy treasurer of the King in this country.

Her name Sarah has been changed to Marguerite.

[Signed]

MC^{TE} BONAT,
PASCAUD,
LAMORANDIÈRE,
MERIEL, PRÊTRE.

The boys remained for many years with their captors at Caughnawaga, an Indian village on the right bank of the St. Lawrence River, directly opposite to Lachine.

It is supposed that they left this place about the year 1760, when they moved up the river, in order to establish another settlement.

In the year 1713 John Stoddard and John Williams were appointed by Governor Joseph Dudley, to go to Quebec and treat with the Governor-General of Canada for the release of the New England prisoners. They were accompanied by Thomas Tarbell, — probably the elder brother of the boys, — and we find his petition presented to the House of Representatives, June 1, 1715, "praying consideration and allowance for his Time and Expences in going to *Canada*, with Major *Stoddard* & Mr. *Williams*, Anno 1713, to recover the Captives."

The petition was referred, and, on the next day, —

Capt. *Noyes* from the Committee for Petitions, made Report on the Petition of *Thomas Tarbell*, viz. That they are of Opinion that nothing is due from the Province to the said *Tarbell*, since he proceeded as a Volunteer in that Service to *Canada*, & not employed by the Government, but recommended him to the favour of the House.

The report was accepted, and, in consideration of Tarbell's services, he was allowed ten pounds out of the public treasury. Captain Stoddard's Journal, giving an account of the negotiations, is printed in "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register" (v. 26), for January, 1851, and Tarbell's name is mentioned in it.

We find no further trace of these boys, now grown up to manhood, during the twenty-five years following this attempt to release the New England prisoners. In the winter of 1739 John and Zechariah Tarbell came back to Groton in order to visit their kinsfolk and see their native town. They were so young when carried away that their recollections of the place were of course very indistinct. It is not known now under what circumstances or influences they returned. An itemized bill of the expense incurred in bringing them back from

Canada was made out against their brothers, Thomas and Samuel, and perhaps paid by them. Shortly afterward Thomas Tarbell petitioned the General Court for means to enable him to meet the necessary charges of the journey, besides the expenses of an interpreter; and a conditional loan was granted. The record does not say whether it was ever paid back by him. The papers relating to the subject are as follows: —

D^r Mess^{rs} Thomas & Samuel Tarbell to William Rogers Jun^r C^t.

1738⁹

Jan ^y To 50 ^{lb} Biskett	£— 10 3	
40 lb Pork a 7 ^d	1 3 4	
1½ Gall ^s Brandy	8 9	
8 blanketts Strouds each q ^{rs} 2½	} 6 10	
Ells a 6/6 p Ell		
To Lodging Victu ^l &c; 9 days a ¼ each	1 16 0	
To Horse Hire to Kinderhook & expenc ^e	15 9	
To Lodging Victu ^l &c; at Westenhook	7 2	
To horse Hire from Westfield to Gro ⁿ	10	
	<hr/>	
N. York mony	£ 12 1 3	
at 200 p C ^t advance	24 2 6	
	<hr/>	
To Cash paid Expences at Glasco	} £ 15 10	[£] 36 3 9
[Blandford] N. E. M[oney].		
To d ^r paid d ^r at Westfield	10	
To d ^r paid d ^r and Horse Hire at	} 1 15	
Springfield		
To d ^r paid d ^r at Lambs between	} 6 6	
Springfield and Kingstown		
[Palmer]		
To d ^r at M ^r Ashleys	17 2	
To d ^r paid at Howards & Richerdsons	12	
To d ^r paid at M ^r Huberds	14 6	
To d ^r paid at Boston &c;	<hr/>	[£] 5 11
		3
[Amount carried forward,		<hr/>
		£44 14 9]

Thirty Nine pounds Eleven shillings and seven pence out of the publick Treasury provided the said Tharbell give good security for reimbursing the Treasury the said sum within the space of two years at the farthest, in Case his two Brothers do not within that time return with their families & dwell among us in this Government

Sent up for Concurrence

J. QUINCY Sp^{kr}

In Council April 24 1739 Read and Nonconcurr'd.

SIMON FROST Dep^t Sec^y

[Massachusetts Archives, XV. A 17.]

In the House of Representatives April 21. 1739

In Consideration of that Clause in His Excellency's speech for inducing some English Captives lately come from Canada to return hither again by giving them some proper Encouragement Ordered that the sum of Forty pounds new tenor bills be granted & allowed to be paid out of the publick Treasury to Joseph Kellogg Esq^r and by him to be paid and disposed of to & for the use of the two Captives viz^t John Tharbell and Zechariah Tharbell in the following Manner viz^t Sixteen pounds thirteen shillings & four pence part thereof to be laid out at their discretion as a present to their wives in the purchase of such things as they are desirous of, and that the like sum of sixteen pounds thirteen shillings & four pence be given to be at their own disposall, and the remainder thereof viz. six pounds thirteen shillings & four pence be given them to bear their charges homewards

and further the assurance of this Government is hereby given them that if they shall return with their Families to live among us they shall be put & kept in the pay of the province as Soldiers at Fort Dummer during Life to give them bread for their Families without being obliged to the duty of the Garrison only behaving themselves peaceably and Orderly among us; and that each of them shall have a right in some new township, or two hundred acres of Land a piece for an Inheritance to them, and their heirs, where it shall be found most fit and convenient and also that on their return again with their families to dwell here as aforesaid this Government will pay to their Brethren namely Thomas & Samuel Tharbell the am^o of M^r William Rogers Junr

his account for the Charge of their Journey down & now exhibited
being forty pounds, eleven shillings & seven pence

Sent up for Concurrence

J. QUINCY Sp^{kr}

In Council April 24. 1739

Read and Concurr'd

25 : Consented to,

J WILLARD Sec^{ry}

J BELCHER

[Massachusetts Archives, XV. A 18, 19.]

On April 20 Governor Belcher brought the case of these captives to the attention of the Council and the House of Representatives; and this action on his part prompted the petition of Thomas Tarbell. The Governor then made a speech, in which he said: —

There are lately come from Canada some Persons that were taken by the Indians from Groton above thirty Years ago, who (its believed) may be induced to return into this Province, on your giving them some proper Encouragement: If this Matter might be effected, I should think it would be not only an Act of Compassion in order to reclaim them from the Errors and Delusions of the Romish Faith; but their living among us might, in Time to come, be of great Advantage to the Province.

This subject was referred the same day to a Committee consisting of John Read, of Boston, William Fairfield, of Wenham, Thomas Wells, of Deerfield, Benjamin Browne, of Salem, and Job Almy, of Tiverton. On the next day, April 21 — as we read in the printed Journal of the House of Representatives — the chairman of

The Committee appointed to consider that Paragraph in His Excellency's SPEECH relating to the Encouragement of two English Captives from *Canada*, viz. *John Tharbell* and *Zechariah Tharbell*, made report thereon, which he read in his Place, and then delivered it at the Table; and after some debate thereon, the House did not accept the Report; and having considered the same Article by Article,

the House came into a Vote thereon, and sent the same up to the honourable Board for Concurrence.

On the 23d, we find —

A Petition of *Thomas Tharbell* of *Groton*, Elder Brother of the two *Mr. Tharbells* lately returned from Captivity in *Canada*, praying he may be allowed the Loan of some Money to enable him to pay *William Rogers*, jun. his Account of Charges in bringing his Brethren to *Boston*. Read and *Ordered*, That the Petition be considered to morrow morning.

On the next day, —

The House pass'd a Vote on the Petition of *Thomas Tharbell* of *Groton*, praying as entred the 23d current, and sent the same up to the honourable Board for Concurrence.

All these efforts, however, to reclaim the two men from savage life proved unavailing; for it is known that they remained with the Indians and became naturalized, if I may use the expression. They married Indian wives, and were afterward made chiefs at *Caughnawaga* and *St. Regis*, villages in *Canada*. Their descendants are still living among the Indians, and the *Tarbells* of the present day, in this town, are their collateral kindred. Nearly forty years after their capture, Governor *Hutchinson* met them in *New York State*, and in his "History of the Province of *Massachusetts Bay*" refers to them thus: —

I saw at *Albany* two or three men, in the year 1744, who came in with the Indians to trade, and who had been taken at *Groton* in this, that is called *Queen Ann's war*. One of them — *Tarbell*, was said to be one of the wealthiest of the *Cagnawaga* tribe. He made a visit in his Indian dress and with his Indian complexion (for by means of grease and paints but little difference could be discerned) to his relations at *Groton*, but had no inclination to remain there. (II. 139.)

This is another account from "The *Galaxy*" magazine, for January, 1870: —

It is related that, about a century and a half ago, while a couple of boys and a girl were playing in a barn at Groton, Massachusetts, some Indians suddenly appeared, seized the boys and fled, carrying them to the village of Caughnawaga, nine miles above Montreal, where they grew up with the Indian habits, manners, and language, being finally adopted as members of the tribe; and married Indian brides selected from the daughters of the principal chiefs. (IX. 124.)

Some years after this time, these two young men — now occupying the position of chiefs — moved up the St. Lawrence River, accompanied by several others, all with their families, and established the village of St. Regis. This Indian settlement is pleasantly situated on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, the boundary line which separates the State of New York from Canada running through it. From its peculiar position, it was agreed, during the last war with England, that the Indians should remain neutral, but the compact was often broken. In the summer of 1852 the tribe numbered about eleven hundred persons, of whom it is said that not one was of pure Indian origin.

Many interesting facts concerning the Tarbells at St. Regis are found in the "History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, New York" (Albany, 1853), by Dr. Franklin B. Hough. A part of the village comes within the limits of Franklin County; and the author has gathered up some of the stories still told about these two brothers in that neighborhood. He gives the following accounts, which are largely traditional, but with some truth at the bottom:—

About a hundred and thirty years ago, three children (a girl about twelve or thirteen years of age, and two younger brothers) were playing together in a barn, in the town of Groton, Massachusetts, and being absent from the house longer than was expected, their mother became solicitous about them, and went to find them. The girl was lying on the floor, with a limb broken, and the boys were missing.

She related that seeing some Indians coming, she fled to the upper part of the barn, and fell by accident from the beams above, and that

they had seized the two boys and carried them away. The stealthy manner of this seizure, and the time that had elapsed, forbade pursuit with any hope of success, and the distracted parents were left to mourn the loss without consolation or hope. The probable motive for the seizure of these children was the expectation that a bounty would be offered for their ransom ; or perhaps they might be exchanged for French prisoners.

As afterwards appeared, these boys were taken by the Caughnawaga Indians to their village near Montreal, where they were adopted as their own children, growing up — in habits, manners, and language — as Indians, and in due time they married the daughters of chiefs of that tribe. The names of these chiefs were Sa-kon-en-tsi-ask and Ata-wen-ta.

But they possessed the superiority of intellect and enterprise which belonged to their race ; and this led to a series of petty quarrels, growing out of the jealousy of the young Indians of their age, which disquieted the village, and by the party spirit which it engendered, became a source of irritation and trouble in the settlement, and of anxiety on the part of their missionary, who labored in vain to reconcile the difficulties between them.

Failing in this, he advised the two young men (one of whom they had named Ka-re-ko-wa) to remove with their families to a place by themselves, where they might enjoy tranquillity, and be beyond the reach of annoyance from their comrades.

This advice they adopted ; and taking with them their wives, and followed by their wives' parents, these four families departed in a bark canoe, with their effects, to seek in a new country, and in the secluded recesses of the forest, *a home*.

They coasted along up the St. Lawrence, and at length arrived at the delightful point on which the village of St. Regis now stands, where they landed and took possession.

The name of these youths, was TARBELL, and their descendants have always resided at St. Regis, and some of them have been distinguished as chiefs and headmen of the tribe. One of these named Lesor Ta,bell, and a son of his name, was a prominent chief, about fifty years since, and very much esteemed by the whites for his prudence, candor, and great worth of character.

The name of Tarbell is said to be very common in Groton to this day.

Another traditional version of the account differs in some particulars from that just related, and is as follows :

Three lads and an elder sister were playing together in a field, when they were surprised by a small party of Indians. One of the boys escaped, but the rest were seized, and marched that day about fourteen miles into the woods, towards Canada, when it coming on dark, they came to a halt, and camped for the night. Thinking their prisoner secure, the Indians were less watchful than usual, and finally all fell asleep.

The girl, about twelve years old, kept awake, and seeing the rest asleep, her first thought was to awaken her brothers, and attempt to escape ; but fearing to disturb the Indians, should she attempt this, and thus prevent any possibility of escape, she crept carefully out from among them, and struck off in the direction of her home, which she at length reached after undergoing great hardship.

One of the lads on growing up went off to the northwest ; the other married, and subsequently, with his wife and one or two other families, moved off, and made the first settlement at St. Regis.

From the abundance of partridges which the thicket afforded they called it *AK-WIS-SAS-XE*, "where the partridge drums," and this name it still retains.

These families were living very peaceably together, and had made small clearings for cornfields, when they were joined by Father Anthony Gordon, a Jesuit from Caughnawaga, with a colony of these Indians, in 1760.

The year of this settlement is known by the fact that they were met, near Coteau du Lac, by Lord Amherst, who was descending the St. Lawrence, to complete the conquest of Canada. Gordon named the place *St. REGIS*. (Pages 111-113.)

In former years the St. Regis Indians had certain rights in a land reservation in the State of New York ; and more than once treaties were made between the Governor of the State and the chiefs of the tribe, among whom were descendants of these Tarbell boys. A treaty was signed on February 20, 1818, in behalf of the Indians, by Loran Tarbell and Thomas Tarbell, and two other chiefs. Another treaty was signed on September 23, 1825, by eleven chiefs and trustees of the

tribe, including Peter Tarbell, Thomas Tarbell, Mitchel Tarbell, Louis Tarbell, and Battice Tarbell. Some of these names, I am sure, will sound familiar to the older inhabitants of Groton. It is very likely that Battice is the same as Sabattis, an Indian name, which is said to be a corruption of *Saint Baptiste*.

Dr. Hough writes about one of the earlier members of the family as follows:—

A half breed Indian, who usually was known as PETER THE BIG SPEAK, was a son of Lesor Tarbell, one of the lads who had been stolen away from Groton by the Indians, and who subsequently became one of the first settlers who preceded the founding of St. Regis.

He was a man of much address and ability as a speaker, and was selected as the mouthpiece of the tribe on the more important occasions that presented themselves. (Page 182.)

The statement is wrong, however, that Lesor was the name of one of the captured boys. It is perfectly well known that their names were John and Zechariah, but it is not improbable that one of their sons was named Lesor. If this was the case, it was intended, doubtless, for Eleazer, the name of their youngest brother, who was less than two months old when they were carried off. It certainly would be a very touching tribute to their childish recollections if they had remembered this little babe at home, and carried him in their thoughts for so many years.

In the year 1772 the Reverend Mr. Ripley and Lieutenant Taylor went on a mission to Canada, in order to induce some Indian children to join the Charity School at Hanover, New Hampshire. They returned September 21, bringing with them eight boys from Caughnawaga, and two from Lorette, a village near Quebec. Among these lads was a descendant of one of the Tarbell captives. An account of this visit to Canada is given in the appendix to a pamphlet entitled "A Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity School,"

by Eleazer Wheelock, D. D., and published in the year 1773. The following extract is taken from it: —

The same day a council of the chiefs of that tribe [Caughnawaga] was called to consider of the proposal of sending their children to this school, which Mr. Ripley had left to their consideration, in which they were to a man agreed in the affirmative, and acknowledged with gratitude the benevolence and kindness of their offer: They continued united and firm to the last in that determination against the most warm and zealous remonstrances of their priest, both in public and private; in consequence of which determination, nine of their boys were made ready to accompany Mr. Ripley hither; three of which were children or descendants from captives, who had been captivated when they were young, and lived with them, till they were naturalized and married among them. One was a descendant from Rev. Mr. Williams who was captivated from Deerfield in 1704, but the boy was taken sick with the measles, and thereby his coming was prevented; but may be expected in the spring. Another was a descendant from Mr. Tarbull, who was captivated from Groton, in the year 1700 [1707?], who is now a hearty and active man, and the eldest chief, and chief speaker of the tribe. He expressed great affection to his relations in New-England, sent his love to them, and desired they might be informed that he had a grandson at this school. The other was son to Mr. Stacey, who was captivated from Ipswich, and is a good interpreter for that tribe. (Pages 39, 40.)

Another reference to the same subject is found in the first volume of Farmer & Moore's "Collections," published at Concord, New Hampshire, in the year 1822. It is as follows: —

In 1772, Rev. SYLVANUS RIPLEY and Lt. JOSEPH TAYLOR, who acted as interpreter, went on a mission to the Indian tribes in Canada. They returned to Hanover on the 21st of September, and brought with them ten children from those tribes, to receive an education in the school at Dartmouth College. Two of these children were taken by the Indians in former wars, while they were young, and were brought up in the language and customs of the natives. One of them was a grandson, about eight years old, of a Mr. Tarbell, who was

taken from Groton, in Massachusetts, in the year 1704 [1707?], when he was about ten years old. Mr. Tarbell was then in vigorous health and the oldest chief in the village. He expressed much joy in seeing Messrs. Ripley and Taylor, and earnestly encouraged his grandson in leaving his Indian relatives to receive the benefits of education. There was another youth, a grandson of Mrs. Eunice Williams, who was taken captive with her father, the Rev. John Williams, of Deerfield, Feb. 29, 1704, that would have accompanied them, but was prevented by indisposition. (Pages 63, 64.)

A Frenchman by the name of Fovel visited St. Regis in the year 1826, and induced one of the Tarbell family, whose Indian name was Joseph Torakaron, to accompany him to Europe. Torakaron was to travel in the character of an Indian chief, and Fovel was to act as interpreter and agent. The story is thus told by Dr. Hough, in his History: —

In 1826, a young Frenchman, by the name of Fovel, who had been for some time at Montreal, visited St. Regis, and induced one *Joseph Torakaron*, (sometimes known by his English name of Tarbell,) to consent to accompany him to Europe. Torakaron was to travel in the character of an Indian chief, (which office he then held at St. Regis,) and his companion in that of interpreter, solicitor, *treasurer*, and agent. The motives held out to the chief were, that they should be able to obtain donations for the endowment of their church, and doubtless large sums as presents to themselves. Having made all necessary arrangements, and being furnished with letters from St. Regis, Montreal and Quebec, certifying the standing of Torakaron at home, the two proceeded by way of New York and Havre, to Paris. The conductor here obtained an interview with Charles X, and so favorable an impression was made upon the mind of the king, that he presented them with three fine paintings, and a large sum in money, and other valuable articles.

Thence they proceeded by way of Marsilles, to Rome, and obtained an interview with the pope.

During a conversation, the pope asked the Indian if he could converse in another language than his own, and finding him able to use the English and French to some degree, he invited him to a

second interview alone. The result was, that a set of books and silver plate, for the service of the church, a rosary of jewels and gold, worth it is said \$1400, and other articles of value, were given him. They thence returned to Marseilles, where they spent the winter, and in 1828 returned by way of Paris and Havre to New York. Here the treasurer, or interpreter, or whatever else he might be called, evinced his true character by absconding with every article of value, except the rosary and paintings, leaving Torakaron without means even to return home. He was enabled to do so through the charity of friends, and the paintings were soon after deposited in their destined place. Two are now at St. Regis, and the third in the church at Caughnawaga. Of the former, those who visit the church will recognize in a painting over the altar, the portrait of St. Regis, and in the one to the left, near the pulpit, that of St. François Xavier. (Page 166.)

In the summer of 1877 I visited St. Regis, where I met a grandson of one of the Tarbell captives. He was more than eighty years old, and could speak only Indian; and I had to talk with him through an interpreter. I learned that he was aware that his grandfather had been taken when a boy, from a town near Boston, and that he had kinsfolk still living there. What interested me exceedingly was the physical resemblance between him and some of his collateral relations, who lived and died at Squannacook within my recollection. He was a man of ordinary size, with a sunburnt face and gray hair, though somewhat bald. There was but little appearance of Indian blood in his veins, and he would have passed anywhere for a good-looking old man. He lived with one of his sons in a small house that was clapboarded and painted, — and one of the best in the village, — where, surrounded by his grandchildren, he was passing the declining years of his life in comfortable ease.

I was also interested to learn from the Reverend Francis Marcoux, the parish priest, that the Tarbells were among the most prominent families of the settlement, where there are, perhaps, forty persons who bear the name. They keep up,

in a great measure, the same given names that are common among their kindred in this neighborhood. The inhabitants of St. Regis, for the most part, retain the English names of their fathers, and besides, have Indian ones.

In tracing the career of these boys and their descendants down nearly to the present time, the account sounds more like fiction than the sober truth of history. The trail of their adventures is covered up with so many improbabilities that the mere narration of them excites marvel and wonder.

During the War of the Rebellion, Louis Tarble, a son of Thomas, of St. Regis, who was descended from one of the captives, served two years in the Thirty-fourth New York Volunteers, and subsequently in the Eleventh United States Infantry. After his discharge from the army he died at Norway, Herkimer County, New York.

During the present summer of 1883 Mr. Lawrence, the owner of the Tarbell farm, proposes to place in the wall by the wayside a stone bearing this inscription: —

NEAR THIS SPOT

THREE CHILDREN

SARAH, JOHN, AND ZECHARIAH TARBELL

WERE CAPTURED BY THE INDIANS,

JUNE 20, 1707.

THEY WERE TAKEN TO CANADA WHERE
THE SISTER WAS PLACED IN A CONVENT.
THE BROTHERS BECAME CHIEFS OF THE
COUGHNAWAGA TRIBE, AND WERE AMONG
THE FOUNDERS OF ST. REGIS WHERE
THEY HAVE DESCENDANTS NOW LIVING.

1883.



CHAPTER IV.

DUMMER'S WAR.

DURING the summer of 1723 "the Indian enemy"—as the early settlers were wont to call them—still threatened the western frontier towns. On August 16, 1723, according to the printed Journal of the House of Representatives, Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, at that time the acting Governor of the Province, was desired immediately to order detachments of men, varying from three to six, from the inhabitants of the several towns along the line of outer settlements, to be constantly employed in scouting and ranging the woods in their respective towns; and under this order Groton was to have six. On August 24 it was ordered by the House of Representatives, that these scouts should be placed under the direction of the chief military officer of the several towns, and such officer should receive five shillings a week for his services. Owing to informalities in the matter, a dispute arose between the House and the Lieutenant-Governor, who within two days sent two messages to that body, and some slight modifications were made in the original draft. Lieutenant Jabez Fairbanks, of Lancaster, commanded the company which included the Groton men. The follow-

ing document gives a list of his men at the beginning of the winter: —

LANCASTER December y^e 2th 1723

May it plesse your Hon^{or} I have in observance of your Hon^{or}s order Inlisted fifteen able bodyed men fit for service & haue sent the List of them herewith to your Hon^{or} with y^e List of those that ware in y^e service before and haue put them on duty: we haue made no decovery of y^e Inemy as yet: the barer is one that is in the service & is Capable if your Hon^{or} Seas Case to demand: to give a full account of our management your Humble

Servant JABEZ FAIRBANKS

[Superscribed]

To y^e Hon^{or} William Dummer Esq Left Govener & for His Majesties service. by M^r Edward Hartwell

A List of the Names of y^e Soldiers first enlisted in Lancaster Groaton & Dunstable

Edward Hartwill	Samuell Scriptor
Aaron Willard	John Stephens
Benjamin Osgood	William Larrance
Benjamin Houghton junr	Jabaz Davice
John Bennit	Thomas Chamberlin
Samuell Sawyer	Ephraim Chandler
Jonathan Shipley	Benjamin Nicholes
Joseph Blood	John Barrit
James Shattuck	

The names of those last in Listed

Joseph Blanchard	Isaac Woods
Ephraim Wheeler	Jacob Lakin
David Osgood	Thomas Lund
Joseph Wheelock	Isaac Farwell
Ezra Sawyer	Ebenezer Cumins
Benjamin Harris	John Usher
Phinehas Parker	Jonathan Combs
David Satell	

LANCASTER December the 2th 1723

JABEZ FAIRBANKS

[Massachusetts Archives, LXXII. 144, 145.]

On December 7, 1723, the House of Representatives passed the account of Colonel Joseph Buckminster, for going and sending expresses, on public business, between Boston and Groton and other towns; and fifty-five shillings were allowed for the service. On the same day the sum of £94 10s. was allowed for paying the company under the command of Sergeant Edward Hartwell, made up of scouts at Groton, Shrewsbury, and Lancaster, and the further sum of £40 5s. 9d. for the subsistence of the men; and the money was to be placed in the hands of Benjamin Prescott, of Groton, for his disbursement. This company of scouts was the one raised by Lieutenant Fairbanks. On December 10, a petition was presented from Jonathan Hubbard, of Groton, praying that he might be paid £8 4s. for entertaining Samuel Barnard, a trooper belonging to Captain Bowman's company, who was taken sick at his house, while in the public service; and the committee, to whom the matter was referred, made a report recommending its payment.

The military company at this post, during the campaigns of 1723 and 1724, was composed of soldiers principally from Groton, Lancaster, and Dunstable, and commanded by Lieutenant Fairbanks. Some of them were detailed as guards to protect the more exposed garrisons, and others were scouting in the neighborhood. They were so scattered that the commanding officer found it difficult to drill them as a company. Fortunately, however, they were not engaged in much fighting, though the enemy had been lurking about and threatening the town.

The following Groton men are borne on the rolls of Lieutenant Fairbanks's company, June 18, 1724, and represent some of the most influential families at that time. The period of their service is given, with the amount of their pay: —

			£	s.	d.
Phinias Parker, Serj ^t	Nov. 25	Jan. 12	4	13	4
Jon ^s Shipley, Sent ^l	" 10	" "	4	11	5
Jo ^s Blood	" "	June 13	15	10	
Ja ^s Shaduck	" "	" "	15	10	
Samuel Srepter	" "	" "	15	10	
W ^m Lawrance	" "	" "	15	10	
Josiah Bauden	Jan. 13	" "	10	18	6
Jacob Ames	Nov. 25	" "	14	8	6
Isaac Woods	" "	" "	14	8	6
Jason Williams	" "	" "	14	8	6
Nath ^l Lawrance	" "	" "	14	8	6
Jon ^s Shepley, Serj ^t	Jan. 13	" "	14	11	6
Tho ^s Chamberlin	Nov. 29	" "	14	2	10
Mich ^l Gillson	April 28	" "	3	7	1

[Massachusetts Archives, XCI. 124.]

The following letters from the commanding officer, to Lieutenant-Governor William Dummer, show how these scouts were employed during a part of their service: —

GROTON May 28th 1724.

May it please your Honour

I have Posted the men Committed to my care at the Towns of Lancaster Groton Dnnstable & Turkey Hill [Lunenburg] according to your Honours Orders; and Improve them in the best manner I can for the protection of the People & Discovery of the enemy and I think to General Satisfaction I have ordered one man to M^r [Benjamin] Prescotts Garrison During his attendance on the Court. I beg leave further to acquaint your Honour that y^e people in these Towns apprehend themselves in Great Danger, and cannot (in my humble opinion) be in any measure safe with so small a number of men.

I am your Honours Humble
& most obedient Serv^t

JABEZ FAIRBANKS

[Massachusetts Archives, LXXII. 176.]

LANCASTER, July 1st 1724.*May it please your Honour.*

I recieved your Letter the Last night in the evening, and not before tho' I suppose I might have had it sooner had the bearer pleased, Your Honour is pleased in your Letter to give me my choice of A Lieutenants Post in Groton or Turkey Hills or A Serjeants at Lancaster. I am sensible that Serjeants Pay in Town would be as Profitable as to keep constantly abroad, but yet upon Some Considerations I choose to Abide in the Post I am, and to go to Groton. I return my thanks to your Honour for the choice you have given me. I would Inform your Honour that on Monday Last I sent A Scout to Rutland who Returned yesterday and gave me an Account that In the way they discovered the tracks of four or five Indians bearing towards Wochoosett who they Judged had been gone 2 or 3 days. Yesterday Part of Groton men & Part of this Town went out for the week to range above the Towns to see what Discovery they could make, and I am my self this Day going out with what men I can Raise to see what I can discover. I desire the favour of your Honour, That the souldiers now under my Command in Lancaster and Groton might have the Liberty of abiding with me or of being Dismist. If it be your Honours Pleasure to let Edward Hartwell who hath been a Serjeant under me Abide still in that Post in this Town I should take it as a favour. I stand ready to attend your Honours Orders & Command and am S^r

Your Humble Servant

JABEZ FAIRBANK.

[Massachusetts Archives, LII. 9]

GROTON July 20th 1724.*May it please your Honour*

I have attended your orders in posting the men at the Towns of Groton Lancaster & Turkey hill—precisely except at Turkey Hill there is but eleven men Cap^t Stevens having not as yet sent so many as ordered & I have Taken my post at Groton where I Improve the Souldiers in the best manner I can agreeable to your orders, & have ordered them to Lodge in some of y^e most Exposed Garrisons as often as may be, but I find it impossible to Improve So Small a number of men So as to answer y^e Necessities of the people here, whose circum-

stances are So verry Difficult and Distressing that I am not able fully to Represent to your Honour.

the poor people are many of them obliged to keep their own Garrisons and part of them Employed as Guards while others are at their Labour whose whole Time would be,full Little enough to be expended in getting bread for their families. My own Garrison at Lancaster is very much exposed & with Humble Submission I think Requires Protection as much as any in that Town. therefore I Humbly pray your Honour would be pleased to give me Leave to post a Souldier there Dureing my absence in the service of the province I beg your Honours Pardon for giving you this Trouble; and as[k] Leave to Subscribe my Selfe

Your most Obedient Humble Serv^t

JABEZ FAIRBANKS

[Massachusetts Archives, LII. 17.]

For some Journals, kept in this neighborhood by Lieutenant Fairbanks during the years 1723 and 1724, see Massachusetts Archives, XXXVIII. A 49-54, 56-65.

Colonel Tyng writes July 23, 1724, from Dunstable, to Lieutenant-Governor William Dummer, that he has sent ten men of his company to Groton, agreeably to orders, and that he is going himself "to dispose the 10 men there." (Archives, LII. 22.)

In the printed Journal of the House of Representatives, May 28, 1725, is found the petition of Dr. Blasdell, asking that an allowance be made for his professional services during this campaign. It is as follows:—

A Petition of *Henry Blasdell* of *Groton*, shewing that by Virtue of a Warrant from Col. *Goffe* he served as Surgeon to the Western Forces from the 10th of *September* to the 6th of *December* past, being twelve Weeks and three Days, for which Service and the Medicines he administered to the Forces in the Service of the Province, he thinks he deserves *Twenty six Pounds Fourteen Shillings* for the Reasons mentioned in the Petition, and praying that the same may be allowed him out of the publick Treasury.

It is recorded in the same Journal, June 11, 1725:—

On the Petition of *Henry Blasdell* of *Groton*, a Surgeon Impressed into the Service by Col. *Edmund Goffe*, praying as entered the 28th of *May* last, which was read and Accepted, and Resolved, That the Sum of *Seventeen Pounds, Nine Shillings* be allowed and paid out of the publick Treasury to Dr. *Henry Blasdell* for his Wages, Druggs and Medicines in the Service of the Province as mentioned in the Petition.

Penhallow, in "The History of the Wars of New-England," speaking of the Indians at this period, says: —

The next damage they did was at *Groton*, but were so closely pursued, that they left several of their Packs behind. (Page 102.)

It was on Thursday, July 9, 1724, that John Ames was shot by an Indian, one of a small party that attacked his garrison in the northwesterly part of the town. Ames lived on the north side of the *Nashua* River, a short distance below the *Hollingsworth* paper-mills. He is said to be the last person killed by an Indian within the township. The Indian himself was immediately afterward shot by Jacob Ames, one of John's sons. "The Boston Gazette," July 13, 1724, thus refers to the event: —

A Man was kill'd last Week at *Groton*, by the Indians, and 't is suppos'd one Indian was kill'd by one of our Men in the Garrison; the Indians left their Packs, 5 in number, which were taken and secur'd by the English.

In the Gazette of July 27, it is said that "An Indian Scalp was brought to Town last Week from *Groton*."

"The New England Courant," July 13, 1724, reports that "Last Week the Indians kill'd a Man at *Groton*, and had one of their own Men very much wounded." The same newspaper, in its issue of July 27, says that "The Scalp of an Indian lately kill'd at *Groton* is brought to Town."

"The Boston News Letter," July 16, 1724, gives the following version: —

From Groton we are inform'd, That 5 Indians came into that Place, and kill'd one Man, upon which one of our Men shot out of the Garrison and kill'd an Indian and got his Scalp in order to bring to Town, and have likewise taken the Indian Packs.

The same paper, of July 30, says that "An Indian Scalp from Groton was brought in here last Week."

These accounts, taken in connection with Jacob Ames's petition, found in the printed Journal of the House of Representatives for November 20, 1724, and herewith given, show conclusively that they relate to the assault in which John Ames was killed. It is equally certain that Penhallow, in his History, refers to the same attack when he speaks of the damage done at Groton in the summer of 1724.

A Petition of *Jacob Ames*, shewing that he was one of the Weekly Scouts near the Garrisons on the Westerly part of the Town of *Groton*; and on the Ninth Day of *July* last, when it was the Petitioners Week to be on Duty, a Number of Indians appeared at the Garrison of the Petitioners Father *John Ames*, and killed him at the Gate, and then rush'd violently into the Garrison to surprize the People there. And the Petitioner did with Courage and Resolution by himself defend the Garrison, and beat off the Indians, Slew one of them and Scalp'd him; praying, That altho' it happened to be his Week to be on Duty, that this Court would take the Premises into their wise and serious Consideration, and grant what other Allowance more than the Establishment by Law, shall to them seem meet, for his aforesaid Service. Read, and in Answer to this Petition. *Resolved*, That over and above the *Fifteen Pounds* due to the Petitioner by Law, for recovering the said Scalp, and the good Services done this Province thereby, the Sum of *Fifteen Pounds* be allowed and Paid out of the Publick Treasury to the said *Jacob Ames* for his good Service as aforesaid.

Sent up for Concurrence.

Mr. Butler, in his History, gives the following version of this affair, which was gathered largely from grandchildren of the Ezra Farnsworth mentioned in it. The account was taken down in writing more than a hundred years after the

occurrence of the event, which will explain any inaccuracies due to tradition. Mr. Butler refers the assault to a period much later than the actual fact: —

An Indian had been seen, for several days, lurking about the town, it was conjectured, upon some ill design. Mr. Ames, who lived on the intervale, on the west side of Nashua river, now owned by John Boynton, Esq., went into his pasture to catch his horse. Discovering the Indian, he ran for his house; the Indian pursued and shot him as he entered his gate. The dead body prevented the gate's closing, as it would otherwise have done of itself, and the Indian pressed in to enter the house, where Ames had a son and daughter. The son seized his gun, and shot at him, as he entered the gate. The ball, striking the latch of the door, split, and one part of it wounded the Indian, but not severely. As the son attempted to close the door against the enemy, after the shot, the Indian thrust his foot in, and prevented. The son called to his sister to bring his father's gun from the bedside, and at the same time striking the Indian's foot with the breach of his gun, compelled him to withdraw it, and closed the door. While the Indian was in the act of reloading his gun, the young man found means to shoot through a crevice and killed him. Two men, at work about a mile distant in a mill, Ezra and Benjamin Farnsworth, hearing the reports of the guns, and suspecting the cause thereof, were soon at the place, and found the bodies of Ames and the Indian both weltering in their blood. This is the last man killed by an Indian within the bounds of Groton. (Pages 110, 111.)

Mr. Butler says, in his History (page 100), that "in the summer of 1723, one man was killed at Groton." I am inclined to think that this allusion is to John Ames, as I can find no other authority for the statement.

Governor Saltonstall, of Connecticut, writes from New London, under date of July 23, 1724, that the friendly Indians of that neighborhood seem inclined to hunt for scalps around Monadnock and the farther side of Dunstable and Groton. (Archives, LII. 23.) This was owing to an offer made about this time by the governments of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, of a bounty of a hundred pounds

for every Indian's scalp that should be taken and shown to the proper authorities. This expedient stimulated volunteers to scour the wilderness for the purpose of hunting Indians; and Captain John Lovewell, of Dunstable, organized a company, which soon became famous.

The story of Lovewell's Fight was for a long time repeatedly told in this neighborhood, and there is scarcely a person who has not from early infancy heard the particulars of that eventful conflict. It was in the spring of 1725 that Captain Lovewell, with thirty-four men, fought a famous Indian chief, named Paugus, at the head of about eighty savages, near the shores of a pond in Pequawket, now within the limits of Fryeburg, Maine, and known as Lovewell's Pond. Of this little Spartan band, seven belonged in this town; and one of them, John Chamberlain by name, distinguished himself by killing the Indian leader.

The fullest account of the Fight is found in a pamphlet entitled, "*Lovewell Lamented, or, a SERMON occasion'd by the Fall of the Brave Capt. John Lovewell and Several of his Valiant COMPANY, in the late Heroic Action at Pigwacket pronounc'd at Bradford, May 16 1725 By Thomas Symmes, V.D.M.*" (Boston, 1725.) The sermon contains an historical preface, duly attested by three of the company, which gives many particulars of this ill-fated expedition. It includes a list of the men who took part in the fight, with the names of the killed and wounded. According to this list, the following Groton men were members of Lovewell's company, and present during the action: John Jefts, Daniel Woods, Thomas Woods, John Chamberlain, Elias Barron, John Gilson [Isaac Lakin?], Joseph Gilson; of whom Thomas Woods, Daniel Woods, and John Jefts were killed in the Fight, and Elias Barron, John Chamberlain, and John Gilson [Isaac Lakin?], wounded. It is stated by Mr. Symmes, in his preface, that Barron subsequently "strayed from the rest, and got over *Ossipy River*, by the side of which his Gun Case was found, & he has ner

been heard of since." (Page viii.) Joseph Gilson was the only one of this quota who escaped injury.

The first edition of the sermon was published on July 1, and exhausted in a very few days. A second edition was issued about the middle of July, with a title-page somewhat changed from the original one, as follows: "*Historical Memoirs Of the Late Fight at Piggwacket, with a SERMON Occasion'd by the Fall of the Brave Capt John Lovewell And Several of his Valiant Company; in the late Heroic Action there. Pronounc'd at Bradford, May, 16. 1725 By THOMAS SYMMES, V.D.M. The Second Edition Corrected.*" (Boston, 1725.) In this edition the running title of "An *Historical* PREFACE" is changed to "*Memoirs of the Fight at Piggwacket.*" A few corrections are made; in the list both of the soldiers and of the wounded, the name of Isaac Lakin is given in the place of John Gilson's.

Captain Lovewell, the commander of the company, was a brave officer and a noted man. He was at this time in the prime of life, and ambitious to distinguish himself. He had previously led two successful expeditions against the Indians, and his very name inspired confidence. Only a few weeks before, his second expedition had returned to Dover, New Hampshire, where he made a triumphal entry at the head of his company. They bore ten Indian scalps stretched on hoops, and were received with great joy and excitement; thence they proceeded to Boston, where they were paid a large bounty by the government. The following Groton men were members of the company which went on this second expedition: Jacob Ames, Ephraim Farnsworth, Reuben Farnsworth, Benjamin Parker, Samuel Shattuck, Samuel Tarbell, and Henry Willard. Throughout New England, Lovewell's daring was made the subject of talk, and the public looked to him as a natural leader in border warfare.

It was "about the 16th of April, 1725," says Mr. Symmes,

in the preface to his sermon, "that the Brave LOVEWELL began his March from *Dunstable* to *Piggwacket*, with *Forty-Six* Men under his Command."

WHEN they 'd Travell'd a little way, *Toby*, an *Indian* falling *Lame*, was oblig'd to return, with great *Reluctancy*.

WHEN they came as far as *Contoocook*, one *Wm. Cummins* of *Dunstable* was so disabl'd by a *Wound* he 'd Receiv'd from the *Enemy* some time before, that the *Capt.* dismiss'd him, with a *Kinsman* of his to accompany him.

THEN they Travell'd as far as *Ossipy*, and there one *Benjamin Kidder* of *Nutfield* [now *Londonderry*, *New Hampshire*,] falling *Sick*; the *Capt.* made a *Halt*, and tarried while they built a small *Fortification*, for a place of *Refuge* to repair too, if there should be *Occasion*. Here he left his *Doctor*, a *Serjent* and *Seven* other *Men*, to take care of *Kidder*, and of a *Considerable Quantity* of *Provision*, here left to lighten the *Men*, and facilitate their *March*; and for a *Recruit* upon their *Return*.

WITH his *Company* now reduc'd to *Thirty-Four* *Men* with himself, the *Capt.* Travell'd to *Piggwacket*, which is about *Forty* *Miles* from said *Fort*.

THEIR names that made up this *Company* (excepting his that started from them in the beginning of the *Battle*, and ran back to the *Fort*, which I 'd be excus'd from mentioning) were as follow." (Pages ii. iii.)

Here *Mr. Symmes* gives the names of the *thirty-three* *men* who were in the famous *Fight*, purposely omitting the one that ran away. It has since transpired that this soldier, who so ingloriously fled from the battle-field, was *Benjamin Hassell*, of *Dunstable*, a *corporal* in the company. ("History of *Manchester*, *New Hampshire*," by *Chandler Eastman Potter*, page 160.)

With the small force now at his command, the heroic captain press'd forward to meet the enemy, and in a few days reached the borders of *Saco Pond*, since known as *Lovewell's Pond*, southeast of the present village of *Fryc-*

burg, Maine. On the morning of Saturday, May 8, while engaged at prayers they heard a gun, and shortly afterward discovered an Indian on a point of land which ran into the pond. They were distrustful of an ambush, and a consultation was held in order to see whether they should advance or retreat. Their decision was to proceed at all hazards. They said: "We came out to meet the Enemy; we have all along prayed GOD we might find 'em; and we had rather trust Providence with our Lives, yea Dy for our Country, than try to Return without seeing them, if we may, and be called Cowards for our Pains." After this answer, Lovewell ordered his men to move forward cautiously; and they soon reached a place where they halted and took off their packs, and piled them up together. Leaving these behind without a guard, and advancing a short distance, they came upon the Indian whom they had previously descried. He was returning to his companions with some game that he had killed. Several guns were instantly discharged at him, when he in turn fired and wounded Lovewell himself and another man; after which he was killed and scalped. The company then turned back, and with their wounded leader repaired to the place where they had left their packs. In the mean while Paugus, the far-famed chief of the Pequawkets, at the head of eighty warriors on their way home from a marauding expedition, had discovered the pile of packs, and, counting them, had learned the number of the English. Finding that the force was much less than his own, Paugus placed his men in ambush and awaited the return of Lovewell. When the company came up for their packs, the Indians with hideous yells rushed forth suddenly from their hiding-places and began to fire. The brave captain ordered his men to return it, which was done with terrible effect. Lovewell himself fell at the first shot, and eight of his men soon shared the same fate. Ensign Wyman, of Woburn, then assumed the command, and, perceiving that the Indians were trying to surround

them, ordered a retreat to the pond, where he took his stand. A ledge of rock projecting into the water on one side of him, and a deep brook on the other, made a position favorable for defence. The fighting continued, and during the day the savages vainly endeavored to compel the valiant band to surrender; but they would not listen to the proposition. Paugus was slain in the ~~fight~~ by John Chamberlain, of Groton. After the death of ~~the~~ chief, the Indians became somewhat disheartened, and for a time withdrew from the skirmish. Later in the day the combat was resumed, — when, it is supposed, the enemy had received reinforcements, — but with no decisive result. As night approached, they again withdrew, and left this little forlorn band masters of the field. About midnight the survivors, with the exception of three men mortally wounded and unable to travel, fell back and directed their course to the fort, where they expected to find their former companions; but in this they were sadly disappointed. It seems that, at the beginning of the fight, a member of the company, escaping, made his way to the fort, and reported that Lovewell and his men were all cut to pieces, which he may have believed. This was the man, Hassell, whose name Mr. Symmes carefully refrains from mentioning. Disappointed, at finding the fort abandoned, the survivors of this memorable command made their way back to the settlements as best they could, coming in at different places along the frontier line.

The name of Lovewell at once became famous, and the story of this expedition was told in every household, and even in the pulpit. It was made the subject of ballads, which were sung at the family firesides, and excited the popular heart with the memory of the brave and adventurous leader. Peace ~~at once~~ ^{soon} followed the action at Pequawket, and deep and sincere was the public feeling at its restoration.

Judge Potter, in his "History of Manchester, New Hampshire" (page 160), gives the names of the nine men left with

Kidder in the fort at Ossipee. Among them is that of John Gilson, of Groton, who is mentioned incorrectly in the first edition of Symmes's Sermon, as one of the soldiers taking part in the Fight. This shows that he belonged to the original company, and started out on the expedition. The two Gilsons from this town were cousins.

It is related in Symmes's Sermon: —

SOME of the Indians holding up Ropes, ask'd the English if they'd take Quarter, but were Answer'd Briskly, they'd have none but at the Muzzle of their Guns. (Page vii.)

The savages had learned at this period that it was better financially for themselves to carry prisoners to Canada, and sell them to the French, than to slay them in battle; and for this reason they would rather capture than kill their enemy. The reference to *holding up ropes* means tying them with ropes and taking them away as prisoners, instead of massacring them.

The following account of the killing of the Indian sachem has come down to the present generation both as written history and tradition. The story goes that some time during the day John Chamberlain went to the pond to wash out and cleanse his musket, which by continual firing had become foul. While thus engaged he spied the old chief, whom he knew personally, a short distance off, doing the same thing to his gun. A challenge was at once given and taken, each confiding in his own dexterity. Paugus had nearly finished loading his piece, and was priming it from the powder-horn, when Chamberlain struck the breach of his own gun on the ground, causing it to prime itself, and in this way got the start of his Indian foe. He at once fired, and the bullet passed through Paugus's heart, just as the old chief was aiming at him.

A third edition of Symmes's Sermon was printed in the year 1799, at Fryeburg, Maine, within two miles of the

battle-field. It was edited by Elijah Russell, then publishing "Russell's Echo" newspaper in that town. The account of the Fight is substantially the same as that given by Mr. Symmes, though there is some additional matter.

It is said that Indians are wont to avenge the death of their slain kindred; and stories are told of their coming to Groton, during the last century, in order to wreak their revenge on Chamberlain. Such accounts may not be authentic, but they are characteristic of the times in which they are said to have occurred, and perhaps have some foundation in fact. An attempt has been made in modern times to take from Chamberlain the credit of killing the Indian chief, but the earlier records and traditions seem to confirm the story. After a careful examination of the whole subject, I am led to believe that the weight of evidence is in its favor. The following incidents relating to Chamberlain are mentioned in the account of Lovewell's Fight, which appears in connection with the third edition of Symmes's Sermon. Throughout the pamphlet Mr. Russell, the editor, writes the name "Lovell," — which spelling is in accordance with the pronunciation.

Several of the Indians, particularly Paugus their Chief, were well known to LOVELL's men, and frequently conversed with each other during the Engagement. In the course of the Battle, Paugus and John Chamberlain discoursed familiarly with each other; their guns had become foul, from frequent firing; they washed their guns at the pond, and the latter assured Paugus that he should kill him; Paugus also menaced him, and bid defiance to his insinuations: when they had prepared their guns, they loaded and discharged them, and Paugus fell.

A son of Paugus, after it had become a time of peace, went to Dunstable [Groton?], to revenge his father's death, with the death of Chamberlain — He did not go directly to Chamberlain's, but to the house of a neighbor, where he tarried several days, upon some pretended business, that his design might not be discovered; his errand was however suspected, and a hint given to Chamberlain — who cut a

port-hole above his door, through which he very early one morning discovered an Indian behind his wood-pile, lying with his gun pointed directly to the door; and it was supposed that the same musket which had conveyed the mean of death to the bosom of the great Paugus, also proved fatal to his son, as he was not afterwards heard of.

It is also reported of this Chamberlain (who was a stout and a courageous man, and who used to say that he was not to be killed by an Indian), that he was once fired at by an Indian, as he was at work in a saw mill, at night; he was in a stooping position, and did not discover the Indian till he fired, who was so near him that he immediately knocked him down with a crowbar, with which he was setting his log. (Pages 23, 24.)

Charles James Fox, in his "History of the old Township of Dunstable" (Nashua, New Hampshire, 1846), says:—

An Indian once called on Chamberlain at his saw-mill, intending to way-lay him on his return homeward at nightfall, through the forest. It was a time of peace, but Chamberlain suspected the character of his pretended friend, and the motive of his visit. While engaged in his work, he invited the Indian to examine the wheelpit, and seizing the opportunity, knocked him on the head with a handspike without compunction. (Pages 133, 134.)

The following tale from a story-book is founded on one of the visits said to have been made by a son of Paugus, in order to avenge his father's death, and contains evidently many inaccuracies both in regard to time and place:—

The old French war was over. The banners of England had long streamed above the towers of Quebec. The Indians had left the lakes and woods of New Hampshire, for the broader waters, and deeper forests, of Canada and the west. Time had tamed the iron sinews of the rangers, untamable by any other enemy, or they were sleeping "each in his narrow cell forever laid." Where the red man once roamed after the moose, prowled upon the scout, or lighted the council fire, now stood the infant village, and the peaceful neighborhood. The water-fall at whose roaring foot the Indian once darted his rude spear into the salmon, or hooked the trout upon his curved

bit of bone, now turned the wheel of the clumsy grist-mill, whither the jogging farmer brought his "rye and Indian," over moss and hill, and through bush and swamp, in safety. The congregations, as they gathered together "at meeting," no longer brought their charged guns to the house of worship, or feared that the prayers of their minister would be interrupted by the war-whoop. Of Lovell's men, scarcely a survivor remained of the few that lived through the desperate fight, at Pequawket. Chamberlain was still alive. He was an old grey-headed man. He had long given over hunting, and peace had changed his war spear into an implement of husbandry; of all his hunting and fighting years, nothing remained to him but the gun that killed Paugus at Lovell's pond, and the bullet pouch and yellow powder horn, covered over with Indian devices, which were the spoil of the savage in that terrible encounter. These he had preserved with an old man's care. His cottage, from which went up the solitary smoke that caught the eye of Lovell and his men, now was the centre of a considerable hamlet. A wild stream ran past it, and, a little way below it, tumbled down a fall, upon which stood one of the rude saw-mills of that day, and old Chamberlain, once the swift hunter and the strong and proud warrior, was now the humble owner, and more humble tender. He had survived his wife and his children. Few of his neighbors ventured to be familiar with him, on account of the stern peculiarity of his character; and he passed his days in solitude, except such association as men had with him in his humble vocation.

In the year 1777,¹ towards the close of one of those fair days in autumn, which make up the "Indian summer," a number of the villagers of P—, had gathered into their one-story tavern, to talk over their little politics, as they were wont, when they were surprised and startled by the entrance of a young Indian among them. An Indian, at that time, had got to be a rarity in P—. He was tall, over six feet, and finely formed, after the fashion of the forest. He had a belt of wampum around his waist, and from it hung his tomahawk. A long gun was in his hand, and he stood in moccasins, with the grace and dignity of the son of a chief. He placed his gun behind the door, and silently took his seat by himself. A little before sunset the farmers left the inn and returned to their homes. One old hunter

¹ It could not have been so late, by many years.

remained with the landlord and the young savage. The hunter eyed the Indian with keen attention, — his suspicions were awakened at the sight of this warrior, armed, so remote from the residence of the nearest tribe, and in a time of peace. He was acquainted with the Indians in the old wars, and his suspicions were heightened and confirmed, when he heard the young chief ask the landlord, in a low and indifferent tone, if "one Chamberlain dwelt in the village." The landlord pointed out to him the mill, where the old man labored, and the cottage where he dwelt. The Indian took his gun and went out.

"Some of the blood of old Paugus," said the hunter, "and, I'll venture my life, come to avenge the death of that chief upon Chamberlain. I'll give the old man warning." He hastily stepped out, and following a winding path, that led down to the saw-mill, where the old man was still at his toils, he reached the mill, and told Chamberlain, *that young Paugus, from Canada, had come with his rifle and tomahawk to avenge upon him the death of that chief.* Chamberlain's cheek turned ashy pale, and he sternly replied, "tell young Paugus I have the gun that slew his father, and he had far better return to his forest than molest me in my old age;" as he spoke, he pointed to his long gun as it hung upon prongs of the moose horn, driven into the saw-mill plate, and near it was suspended the bullet-pouch and powder-horn of Pequawket. The hunter had given his warning and retired. The sun was setting to the south of Moosehillock. Chamberlain took down his gun, — tried his flint, — charged it, — took the pouch and horn and flung them upon his side, — hung up near the saw-gate the old garment he had worn at work through the day, — hoisted the gate of the mill and set it rapidly agoing, looked keenly around him, in every direction, and retired to an eminence a few rods distant, crowned with a clump of thick bushes, and crouched down to await the approach of his mysterious enemy. He was not, however, mysterious to Chamberlain. The old man remembered every trait in the Indian character, and calculated with great accuracy as to the time and manner of Paugus's advance. Just as it was growing too dusky to distinguish a human form, except towards the west, the old man descried him creeping cautiously from a reach of bushes, eight or ten rods above the mill, by the torrent, with his cocked rifle before him, and his hand upon the lock. The young savage heard the noise of the saw-frame, and could discern it in rapid motion, and shrunk back into

the thicket. He came out again, a little distance from where he went in, and, with the wary motions of the ambush, reconnoitered the mill. Chamberlain marked him all the while, as the catamount eyes the fox. Young Paugus came out of the bushes the third time, and in a new quarter, and was stealthily advancing, when something seemed to catch his eye in the form of his father's slayer — he stopped short — brought his rifle to his eye, and, with quick aim, fired. The report rung sharp and low upon the still air, as if the gun itself were muffled, or afraid to speak above its breath. Young Paugus crept out upon a mill log, that extended over the rapid, and stretching himself up to his full height, as if to ascertain, without advancing, the success of his shot. The old man could spare him no longer. He saw the well-remembered form of the old Pequawket chief, as the young savage stood against the sky of the west, which was still red with the rays of the sunken sun. He levelled the fatal gun — it blazed — young Paugus leaped into the air six feet, as the ball whistled through his heart — and his lifeless body fell far down into the rapid, that foamed below him, while his vengeful spirit fled and mingled with that sterner one, which parted long before at Lovewell's pond, in

“The land where their fathers had gone.”

Chamberlain returned slowly and gloomily to his cottage.

The next morning a bullet hole through the centre of the old garment he had hung at the saw-frame, admonished him, that the aim, as well as the vengeance of old Paugus, had descended to his sons; and as he mused upon those he had slain, and reflected, that although he was old, he still might have again to lift his gun against the blood of Paugus, or himself fall by their avenging hand, he wished bitterly, that some other bullet than his own had slain that renowned chief, and that they had never met to quench their battle thirst, and scour out their foul guns, upon the shore of Lovewell's pond.

[Caleb Butler's "History of Groton," pages 108-110.]

John Chamberlain, the surviving hero of Lovewell's Fight, was the son of Thomas and Elizabeth Chamberlain, of Chelmsford, where he was born March 22^d or 29, 1692. The father was a carpenter and miller, who afterward removed to Groton, and lived about a quarter of a mile northerly of

Wattle's Pond, on the left-hand side of the road to Hollis. He is supposed to have died about the year 1709. After the Fight the son was known as "Paugus John," and bore that name through life. He owned a mill, situated near Brown Loaf, on a small stream formed by the confluence of Martin's Pond Brook, and another, now called Paugus Brook. His death took place about the year 1758.

If ever young Paugus came to Groton in order to avenge his father's death, and it seems very evident from tradition that he did, it was undoubtedly at this place. Furthermore, there is a deep hole in Paugus Brook, known as Paugus's Hole, wherein it is said that Chamberlain sunk the body of the Indian, after he had killed him.

Many other stories about the Indians have come down by tradition, and some of them are probably true. The following one, told me by Mr. Charles Woolley, relates to Isaac Lakin, one of Lovewell's men, and has never before appeared in print.

Lakin lived in a log-house near the Nashua River, in the north part of the town. The house had no glass windows, but had shutters instead, and a door that swung on wooden hinges. One day an Indian was seen lurking about the house, and hiding behind the stumps, apparently bent on mischief. Lakin seized his gun, and, standing at a crack in the shutters, told his wife to swing the door so that it would creak on its hinges. Hearing the noise, and seeing the door open, the Indian sprang from behind a stump, and started for the house, when Lakin fired and shot him dead. Seeing no signs of other Indians, after dark he dug a hole and buried him.

The following letter shows the feeling of security which prevailed in this neighborhood soon after Lovewell's expedition. It is unsigned, but in the handwriting of Josiah Willard, the Secretary of the Province: —

SIR,

The Enemy being drawn off & the Season of Danger pretty well over, You must forthwith see that the Soldiers in the Frontiers be reduced to the following Numbers ; Viz, Twenty five Men at Dunstable & Dracut, Ten at Turkey Hills, Fourteen at Groton, Fourteen at Lancaster, Twenty five at Rutland & ten at Brookfield, & That all the Rest of the Soldiers in the Counties of Middlesex & Essex Including L^l Brentnals Scouts be forthwith disbanded : And the several officers are required to put these Orders in Execution accordingly.

[To] COLL. TYNG

Oct. 20, 1725.

[Massachusetts Archives, LXXII. 263.]

Dummer's War, or Lovewell's War, as it is sometimes called, ended early in the year 1726 ; and peace again reigned along the frontier borders. There was a respite of hostilities during a considerable period, and the outlying settlements grew in number as well as population.

The General Court allowed, June 17, 1725, the sum of £30 to the family of Ellis or Elias Barron, of Groton, who got lost after the action, and never was found. According to a petition in the printed Journal of the House of Representatives, December 21, 1726, his widow's name was Priscilla.

Eleazer Davis, of Concord, who was in the famous Fight, subsequently removed to the town of Harvard, which was made up in part of Groton, and incorporated on June 29, 1732. In the Journal of the House of Representatives, June 15, 1738, is entered : —

A Petition of *Eleazer Davis of Harvard* in the County of *Worcester*, praying the Consideration of the Court on Account of his Sufferings and Services, particularly the Wounds and Smarts received in the Fight under the Command of the late Capt. *Lovewell*, against the Indian Enemy at *Pigwacket*.

Read and *Ordered*, That *John Russell*, and *Robert Hale*, Esqrs ; *Mr. Moody*, and *Mr. Terry*, be a Committee to consider the said Petition, and report what may be proper to be done thereon.

On the following day Mr. Russell, the chairman of the Committee, reported an order that: —

the Sum of *four Pounds* per Annum of the new tenor Bills, be granted and allowed to be paid out of the publick Treasury for the space of five Years to the Petitioner *Eleazer Davis*, to commence from the first Day of this Instant *June*, by way of Stipend or Pension, on Account of the Wounds and Smart received as within mentioned.

In the same Journal, June 16, 1738, is recorded: —

A Petition of *Josiah Sartell*, shewing that he was a Soldier in the Service of the Province for sundry Years, and was in divers Fights against the Indian Enemy, wherein many of them were slain, and he himself was wounded in some of the Engagements, that he has received nothing in Consideration of his Smart and Services, but the established Pay, that he has a large Family, and under low Circumstances: that he lately presumed for want of Lands and Means of purchasing, to go upon some of the Province Land on the West side of *Connecticut River*, adjoining to *Northfield*, a new *Canada* Town and some Farms, has built a small House thereon, and improved some of the Lands there, praying that he may obtain a Grant, or be allowed to purchase such Part of the Province Land there, as the Court shall think convenient in Consideration of the Premises. Read and *Ordered*, That the Petition be considered on Tuesday the 20th Instant.

It was voted, June 22, that one hundred acres of the unappropriated lands of the Province be granted the petitioner; and, in the record of this date, the name is spelled Joseph Sautell. It is now unknown when or where his term of service took place.



CHAPTER V.

KING GEORGE'S WAR.

IN the year 1744 war was again declared between England and France, called by the English colonists King George's War. Civilization had now pushed the belt of frontier towns far into the wilderness; and Groton was no longer exposed to the assaults of the Indians, though at times threatened with danger. Her sons and soldiers, however, were still found, during this period, on the outer rim of settlements, whenever and wherever their services were needed, either to extend the borders or to defend them. A military organization was kept up in the town, ready for emergencies here, or elsewhere in the neighborhood.

The first settlement of Charlestown, New Hampshire, — then known as No. 4, — was made in the year 1740, by three brothers, Samuel, David, and Stephen Farnsworth, natives of Groton; and they were soon followed by Isaac Parker and his sons, and Obadiah Sawtell, also of this town. The Farnsworths were leading men at Charlestown, and they distinguished themselves on several occasions in fights with the Indians. Samuel Farnsworth, the eldest brother, was killed in a skirmish, May 2, 1746. David was taken prisoner by a



party of French Indians, April 20, 1757, and carried to Canada. He managed to escape, and reached home, not a long time probably after his capture. Stephen, the youngest brother, had also his bitter experience with the enemy. He was captured, April 19, 1746, and taken to Montreal, where he remained seventeen long months before he was exchanged. His health was so broken down by the hardships of his captivity that he never fully regained it. He died September 6, 1771, leaving behind the reputation of a brave man and a good citizen.

R. Ebenezer Farnsworth, a native of Groton, and a kinsman of the three brothers just mentioned, was captured, August 30, 1754, by the St. Francis Indians, at Charlestown. He was carried to Montreal and held a prisoner during three years. His ransom was paid in the summer of 1755, but he was not then set at liberty. Mrs. Susanna Johnson and her sister, Miriam Willard, were taken at the same time. They were both daughters of Moses Willard, who had formerly lived in the south part of this town. A full account of the affair is given in "A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson," published at Walpole, New Hampshire, in 1796. Two years later, on June 18, 1756, Moses Willard, the father, was killed by the Indians, at Charlestown; and in the same attack his son, Moses, Jr., had a narrow escape from death by the hands of the savages, being severely wounded at the time.

Lieutenant Isaac Parker was taken by the Indians at the same time with Stephen Farnsworth, and remained in captivity until the following winter, when he was returned to Boston under a flag of truce.

The Sawtell family is also largely represented in Charlestown, where the name is now spelled Sartwell. It is a numerous family in that town, and they sprang from the early settler, Obadiah, who went from Groton. He, too, had a sad experience in savage warfare, and once was captured by the

Indians. He was taken by them, May 24, 1746, and remained a prisoner until August 20, 1747. He finally met his death at their hands, June 17, 1749, being attacked while ploughing in his corn-field, unsuspecting of any danger.

Charles Holden, Isaac Holden, and Seth Walker, natives of Groton, were early settlers and proprietors of Charlestown. Moses Wheeler was another pioneer, and a distinguished soldier, taking part in some of the fiercest encounters of the French and Indian War. He was a large man, and noted for his strength. He was called by the Indians "the strong man." Moses Willard, Isaac Farwell, and Micah Fuller, other settlers, were also from this town. Eleazer Priest, son of Joseph Priest, of Groton, and a soldier, was captured by the Indians, March 15, 1748, at Charlestown, and died at Louisburg, Nova Scotia, in September of that year, while on his way home.

In the year 1746 Charlestown was deserted on account of the Indians, and the retiring inhabitants took up their abode mostly in Groton, Lunenburg, and Leominster. Many of the facts concerning this frontier settlement in the Connecticut Valley, I have found in the "History of Charlestown, New-Hampshire, the Old No. 4," written by the Reverend Henry H. Saunderson, and published in the year 1876.

During King George's War, alarms in New England were sometimes caused by the presence of French vessels along the coast. In the early autumn of 1746 an attack on Boston was threatened by the Duke d'Anville's fleet; and it is said that more than eight thousand men under arms rushed at short notice to the defence of the capital. Among these soldiers was a company from Groton, under the command of Captain William Lawrence. The alarm was of short duration, and the term of service on the part of the men correspondingly short, ranging from two to twelve days. The muster-roll of the company during this brief period is now in the possession of Mr. James Lawrence Bass, of Boston; and

I am indebted to his courtesy for a copy of it. Mr. Bass is a great-great-grandson of Captain Lawrence, and the roll has come down with other family papers. The list of officers was: —

William Lawrence,	captain,
James Prescott,	lieutenant,
John Woods,	lieutenant,
Obadiah Parker,	sergeant,
Hezekiah Sawtell,	sergeant,
Amos Lawrence,	sergeant,
William Prescott,	clerk,
John Pratt,	corporal,
Joseph Page,	corporal,
Israel Hobart,	corporal,
Jonathan Longley,	sentinel.

Captain Lawrence lived on the west side of the present Main Street, just north of James's Brook, and always took a prominent part in the affairs of the town. He was a son of John and Anna (Tarbell) Lawrence, was born August 11, 1697, and married Susanna, one of the eight daughters of Jonas Prescott. Captain Lawrence subsequently became the colonel of his regiment, and during many years represented the town in the General Court. He was an older brother of Sergeant Amos Lawrence, the ancestor of several distinguished families.

Lieutenant James Prescott was a son of Benjamin and Abigail (Oliver) Prescott, and born on January 13, 1720/1. Through his aunt Susanna he was a nephew of the company commander; and by his own subsequent marriage to a cousin, he became a son-in-law of the same officer. During a long life he was much engaged in public affairs; and in the militia he passed through all the grades of office from ensign to colonel. He was the elder brother of the company clerk, who in later years became distinguished as the commander of the American forces at the Battle of Bunker Hill. At this

time William Prescott was only twenty years old, and this episode in his career was his earliest military experience. His term of service was five days, for which he received the sum of five shillings and tenpence, as his signature on the back of the roll shows. The other officers were well-known men of recognized ability. The list of privates in the company was: —

Amos Holdin	James Tarbell
James Burt	Zechariah Longley
Sam ^l Scripture Jn ^r	John White Jn ^r
Ebenezer Farnsworth Jn ^r	Benj ^s Steward
Joseph Farwell Jn ^r	John Harris
David Sawtell Jn ^r	William Tucker
John Preist	Stephan Johnson
Thomas Lawrence	John Whitman
Ambros Lakin	Nathaniel White
Benj ^s Page	Abial Stone
William Bush	John Farwell
Oliver Farnsworth	John Edwards Jn ^r
Oliver farwell	Sam ^l Tenney
Isaac Peirce	Thomas Curtis
Samuel Nichols	Joseph Blanchard Jn ^r
Benjamin Chase	Thomas Powers
Amos Robinson	Jonathan Patch
Ruben Woods	Eleazor Wood
William Simonds	Oliver Corey
John Sawtell	Oliver Whitcomb
Mathias Farnsworth	Sam ^l Hore
Zechariah Sawtell	Lemuel Barret
Benj ^s Davis	Robert Chapin
Josiah Farnsworth	Josiah Hasting
Sam ^l Kemp	Jonathan Parker
Isaac Green	Bennet Wood
Jonathan Green	William Warrin
Sam ^l farwell	Simon Davis Jn ^r
James Hartwell	David Powers Jn ^r

Nathan Hartwell	Simon Blanchard
Jonathan Nutting	Abel Jewett
Nathaniel Woods	Robert Robins Jnr
John Tarbell	Ephraim Philbrek

Receipts for service are in existence which seem to show that this muster-roll was incomplete. Some of the men were from Littleton and others from Lancaster. Private Thomas Lawrence, who was a nephew of the Captain, subsequently served with great credit during the French and Indian War as a commissioned officer, and lost his life in a skirmish with the Indians at Half-way Brook, near Lake George, on July 20, 1758.

In the Journal of the House of Representatives, April 22, 1746, is found "A Petition of *William Tarbell of Groton*, a Soldier wounded in the Service of the Province, praying a Consideration therefor." The petitioner belonged to the same family as the Tarbell children who were carried off to Canada, and was probably their nephew.

In the summer of 1747 a body of Indians made their appearance within the limits of Fitchburg, and committed various acts of depredation. Attacking the garrison of John Fitch, early one morning, they killed two soldiers; and, burning the house, carried off as prisoners Fitch and his wife, with their four children. An alarm was at once given, and Rufus C. Torrey, in his *History of Fitchburg* (1865), says: —

Soldiers arrived in an incredibly short period, from Groton, Lancaster, and even from Westford. They immediately put themselves under the command of Major Hartwell, and started in pursuit. They had not proceeded far beyond the smoking ruins of the garrison, before they discovered a paper stuck in the bark of a tree. This contained a request, signed by Fitch, not to have his friends pursue him; for the Indians had given him to understand what his destiny was to be if they were not molested; but if they should be pursued, and likely to be overtaken, then they should forthwith kill him, together with his wife and children. The soldiers, on the receipt of this, returned. (Page 49.)

Scouting parties went out, from time to time, as occasion required, in order to reconnoitre the country and protect the neighborhood. They were made up largely of men used to hardships and fond of adventure, who were training in a good school for future service. Some of the most efficient soldiers during the Revolutionary War received the rudiments of their military education at this period.

Near the end of King George's War, the town was again threatened with danger; and a company of thirty-two men, under the command of Captain Thomas Tarbell, scouted in this vicinity for six days in July, 1748, but they do not appear to have discovered the enemy. A few days afterward another company, of thirty-six men, was sent on a similar expedition, but with no better success. In the rolls of these two companies are many names prominent in the annals of the town from its very beginning. Among them are the Prescotts, the Lawrences, the Shattucks, the Amesces, the Bancrofts, the Shepleys, the Parkers, a son of the Reverend Mr. Bradstreet, and a grandson of the Reverend Mr. Hobart.

A List of the Names of the men that Scouted In the woods In July last under the command of Cap^t. Tho^s. Tarbell of Groton & the Number of Days the were In s^t Service

We Set out y^e 7 Day &: Returned y^e 13th Except Jacob Ames who was Taken sick & Returned back y^e 2^d Day

Groton Oct^r 21st 1748

attest

THO^s. LAWRENCE Cler.

Liu Eleazer Green
 Ensign Stephen Holden
 Sarga^t John Page
 Serg. Simon Pearce
 Sam^l. Shattuck Ju^r
 James Shattuck
 Eleazer Tarbell
 Jonathan Holden
 Elias Ellett

Sam^l. Kemp Ju^r
 Jona^t Shattuck Ju^r
 John Gilson Ju^r
 Joseph Patterson
 Timothy Mores
 Neh^s. Jewett
 Edm^l. Bancroft
 Isaac Holden
 Pilott Jerah^t. Powers

John Shattuck
Moses Woods
Tho^s Lakin
John Keemp
Jonaⁿ Sartell
Moses Blood
Henry Farwell

Nath^l Smith
Jona^l Lawrence
Henry Jefts
Aaron Woods
Jacob Ames
Eleazer Green Ju^r
John Parker Ju^r

also by the authority a fore sd on the 28th of July I marched in to
The wilderness in quest of the Enemy with The men whose Names
are hear after written and Returned the 29 Day: and we found our
Selues both preuison and amanision both Times.

John Bulkely
James Prescott
John Gilson
Dudley bradstreet
Jeremiah Shattuck
William Nutting
Tho^s Lawrance
Isaac Green
Jos. Sheeple
Tho^s Woods
Joseph Parker
Nathaniel Parker
W^m bennett
Nathaniel Shattuck
Ezekiel Nutting
Joseph Gilson
Isaac Gilson
James fisk

Jonas Parker
Ruben Woods
Jonathan Lawrance
Jeremiah hobart
Isaac Lakin Jun^r
Joseph ben^et
Joseph Chandler
Isaac Patch Jun^r
John Nutting Jr
Jonathan prescot
Daniel Pollard
Ebenezer Lakin
Peter Parker
Sam^l bowers
Tho^s Chamberlin
Ebenezer blood
Nathaniel Davis Jun^r
Josiah Sartell clerk

[Endorsed]

THO TARBELL Cap^t

November 10th 1748 this may Certifie that the Cap^t and men
within mentioned ware sent oute by me and by Co^l Willards order
Directed to me :

WILLIAM LAWRENCE

[Massachusetts Archives, XCII. 156.]

Daniel Farmer, a Groton soldier, was taken prisoner, July 14, 1748, in a skirmish with the Indians, near Fort Dummer.¹ He was carried to Canada, and kept till the following October, when he was allowed to return home.

Fort Dummer was situated on the west bank of the Connecticut River, in the present town of Brattleborough, Vermont. Two of its early commanders had been connected with Groton by the ties of kindred. Colonel Josiah Willard, for many years in command of the Fort, was a grandson of the Reverend Mr. Willard; and he was succeeded by Lieutenant Dudley Bradstreet, a son of the Reverend Mr. Bradstreet, and a native of this place.

Jonathan Nutting, whose petition is found in the Journal of the House of Representatives, June 9, 1755, and herewith given, was undoubtedly a Groton man: —

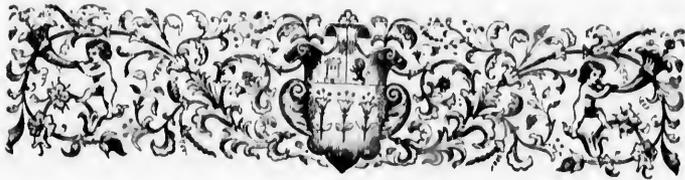
A Petition of *Jonathan Nutting*, a Soldier at *St. George's* Fort, representing the Difficulties he is reduced to by Reason of the great Charge he was at in a long Sickness which befell him in the Year 1751; and praying for such Allowance out of the public Treasury for his Relief, as may be judged reasonable.

Joseph Gilson, whose application for an allowance appears in the same Journal, January 11, 1760, and is here printed, was probably the soldier who served in Captain Lovewell's expedition to Pequawket, during the spring of 1725: —

A Petition of *Joseph Gilson of Groton*, representing his Services and Sufferings for his Country, praying a Compensation, for the Reasons mentioned.

King George's War was brought to an end by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year 1748.

¹ Benjamin H. Hall's "History of Eastern Vermont." (Page 50.)



CHAPTER VI.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

It was not many years after this period that another war broke out, known in America as the French and Indian War. It was the last and severest of the intercolonial struggles, and the Indians fought on each side, though mostly against us. The first conflict of arms took place in May, 1754, and the war continued until a treaty of peace was made in February, 1763. Several expeditions were organized at different times, in which Groton men bore their part.

Thomas Lawrence was the second lieutenant of a company, in an expedition up the Kennebec River during the summer of 1754. His subsequent career shows him to have been a brave man, — a better fighter than speller, judging from the following petition on file at the State House: —

Prouince of
the Massetuchsets
Bay

} *To His Excelency William Shearly Esq^r Cap^t General and Commandder in Cheeff of s^d Prouince and to the Honnorable His Majesty's Counsel and House of Representaues Now Assembled at Boston the 30th of October A: D: 1754*

The Pertision of Thomas Larrance of Groton in the County of Meddelsex

Humbly Shueth that you pertisener Chearfully Ingaged in the Expedition Wich hath ben performed to the Eastward up Cenebeck Riuer and Went in the Copasety of a Second Lef^t in the Company

under the Command of Cap^t Humphry Hobbs and allways Endeuered to performe Euery Command according to the best of His Powar and after His Return from the Long march up Cenebeck Riuer your Petisionner was called upon to Asist in raiseng of a block House at Fert Hallefax Wich he ded and in Laying Down one of the plank it being too Heauy for Him it gaue His Back a sudden Rinch Wich I often Feel the Effects of to this Day and fear shall as Long as I live and soon after was Taiken With a slow feaver Wich is Now more than six Weakes and it is Now Fieue Weaks next Saterdag since I Landded at Boston and was carred to M^r Sharrows Whare I Have Laid Euer since but Now throw the Graite goodness of God am Gott so Well as to Indeuer to Ride Home in a Chair if I had one, and by Reason of this Long and Tedious sickness hath ocationed Graite Expence as may Apear by the Accompts Hear unto annexd. Whearfore I humbly Pray your Exelancy and Honnours to Grant such Releaf in the premisses as in your Graite Wisdom and Goodness you shall see meet and your pertisinour as in Duty Bound shall euer Pray

THOMAS LAWRENCE

[Massachusetts Archives, LXXIV. 258.]

Two days afterwards the sum of £11 10s. 7d. was allowed the petitioner out of the public treasury. The bill of his physician, Gillam Tayler, was £2 6s. 4d., and that of his landlady, Mary Sharrow, £59 11s. 6d., old tenor, equivalent to £7 18s. 10d., lawful money.

Fort Halifax was situated on the east side of the Kennebec River, within the present limits of Winslow, Maine. This town was incorporated in the year 1771, and so named after General John Winslow, who was in command of the expedition sent to that region when the fort was built.

Henry Woods was in the same expedition, and his petition is as follows: —

Province of the }
Massachusetts Bay } *To his Excellency William Shirley Esq^r Cap^t General Governour and Commander in Chief in & Over Province*

To the Hon^{ble} his Majesties Council and House of Representatives assembled at Boston Feb^y 5th 1755

The Petition of Henry Woods of Groton In the County of Midds; Humbly sheweth that your Petitioner Enlisted himself to go (the summer past) in the Expedition to the Eastward on Kenebeck River; & always faithfully Perform'd what service I was call'd For, But about the beginning of Sep^r last, was Taken sick att Fort Hallifax, (with the nervous Feaver) & Lay there about ninety Days; So bad a Considerable Part of the Time That Life almost dispair'd of. But Thro: Divine Goodness arriv'd at Boston the ninth of Dec^r Last: and was Carried to M^rs Sherrows: and there Lay Confined by a Feaver-Sore (under the hand of Doc^r Taylor) more Than a month and then Convey'd in a Chair to Groton not being able Ever since, to do an hours work, or walk about the House without something to lean upon

May it Please Your Excellency: & Hon^{rs} Your Petitioner would Crave Leave to inform you, That Clafford & Hambleton the Two men That nurs'd me at Hallifax Demanded of me Six Pounds and Eight Shillings Lawful Money: Saying that Cap^t Melvin Promis'd them so much p day as amounted to that sum. And when I arriv'd at Boston hearing that Cap^t Melvin was dead: I then Gave them a Part in money, and a note of hand for the Remainder.

M^rs Sherrows Demands are about five Pounds fifteen Shillings. I have forgott, what Doc^r Taylors acc^t was; But am Inform'd That your Excellency, and Hon^{rs} were Pleas'd to allow his Acc^t (upon my former Petition) for which I give your Excellency and Hon^{rs} hearty Thanks. Praying That you would be Pleased again to take under your Compassionate Consideration my Difficult & Distressing Circumstances: and Grant such Relief as in your Great Wislom & Goodness you may think Proper, and your Poor Distressed Petitioner as in Duty shall Ever Pray

HENRY WOODS

Groton Feb^r 10th 1755

[Massachusetts Archives, LXXIV. 330.]

From the Journal of the House of Representatives, January 1, 1755, it appears that Woods had previously presented another petition.

In answer to the second petition, he was allowed, February 20, £5 for his nurses before he came to Boston, and the further sum of £5 os. 7d. for his landlady.

The *chair* mentioned in these petitions was a vehicle which long since passed out of use. It resembled a chaise with the top taken off, and was generally wide enough to carry two persons.

According to the same Journal, March 31, 1756, Woods made a third application for relief, one year later. It is as follows: —

A Petition of *Henry Woods of Groton*, in the County of *Middlesex*, setting forth, that being a Soldier in the Expedition to the River *Kennebeck* in the Year 1754, was taken sick, and by his long Confinement then contracted such Indisposition as has rendered him unable to Labour for his Support as heretofore; that he was put to great Ex-
pence thereby, and has received but a partial Allowance therefor; and praying such further Relief under his distressed Circumstances, as shall be judged meet.

Thomas Lawrence was the son of Thomas and Prudence Lawrence, and born at Groton, on September 3, 1720. He is said to have been a man of great size and strength. During the summer of 1758 he commanded a company belonging to the force operating around Lake George; and in the memorable skirmish at a place called Half-way Brook, July 20 of that year, he was killed, with four of his men: namely, Corporal Nehemiah Gould, Privates Abel Sawtell, Ebenezer Ames, and Stephen Foster. More than twenty soldiers were slain in the action, and all but one scalped by the savage allies of the French. The Reverend Samuel Sewall, in the Appendix to his "History of Woburn, Massachusetts" (page 550), prints the journal kept by Samuel Thompson, which gives a full account of the affair.

Captain Lawrence lived in that part of Groton which is now Pepperell; and on the departure of his company for the army, the Reverend Joseph Emerson preached a sermon. It was delivered May 7, 1758, before "Capt. Thomas Lawrence, and Part of his Company of Soldiers: Before their going out into public Service." and afterward published.

Like all discourses of that period it is purely doctrinal in its character, and contains not one word of interest to the present generation. It would have been easy for the author to have given some information about the various enlistments of the men, and a history of the company generally; but on these points he is utterly silent. It may be said, however, in his behalf, that he was talking to them and not to us.

Sergeant Oliver Lakin, of Captain Lawrence's company, was taken prisoner in the action at Half-way Brook, though he subsequently escaped. The following entry in regard to him is found in the Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives for January 10, 1760:—

A Petition of *Oliver Laken of Groton*, in the County of *Middlesex*, shewing, that he was a Soldier in the Pay of the Province *Anno 1758*, and was on the 20th Day of *July* the same Year, Captivated by the Indian Enemy, suffered many & great Hardships, and was obliged to borrow a Sum of Money to purchase his Freedom from Captivity; he therefore prays he may be allowed the Sum of Money he borrowed; also the Charges of his Passage home, and a further Allowance for his Loss of Time and Sufferings &c.

The answer to the petition is found two days later, in the proceedings of January 12, as follows:—

The Committee appointed to consider the Petition of *Oliver Lakin*, Reported thereon.

Read and accepted in Part, *viz.* *Resolved*, That the Sum of *eight Pounds*, be allowed and paid out of the public Treasury to *William Lawrence*, Esq; for the Use of the Petitioner, in full Consideration for his Services and Sufferings therein mentioned.

Sent up for Concurrence.

The petitioner was a son of William and Miriam Lakin, and a great-grandson of Ensign John Lakin, one of the original proprietors of the town.

The following letter, from Lieutenant Woods to his company commander, is found in Miss Hemenway's "Vermont

Historical Gazetteer" (IV. 1155, 1156), and refers to Lakin's release from captivity: —

To Captain Ephraim Wesson, Groton, in the Bay Government: —

CAMP AT TICONDEROGA, }
August ye 12th, 1759. }

Sir: — These with my regards to you and yours, are to let you know that I am in good health.

Sir: — To my great joy I received your letter, which informed me that you and all my friends were well; also that Oliver Larkin [Lakin?] was returned from captivity, and the remarkable account of his getting home from the enemy. Give my compliments to said Oliver, and tell him that we are paying them for their old tricks. As for the affairs among us, our employ is chiefly fatigue duty. Part of the army is at Crown Point, and part is at this place. We are repairing this Fort with all expedition, and the rest of the army are building a new Fort at Crown Point. We hear that there is a party of men gone to lay out a road to No. 4 [now Charlestown, New Hampshire]. The army is very healthy, and our company are well that are at this place. So I conclude, and subscribe myself your well-wishing friend.

HENRY WOODS.

In the Journal of the House of Representatives, June 13, 1759, there is —

A Petition of *David Sartwell* of *Groton*, in the County of *Middlesex*, setting forth that his Son *Abel Sartwell*, went forth in the Expedition against *Canada* the last Year; that near *Half-Way-Brook* (so called) he was in an Engagement with the Enemy, and killed; that his Gun was then lost; he therefore prays the Stoppage may be taken off, and the Treasurer be directed to allow him the *three Pounds* mentioned.

Also in the same Journal, March 30, 1761, is —

A Petition of *John Erwin*, Junr. of *Groton*, a Soldier in the Year 1758, setting forth, that he was wounded by the Enemy, and lost his Gun, praying for an Allowance for his Gun, &c.

In the muster-roll of the company his name appears as Erwin.

Interesting papers, relating to Captain Lawrence's company, are now in the possession of General A. Harleigh Hill, of Groton, Vermont, a great-grandson of Captain Wesson, who succeeded to the command of the company after the unfortunate affair of July 20, 1758. General Hill is the author of the chapter on "The History of the Town of Groton, in Caledonia County," which appears in Miss A. M. Hemenway's "Vermont Historical Gazetteer," and gives many interesting facts about that town. Some of its early settlers were natives of Groton, Massachusetts; and it was through them that the name of their birthplace was carried into the Green Mountain country. I wish to acknowledge my obligations to General Hill for his kindness and courtesy, not only in furnishing copies of these papers, but in many other ways. Owing to the want of space, some of the sub-headings in the muster-roll and in the two "Returns" of the men enlisted are omitted in this printed copy. The papers are as follows:—

A Muster-Roll of A. Company of Foot in his Majesty's Service, under the Command of Captain Thomas Lawrence from March 13, 1758, to July 20th—Then Captain Ephraim Wesson to November 30, 1758, in A Regiment raised by the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, for the Reduction of Canada, Whereof EBENEZER NICHOLS Esq. is Colonel Viz.

Men's Names	Quality	Of what Town	Names of Fathers, & Masters of Sons under Age, & Servants.
Thomas Lawrence Esq	Captain . . .	Groton.	
Ephraim Wesson . . .	First Lieut. . .	Pepperell	
Ditto	Captain . . .	"	
Leonard Spaulding . . .	Sec ^d Lieut. . .	Westford.	
Ditto	First Lieut . . .	"	
Joseph Farwell	Ensign	Groton.	
Ditto	Sec nd Lieut. . .	"	
Henry Woods	Serjant	Groton.	
Ditto	Ensign	"	
Ditto	Second Lut . . .	"	

Men's Names	Quality	Of what Town	Names of Fathers, & Masters of Sons under Age, & Servants.
Nathaniel Lakin . . .	Serjant . . .	Pepperell	
Oliver Wright . . .	Do. . . .	Westford	
Oliver Lakin	Do. . . .	Groton.	
Oliver Parker	Corp!	Groton.	
Ditto	Serjant	"	
Ditto	Ensign	"	
Nehemiah Goold . . .	Corp!	No. 1.	
Simon Gilson	Corp!	Pepperell	
Ephraim Severance . .	Corp!	Groton	
Moses Sawtell	Cent.	Groton	
Ditto	Corporal	"	
Ditto	Serjant	"	
Oliver Shattuck	Cn!	Pepperell	
Ditto	Serjant	"	
Eleazer Spaulding . . .	Cent.	Pepperill	
Ditto	Serjant	"	
Joseph Hartwell	Cent.	Westford	
Ditto	Corp!	"	
Simeon Foster	Cent!	Groton	
Ditto	Corp!	"	
David Shattuck	Drumer	Groton	
Eleazer Ames	Cent!	Groton . . .	{ William Lawrence
Archelus Adams	Do.	Groton	{ his Guardian.
John Boyden	Do.	Groton.	
Robert Blood	Do.	Pepperell	
Aaron Blood	Do.	Westford . .	{ Ephraim Chandler
Josiah Butterfield . . .	Do.	Westford . .	{ his Guardian.
Moses Blood	Do.	Pepperell.	Josiah Butterfield.
John Chamberlain	Do.	Pepperell.	
Joel Crosby	Do.	Westford . .	{ Son in law to And ^w
			{ Spaulding.
Daniel Douglass	Do.	Groton . . .	{ Servant to Isael
			{ Hobart.
John Erwin	Cent.	Groton . . .	John Erwin
James Fisk	Do.	Groton . . .	James Fisk
Oliver Farnsworth	Do.	Groton	
Stephen Foster	Do.	Groton	
William Farnsworth	Do.	Pepperell	
Eleazer Fisk	Do.	Pepperell	
Benjamin Farmer	Do.	Westford	

Men's Names	Quality	Of what Town	Names of Fathers, & Masters of Sons under Age, & Servants.
Daniel Gilson	Cent. . . .	Groton.	
John Gragg	Do. . . .	Groton. . .	Jacob Gragg
Moses Goold	Do. . . .	Lunenburg	
Ephraim Hall	Do. . . .	Pepperell	
Joseph Kemp	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	Sam ^l Kemp Jun ^r
Silas Kemp	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	Hezekiah Kemp
Stephen Kemp	Do. . . .	Pepperell	{ Servant to Edmund Bancroft.
Simon Lakin	Do. . . .	Pepperell	
Simeon Nutting	Do. . . .	Pepperell	
Isaac Nutting	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	Isaac Nutting
Benjamin Nutting	Do. . . .	Westford . .	Joseph Nutting
John Nutting	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	John Nutting
Eleazer Parker	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	{ Under y ^e Care of the Select Men
Joseph Page	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	Joseph Page
William Parker	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	William Parker
Obediah Perry	Do. . . .	Groton.	
Stephen Peirce	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	Stephen Peirce
Jonathan Phelps	Do. . . .	Groton.	
Nathaniel Parker	Do. . . .	Pepperell . .	Nathan ^l Parker
Leonard Parker	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	Leonard Parker
Benjamin Richardson	Do. . . .	Westford	
David Shattuck jr	Do. . . .	Pepperell	
Abel Sawtell	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	David Sawtell
Jonathan Sheple	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	{ James Prescott Esq his guardian
Lemuel Sheple	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	{ James Prescott Esq his Guardian
Joseph Sawtell	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	{ Samuel Tarbell his Guardian
Thomas Shattuck	Do. . . .	Pepperell.	
Thomas Scott	Do. . . .	Pepperell . .	John Scott
Benjamin Shattuck	Do. . . .	Pepperell	
Josiah Sheple	Do. . . .	Groton.	
Nathan Wesson	Do. . . .	Wilmington	{ Son to Stephen Wesson
Zachariah Willis	Do. . . .	Westford . .	{ Servent to Philip Robins
Benjamin Woods	Do. . . .	Groton . . .	Son to John Woods
Simon Wheeler	Do. . . .	Westford	

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A Return of men Inlisted for his majestys Service in the intended Expedition against Canada 1758

Mens Names	Where born	in what Company	In what Rigement	Age	Names of the fathers of Sons under age and masters of Servants
Archalus Adams	Newbury	Colo Charles Prescott	Col ^b Elisha Jones	25	
John Nutting	Groton	Capt. Jer ^b Shattuck	Col oliver Wilder	20	Son to John Nutting Jun
Simon Gilson	Groton	Capt Jer ^b Shattuck	Col. oliver Wilder	27	
Eleazer Fisk	Groton	Capt Jer ^b Shattuck	Col. oliver Wilder	26	
Leonard Parker	Groton	Capt. John Bulkley	Col ^b Wilder	16	Son to Leonard Parker

The above Written is a True acct of all the men by me Inlisted for his Majestys Service in the Expedition now Carrying on against Canada in a Company to be comanded by Capt Thomas Lawrance in Col^o Ebenezer Nichols's Ridgiment

JOSEPH FARWELL

GROTON April y^e 15th 1758

A List of the Men that I Have Listed for Canada &c Adomini 1758

Simon Larkin [Lakin]

Silas Kemp

Isaac Nutting Jun^r

Jonath. Phelps in the Rume of Simon Ames of Groton

Nath^a Parker Jun^r

Robert Blood

William Farnsworth

Oliver Shattuck in the Rume Soloman Shattuck of Pepperrell

John Chamberlin in the Rume of Peter Thursten of Pepperrell

Nathan Wesson

Thomas Shattuck

Tho^s Scot.

Stephen Kemp

Eleazer Spoulding in the Rume of Joel Parkhurst of Dunstable

Stephen Foster

Ph^r EPHRAIM WESSON Lev^t

GROTON April 15th 1758

This may Certifie whome it may concerne that the above named Soldiers were this day mustered & passed Before me

WILLIAM LAWRENCE } Muster
 } Master

A Return of the Men Enlisted for his Majesty's service in the intended expedition against Canada, 1758

Names	Where born	In what Company.	Age.	Time of Service.
Simon Larkin . . .	Groton, . . .	Capt. Jeremiah Shattuck,	42	March 30.
Silas Kemp, . . .	Groton, . . .	Capt. James Prescott, . .	16	March 30.
Isaac Nutting jr . .	Groton, . . .	do. John Bulkley . . .	19	March 30.
Jonathan Phelps, . .	Andover, . .	do. John Bulkley . . .	31	March 30.
Nathan Wesson, . .	Wilmington	do. Thomas Pierce, . . .	18	March 31 st
Thomas Shattuck . .	Groton, . . .	Cap J. Shattuck, . . .	22	March 31 st
Nathaniel Parker, . .	Groton, . . .	„ J. Shattuck, . . .	19	April 3 ^d
Ebenezer Spaulding	Groton, . . .	Capt Oliver Coburn, . . .	24	April 3 ^d
Stephen Foster, . .	Chelmsford	Cap. John Bulkley . . .	23	April 4.
Robert Blood . . .	Groton, . . .	Capt J. Shattuck . . .	27	April 5.
W ^m Farnsworth . . .	Groton, . . .	„ J. Shattuck . . .	21	April 5.
Oliver Shattuck . . .	Groton, . . .	„ J. Shattuck . . .	27	April 5.
Thomas Scott, . . .	Groton, . . .	„ J. Shattuck . . .	19	April 5.
Stephen Kemp, . . .	Groton, . . .	„ J. Shattuck . . .	17	April 5.
John Chamberlain . .	Groton, . . .	Capt J. Shattuck . . .	36	April 10.

The above written contains a true account of the men that I have Enlisted for his Majesty's service in the intended expedition against Canada, in a Company to be commanded by Captain Thomas Lawrence, to be in Colonel Ebenezer Nichols' Regiment

EPHRAIM WESSON,

PEPPEREL, April y^e 15th 1758.

N. HAMPTON June 2^d 1758

SIR You are to repair to Hadley and there wait for Col^l Nichols ; arrival that you may give him an Ac^t of the Spare Blankets of the Regiments which were left there at Mr oliver Smiths. If he doth not come by the fourthenth Intant, you are directed to Join the Regiment, by the first Opportunity

I am your Friend

Jⁿ CUMING

To Liu^t Eph^m Wesson

By his Excellencys Command to Captain Tho^r Laurance.

You are hereby Directed to Colect the men In your company with-out Delay and prepare a list of them & the number of arms your men will take of their own.

From the day they are collected till they arive at Worcester where the Kings Provisions, will be delivered out to the Regiments you are to take care that your men are Victualed as Follows — that is Sixpence Pr day Sterling & no more. you are to take care they dont Exceed that and also Such a part for each meal as to take the whole of s^d Sixpence for the day. you are to acquaint the Taverners: accordingly you are to deliver s^d Taverners, a list of the names, & the N^o of the men Ware Supplied at So much P^r Meal and this list with the certificate shall be the Taverners Voucher to his accompt to be laid before the Governor & Council for their Passing upon it and granting warenty, for the payment of the same.

You are to take Particular Care that no Straglers be left behind — you are further Directed to Use the utmost of your Endevers that one quarter of your men Provide their own arms —

EBEN^k NICHALS

An account of the arms that Cap^t. Laurance and his men had of their own that was lost in the fight at the half way brook July the 20th 1758

the guns Lost	-	the kings arms	
Cap ^t . Laurance	†	Serg ^t . oliver Lakin	†
Serg ^t . oliver wright	†	Corp ^t . Nehemiah Goold	†
Simon wheeler	†	Stephen foster	†
Eleazer Ames	†	Abel Sawtell	†
Joel Crosby	†		—
	—	Total	4
Total	5		

The two papers here given refer to the expedition against Crown Point: —

GROTON June y^e 25th 1755

Rec^d of Lieut Ephraim Wesson Six pounds Seven Shilings and three pence old tenor as Subsistance to albaney each of us are soldiers to Crown Point.

Jonas Woods	Japtha Richardson
Isaac Patch	Isaac Wesson
Isaac Patch junr	Zach ^r Wilthe [Withee]
Jonathan Foster	Nathaniel Nutting
his	John Trowbridge
Simeon X Foster	Jonathan Green
mark	
his	
Joseph X Denow	
mark	

A List of the names that are inlisted for the Expedition to Crown Point into Capt Reeds Compeny by me Ephraim Wesson

Isaac Patch	Zacriah Wethe [Withee]
Isaac Patch Jun ^r	Isaac Wesson
Jonathan Green	Nathaniel Wesson
John Hobart	Japtha Richardson
Jonathan Foster	Joseph Denoro
Semeon Foster	John Trobridge
Jonas Woods	John Shipley
Nathaniel Shatuck	Nathaniel Nutting

The following letter was written by Colonel William Lawrence to the Honorable Spencer Phips, at that time the Lieutenant-Governor of the province. Colonel Lawrence was then in command of the soldiers stationed along the frontiers in this neighborhood. The letter was dated a few weeks before the Battle of Lake George, a period of great excitement among the inhabitants of the border towns. Lieutenant Lawrence, who is mentioned, was a younger brother of the writer:—

May it Please your Honour

I had Desired Lieu^t Lawrence to order a Scout to Pequage [Athol] before I Rec^d your Honours Letter which he had Done & from thence to Northfield tho none was Placed at Pequage but in as much as Pequage Does not appear more Exposed to the Enemy :& so much as several other Places between y^e rivers merimack and Conneticut that are within this Province and I apprehending your honour might not be

So well acquainted with the Curcumstances of those Frontiers I Did not order y^e Lieu: to Place but ten men at Pequage for if fifteen had been sent there other places must have been left so naked that no Scouting Could have been Done which I am sencable was y^e Courts Disigne — but if what I have ordered Should not be agreeable I should be Glad to know your Honours mind. I find it is Difficult to satisfie the People with so few men in so long a Frontier but shall take y^e best Care I Can so far as I am concern^d to give orders for Every thing to be Done that your Honour Shall think best but if Possible I think best to keep out all y^e new plantations in this Province but I am afraid that thirty men is not sufficient. So with Great Regard, I remain your Honours most Humble and obedient Servant to Command.

WILLIAM LAWRENCE

GROTON July y^e 29: 1755

To y^e Hon^{ble} Spencer Phips Esq^r

[Massachusetts Archives, LIV. 521.]

It was in the spring of 1755 that the territory of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, fell under British authority; and the conquest was followed by a terrible act of cruelty and violence. The simple Acadians, unsuspecting of the designs of the English leaders, were assembled in their churches, in obedience to military proclamation; and thence, without being allowed to return to their homes, were driven at the point of the bayonet on board ships, to be scattered over all the English colonies in America. This was done with so little regard to humanity that, in many instances, wives were separated from husbands, and children from parents, never to see one another again. It was upon an incident connected with this act of tyranny that Longfellow's poem of *Evangeline* is founded. Two of the French families, ten persons in all, were sent to Groton, where one of the mothers died, not many months after her arrival, perhaps from the rude transplanting. A few years later an Acadian family is mentioned as living here; but the household had

become divided, some of the little children being sent to the neighboring towns. Our pity for these unfortunate people will be stronger when we reflect that they were miserably poor, — among a race who spoke a strange language, followed other customs, and abominated their religion. Under these circumstances their homesickness must indeed have been bitter; but we have reason to believe that they were treated with tender care by the people here. We learn from the records that they were furnished with medical attendance, and articles necessary for their bodily comfort.

Many interesting papers bearing on this subject are found among the Archives at the State House, in the two volumes marked "French Neutrals," as these people were sometimes called. The following documents are there given: —

The Province of the Massachusetts Bay D:

To the Town of Groton for Keeping Ten Franch Persons and finding them many Neseareeyes for thare Support when many of them Ware Sick &c.

Beginning the 21st of May AD 1756. To Jan^y 6th 1757

P ^d James Prescott Esq ^r as by his Acco ^t	£	6	0	0
P ^d Mr. Benj ⁿ Stone	0	16	4	0
P ^d Mr. Sam ^l Bowers for Provisions &c	1	17	7	0
P ^d Barnibus Mach Charril and others for a Lume Wheels and Tacklin about s ^d Lume	1	12	0	0
P ^d to John Shepl ^e for moving them and for Provisions &c	0	4	8	0
P ^d John Page for S ^d dreys &c	0	1	2	2
P ^d Amos Lawrence for Provisions &c	0	2	0	0
P ^d M ^r Isaac Woods for Pork and Syder &c	1	12	0	0
P ^d Cap ^t Tho ^s Tarbell for Milk and Meat &c	0	7	8	0
P ^d Jacob Gray for Syder milk & Wood Carting &c	2	0	0	3
P ^d Alraham Wheeler for Provisions &c	0	5	2	0
P ^d James Stone for Meal	0	1	8	0
P ^d Nath ^l Parker for Wood & House Rent	0	10	0	0

[Amount carried forward

£7 16 4 1]

[Amount brought forward	£7 16 4 1]
P ^d Doct ^r Oliver Prescott for Doctering them	2 5 6 0
P ^d Josiah Sartell for Suger Rum & Molasses & Peas	0 7 7 0
P ^d Lef ^t William Nutting for House Rent and other things that He provided for them	2 13 4 0
P ^d the Wid ^o Elizabeth Sheple for what she Did for the franch and Provisions &c	0 8 0 0
	£15 10 9 1

short of 1^s p week

JAMES PRESCOTT	} Selm for Groton
AMOS LAWRENCE	
BENJ ^d STONE	
THO TARBELL	
JOSIAH SARTELL	

[Massachusetts Archives, XXIII. 306.]

The Province of the Massachusetts Bay D^r

To The Town of Groton from Jan^y ye 20th 1757 to This Day for Supporting the two franch famileys in s^d Town &c being ten in Number

P ^d Benj ⁿ Lawrence for Wood	£0 1 4 0
P ^d Isreal Hobart for Wood & Milk &c	1 6 1 0
P ^d s ^d Hobart for more Wood meat & Salt	0 14 8 0
P ^d Doc ^r Oliver Prescott for them	0 4 1 0
P ^d Doc ^r Oliver Prescott for meats	1 8 0 -
P ^d Isreal Hobart for malts & Wood & milk	0 9 4
P ^d s ^d Hobart for House Rent & Milk	1 3 4
P ^d Josiah Sartell for Rum molasses & Sugar when sick at Sundrey Times and Wood	1 18 3 0
P ^d John Ames for removeing the franch also one ax Provided for them	0 2 8 0
	0 6 0
Total	£7 13 9 0

By Order of the Select men of sd Town Groton Sep^r. ye 2^d, 1757

JOSIAH SARTELL

Since the aboue was Paid for the franch &c we have Paid out in October Last for thare further Support in Life and for Buring one of

the mens wife and findeing funariel things &c the whole Sunn To Israel
 Hobart which is £^l 19 9 2
 P^d Abel Lawrence for Diging the Grave & 0 2 8 0
 P^d Docter Oliver Prescott for Vesn. & Medicins 0 8 11 0
 2 11 4 2
 P^d This By Order of the Selectmen of s^d Town Nov^r
 ye 22^d 1757 7 13 9 0
 a little above 6^{ce} p week total 10 5 1 2

p JOSIAH SARTELL

[Massachusetts Archives, XXIII. 461.]

On the back of the paper is written: —

Warn^t Adv^{is}d Dec^r 6. 1757

In the report of a Committee, dated April 18, 1761, appointed by the General Court to distribute French Neutrals among the towns of Middlesex County, it is stated that they have assigned to —

Groton	Rain Bobbin	[aged]	37
	Marg ^t his wife		39
	John his son		13
	Matturen D ^o		11
	Joseph D ^o		8
	Eliz	5 weeks	
Pepperil	Marg ^t Marshal		18
	Mary Bobbin daug ^t of Rain Bobbin		3
Townsend	Paul Oliver Bobbin		7
	Peter Bobbin son to Rain Bobbin of Groton		5

[Massachusetts Archives, XXIV. 468.]

The surname, perhaps, is spelled wrong, as people in those days were not used to writing foreign words; very likely it should have been Beaubien. The colonial authorities showed but little humanity when they took away these small children from their mother and put them in different towns. Other

16 4 1]
 5 6 0
 7 7 0
 13 4 0
 8 0 0
 10 9 1

Selm
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 Groton

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 eing ten in

0 1 4 0
 6 1 0
 14 8 0
 4 1 0
 8 0 -
 9 4
 3 4
 18 3 0
 2 8 0
 6 0

13 9 0

2^d, 1757

SARTELL

paid out in
 ing one of

families were sent at the same time to Dunstable, Westford, and Littleton.

Many Groton men were in the expedition sent against Nova Scotia, which brought away these poor French families. The Journal of Colonel John Winslow, the commander of the expedition, in three folio volumes, containing copies of the various muster-rolls of his command, is preserved in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The force was made up of two battalions, and each battalion had a lieutenant-colonel and two majors. It appears that each of the field-officers commanded a company, or had one called by his name; and there was one known as Governor Shirley's Company. The muster-rolls have a common heading, dated "Bason of Annapolis Royal Nova Scotia May 28th 1755." From the Journal I gather the following names of soldiers, either natives or residents of this town, who took part in the affair: —

LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN WINSLOW'S COMPANY.

Men's Names	Station	Age	Place of Birth	Last residence	Occupation
Abiel Parker	Sergeant	28	Groton	Groton	Labourer
Gideon Parker	Private	32	"	"	"
Samson Blood	"	21	"	"	"
John Lakers [Lakin?]	"	24	"	"	"
Gabriel Lakers	"	18	"	"	"
Nath ^l Ballard	"	32	Framingham	"	"
John Gilson	"	28	Groton	"	"

CAPTAIN HUMPHREY HOBBS'S COMPANY.

Isaac Holden	Sergeant	31	Groton	Groton	Labourer
Joseph Fairwell	"	29	"	"	"
Thomas Woods	Private	27	"	"	"
Sam ^l Sartwell	"	25	"	"	"
Johnathan Goold	"	23	Lunenburg	"	"
Josiah Williams	"	29	Groton	Shirley	"
Asa Holden	"	22	"	Groton	Taner
John Sherrin	"	23	Boxford	"	Cooper
W ^m Holden	"	27	Bloody point	"	Labourer
Jonas Green	"	24	Groton	"	"
Eph ^m Parker	"	23	"	"	"

CAPTAIN HUMPHREY HOBBS'S COMPANY — *Concluded.*

Men's Names	Station	Age	Place of Birth	Last residence	Occupation
Sam ^l Bason	Private	20	Townsend	Groton	Cordwr ^r
Silas Parker	"	18	Groton	"	Labourer
Amasa Gilson	"	20	"	"	"
Solomon Gilson	"	18	"	"	"
Jacob Nutten	"	28	"	"	"
Jon ^s Holden	"	18	"	"	"
Elijah Robins	"	23	"	Westford	Cordwinder
Benj ^s Robins	"	22	"	"	Labourer
Nathan Whipple	"	22	"	Groton	Sadler

CAPTAIN THOMAS OSGOOD'S COMPANY.

Phineas Kemp	Private	24	Groton	Bellerica	Husbandman
Phineas Parker	"	21	"	Littleton	"
Sam ^l Green	"	22	"	Metford	Cordwainer

LIEUTENANT COLONEL GEORGE SCOTT'S COMPANY.

Will ^m Saunderson	Drum ^r	19	Groton	Groton	Farmer
Aaron Davis	Private	23	"	Harwidck	Carpenter
John Burt	"	20	"	"	Farmer
Josiah Boyden	"	20	"	Groton	"

CAPTAIN PHINEAS STEPHENS'S COMPANY.

Benj ^s Gilson	Private	20	Groton	Hinsdale	Husbandman
Charles Riev	"	22	"	Keen	"

CAPTAIN ABIJAH WILLARD'S COMPANY.

Will ^m Bart	Private	28	Groton	Harvard	Labourer
Jonathan Cressey	"	25	"	Groton	"
Jonah Chamberlain	"	25	"	"	"
Nehemiah Gould	"	21	"	"	"
Nehemiah How	"	21	"	"	"
Samuel Martin	"	18	Lunenburg	"	Cooper
Joseph Paterson	"	25	Groton	"	Labourer
David Saunders	"	19	"	Lancaster	"
Lemuel Turner	"	18	"	"	"
Nath ^l Turner	"	18	"	"	"
Zachariah Tarball	"	22	"	Lunenburg	"

CAPTAIN EPHRAIM JONES'S COMPANY.

Isaac Green	Serjant	39	Groton	Groton	Yeoman
Ezekiel Brown	"	34	Concord	"	"
Moses Woods	Corporal	45	Groton	Pepperrell	"

CAPTAIN EPHRAIM JONES'S COMPANY—*Concluded.*

Men's Names	Station	Age	Place of birth	Last residence	Occupation
Will ^m Spaulding	Corporal	23	Groton	Pepperrell	Yeoman
Abraham Boyenton	Private	42	"	Groton	Husbandman
Oliver Elliote	"	20	"	Pepperrell	Yeoman
Sam ^l Fisk	"	24	"	"	Cooper
Nathan Fisk	"	24	"	"	"
Jonas Fletcher	"	25	Weston	Groton	Labourer
Jabez Kemp	"	18	Groton	Pepperrell	"
John Kemp	"	23	"	"	Husbandman
Oliver Kemp	"	19	"	"	Labourer
Hezekiah Kemp	"	17	"	Groton	"
Simon Lakin	"	42	"	Pepperrell	Yeoman
Simon Lakin Jun ^o	"	18	"	"	Labourer
George Lessley	"	19	"	Hollis	"
John Nutting	"	17	"	Groton	"
Will ^m Shed	"	18	"	Pepperrell	"
Job Shattuck	"	18	"	Groton	"
Nath ^l Savtell	"	17	Boston	"	Husbandman
Eleaz ^r Spaulding	"	21	Groton	Pepperrell	Yeoman
Jon ^s Stevens	"	17	"	"	Labourer
Isaac Williams	"	22	"	"	Yeoman
David Wright	"	19	"	"	Cordwainer
Jon ^a Woods	"	39	"	"	Yeoman
Eleaz ^r Wipple	"	20	"	"	Labourer
Josiah Wright	"	17	"	"	"

CAPTAIN SAMUEL GILBERT'S COMPANY.

Isaac Robins	Private	40	Groton	Stow	Joyner
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During the latter part of this war some of the soldiers—I think it was one half—were supplied with bayonets, and known as "bayonet-men." At the State House are found the lists of such as belonged to the two Groton companies. They are now of considerable interest, as showing some of the men who did military duty in that eventful period. The lists are dated December 19, 1758. These names are largely represented in the families living in the town at the present day.

The following is the list of the bayonet-men who belonged to Captain John Bulkley's company:—

Joseph Longley, of Groton,—a son of John, who was taken prisoner by the Indians in July, 1694,—was mortally wounded at the siege of Fort William Henry, in August, 1758. His son, Joseph, Jr., also served, as a very young man, during one year of the French and Indian War, and subsequently with great credit during five years of the Revolution. The son died at Hawley, Massachusetts, July 8, 1836, at the advanced age of ninety-two years.

According to the inscription on the monument to the memory of Captain Abram Child, in the old burying-ground, he entered the army at the age of seventeen years, and served under General Amherst at the capture of Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point during the summer of 1759.



CHAPTER VII.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

THE following papers are found among the files of the Middlesex County Court, at East Cambridge, in the bundle marked "1659 April 5." They appear to be in the nature of promissory notes, and are in the handwriting of John Tinker, who a few months later had from the government a monopoly to trade with the Indians at Groton and Lancaster. My attention was called to them by Henry Stedman Nourse, Esq., of Lancaster, to whom I am indebted for the copies. Petobawok and Petapowok are different forms of Petaupaukett—the Indian name of Groton. Cattaconamak and Catacomumok are other forms of Catacoonamug, and apply to the tract of land in the neighborhood of Shirley. There is a Catacoonamug Brook in that town. Boundary lines between places were never distinctly marked by the Indians, but left indefinite. The expression "in foure moones" evidently means four months; but I am in doubt in regard to that of "2 hunting times:"—

These p'sents testefieth That wee James Indian otherwise called Quagnisheman of Cattaconamak: Nomahnacomak of Petobawok and

Mahmachecomak of Cataconamak do acknowledg ourselves to owe and to be indebted unto John Tinker the sume of twenty five pounds and ten shillings at the Rates of six a peny wompom. to be give to him the said John Tinker his kindred friends or whome evr he shall Appoynt, the one halfe therof in foure moones in good beaver at prises as all marchants give, and the other halfe in nine moneths in like good beaver at like prices at his house at Petapowak, and for the good performanc thereof we binde ourselves and either of us. our kindred friends and all we have, In Wittness whereof we the said James, Nomanacomak and Mahmacheckomok have hereunto sett our markes dated febr^y 13th 1656 — Signed by James and Nomanacomak in the p^sents of

RICHARD SMITH	the mark <i>RS</i> of
JOHN <i>QW</i> WHITCOM	JAMES INDIAN
his mark	
Signed by MAMACHECOMAK in the	the mark <i>X</i> of
p ^s ents of ROBERT BLOOD	NOMANACOMAK
the mark <i>QW</i> of	the mark <i>X</i> of
JOHN WHITCOM	MAMACHECOMAK

This within said Engagement is againe owned and Consented to and Confirmed, and delivered as their act and deed at the house of Jn^o Tinker in Lancaster the 18th; 12^{mo}; 1657 and do agree all shall be paid in 2 hunting times after this date, at least —

ddy [delivery?] in the p^sents of us

JACOB FFARER

JOHN *QW* WHITCOMB JUN
his marke

These p^sents testefieth That wee Wamseahacetts and mamachecomak of Cattacomumok and Nomanacomak of Petapowok do herby acknowledg to be indebted to John Tinker of Petapowok the sume of Twenty one pounds thirteen shillings which is foursescore & six fadum and three shillings at 6 wompoms a peny and five shillings a fadum to be paid to the said John Tinker, or his Kindred or friends which he shall apoynt, one halfe therof in foure mounethes and the other halfe in ten moneths and to the true performance, or to be well paid wee Wamseahacett — Mamachecomak & Nomanacomak do binde ourselves

the soil was given to the Company by the patent; yet the rights of the Indians as previous occupants were recognized by the local government, and often regarded by the English proprietors in the acquisition of land. It was certainly to the credit of the early settlers that they acknowledged these rights and were willing to extinguish them by purchase. This action on their part did not make the title to the land any clearer in a court of law, but it established a principle. During some years before the charter was annulled, its impending fate was feared, and the colonists thought that their landed possessions might be forfeited to the Crown. In this state of affairs they undertook to strengthen their claims by purchase from the Indians; and many instances are recorded of sales to them. It was thought, moreover, that buying the land of the original owners would give a title paramount even to that of the King. Various entries are found in the town-records of Groton, which show that the early proprietors took similar action in regard to their territory.

I herewith give several extracts from the records, bearing on this point, without any attempt to correct the spelling or modernize the language. The crude and illiterate phrases impart a coloring to that period, and deepen the light and shade of those times, which a finished picture would not represent. Moreover, they are a fair expression of the daily life of the common people, which was rough, honest, and true.

At a ginarrall Town meting upon 25 d 10 m 1683 John Page
John Parish Insin Lorinc

as you are Chosin a comity for and in the behalf of the Towne
you are desiered for too proue the Rit and titill we haue too our
Tooun ship by all the legall testimony which can be procucried when
the Toown is sent too by aney a Tority and if aney ingins can proue
a lagiall titall too the Remainer of our Town ship you haue power
too by it at as easi a lay as you can and mack it as sur as may be in

the behalf of the Toown and you shall haue Reasinabl satisfackion for your payns.

JONATHAN MORS *Clark*

in the nam of the selckt men 31 d 10 m 1683

It will be noticed that the town-meeting was held on Christmas; and three weeks later the Committee made their report, giving the expenses of their work, as follows:—

at A ginnrall Town meting upon the 14 d 11 m 1683 the Toowr comity did giue in thar account of thar chargis for the purchis of our Toown ship with the indins

thar Chargis in money-Eckspencis 1 — 10

2 for thar tym in Toown pay twelue

shilins apese which doo ameat too 1 — 16 — 0

uotid that the comity was too entr the ded

in too the cunty records for this sum

14 d 11 m 1683 at a ginnrall Toowm meting it was agreed upon and uoted that this publick chargis con sarning the purchis of our Toown ship shall be raysed by the furst grants and too hom thay war furst grantid too

at the sam meting it was agreed upon and by uot declarid that if any parsin doo Refus too pay for the purchis of this ingin titell too our Toowm ship thar pur porsion thar nams are too be entred in too the Toowm buck

at a ginnrall Toowm meting upon the 14 d 11 m 1683 4 it was agreed upon and uoted that this Bublick chargis con sarning our purchis of our indin titll shall be Leuied upon our furst grants of lands and thay shall pay in hose hands thay are found

In accordance with the vote passed at this town-meeting, "that the comity was too entr the ded in too the cunty records," the instrument was duly recorded in the Middlesex Registry of Deeds (IX. 27), at East Cambridge. It is as follows:—

To all people to whom these p'sents shall come greeting know yee
M^r John Tom Dublit & his wife & their Eldest son little Indians to
Jame ffox, alias Gasumbitt, M^r Jacob alias Patatuck all Grotton

of Weymessit & Thomas Waaban of Natick all of them Indians & Inhabitants as afores^d and within the Massachusetts Colony in New England for and in consideration of the full & just sum of [£] twenty and eight pound ten shill, to me well and truly paid & security given to them according to law by Corporall John Page, Esq^r Nathaniel Lawrence & John Parresh all of the Towne of Grotton, w^{ch} is to the full satisfac^on & content of the afores^d Indians and thereof and of every part thereof do acquitt, release and discharge y^e s^d John Page & Nathaniel Lawrence & John Parresh & their heys & Administrators for ever by these p^{re}sents. **have** granted, bargained & sold, aliened enfeoffed & confirmed, & by these p^{re}sents do fully, ^{sell} freely clearly and absolutely grant, bargain & sell, alien, enfeoffe & confirme to the now Inhabitants of the Towne of Grotton afores^d and to their heys & Associates forever All ^{all that Plantation called Grotton} & every part of that Tract of land which is called Grotton plantation according to the full Extent of the bounds thereof, on both sides of Nashaway River, as it is granted to them by the hon^{ble} Gen^l Court of the Massachusetts Colony, **Te** ^{habendum} **have and to hold** the aboves^d Tract of land with all the priviledges & appurtenances to the same apperteyning or in any wise belonging to them the s^d Inhabitants of the Town of Grotton & to their heys & Associates forever & to their & their only proper use and behoofe And they the s^d M^r John Tom Dublitt & his wife and their son the Eldest of them, little James ffox & Jacob Pataatuck & Thomas Waaban for themselves, their heys & Administrators do covenant, promise & grant to and with the afores^d John Page, Nathaniel Lawrence & John Parresh (as Trustees for & in behalfe of the whole Inhabitants of the afores^d Towne of Grotton) & with their heys & Assigns forever, that they the s^d M^r John Tom Dublitt & his wife & their Eldest son & little James ffox, alias Gasumbitt & Jacob Patatuck & Thomas Waaban & each of them are the true and proper heys of the aboves^d Tract of land as to all manner of Indian Title, that either is or may conceived to be, And that they have good right, full powr & lawfull Authority the p^{re}mises to grant, bargain & confirme to them the s^d Inhabitants of Grotton & to their heys, Associates & Assigns forever. And that they the s^d Inhabitants of the Town of Grotton their heys Associates & Assigns forever shall and may at all times & from time to

time forever hereafter quietly and peaceably have, hold, occupy, possess & enjoy the s^d whole Tract of land or plantation with all the priviledges, profits & commodities of the same without the lawfull hindrance, Eviction expulsion, sute, molestation or denyall of them the s^d M^r John Tom Dublitt & his wife & their Eldest son little James ffox, Jacob alias Patatuck & Thomas Waaban their heys or Executors, Administrators or Assigns of them or of either of them or of any other person or persons whatsoever whither Indian or English claiming or having any right, title or Interest therein or thereunto by from or under them or either of them (as to Indian Title of land) or by any other lawfull ways or means whatsoever.

In witness whereof, the s^d M^r John Indian & Tom Dublitt and his wife & their Eldest son little James ffox, Jacob alias Patatuck & Thomas Waaban have affixed their hands & seals hereunto this tenth day of January, In the year of our ^{10th Janur 1683} Lord God one thousand six hundred eighty & three, fotr, and in the thirty and five year of y^e reigne of our sovereigne Lord King Charls the second

Read,

signd,

sealed

& deliverd

in y^e presence of us

THO: HINCHMAN

his mark & seale + M^r JOHN and seale

JOHN FISKE

TOM O DUBLITT his mark and seale

JONATH. DANFORTH Sen^r

his W^{ife} her mark & seale

JAMES BROWN

LITTLE JAMES his mark & seale

JAMES RUMBLY MARSIE

JACOB S PATATUCK his mark & seale

CAP^t C TOM

THOMAS WABAN & seale

his marke

TOM S DUBLITTS SON & seale

mark

Pompequoout, alias M^r John, Thomas Neepamimp alias Dublitt & Sarah his wife, Pasumbitt, alias little James fox & Petatook alias Jacob Indians of Wymeset & Thomas Waban Indian of Natick, acknowledged the within written Instrument to be their Act & Deed

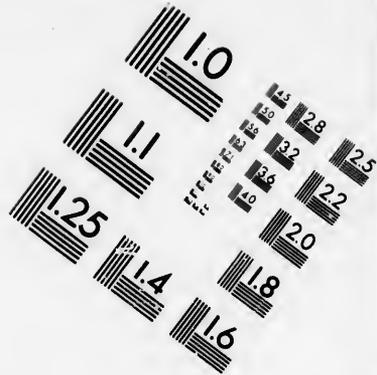
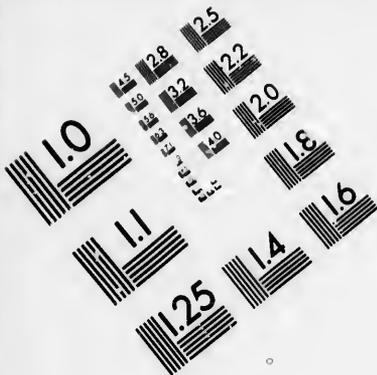
Jan. 11. 1683/4

Before PET: BULKELEY Assis^s.

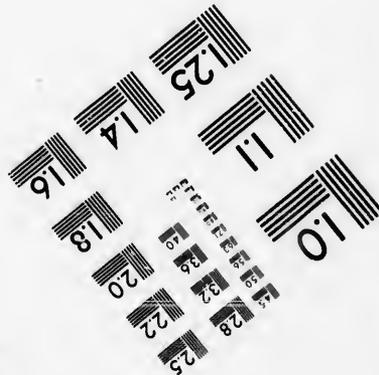
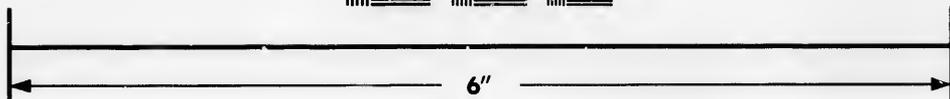
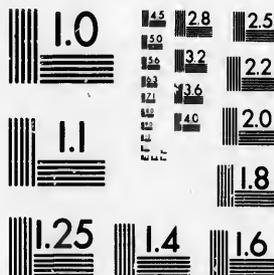
Recorded, 17. 3. 1684

by THO: DANFORTH, R.





**IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic
Sciences
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

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James Rumbly Marsh, one of the witnesses to the deed, was a friendly Indian, of much service to the English during King Philip's War. He is mentioned by Gookin in the "History of the Christian Indians," where his middle name is written Rumney, which is the correct spelling. He was the spy who gave timely information in regard to the intended attack on Lancaster, which, however, was not heeded. Rumney Marsh is the old name of Chelsea; and James, by living in that town, acquired this designation. Sometimes he was called James Quannapohit or Quanapaug.

By referring to the proceedings of a town-meeting, held on June 8, 1702, it will be seen that other persons besides the Committee, acting doubtless on their own responsibility, had acquired nominal rights from the Indians. The following votes were then passed:—

at a town meting legelly warned Jun eighte 1702 the town did vote that they would giue Peleg larraness Eairs three acers of madow where they ust to Improue and tenn acers of upland neare that madow upon the Conditions following that the aboue sd Peleg larrances heirs do deliuer up that Indian titelle which thay now hawe to the town

JAMES BLANCHARD *Clarke*

at a town leagly warned Jun: eight, 1702 the town: did uot that thay would giue to robart robins Sener three acers of madow where he uste to Improue: and ten acers of upland near his madow upon the Conditions forlowing that he aboue sd Robart Robbins doth deliuer up that Indian titels which he now hath: to the town

JAMES BLANCHARD *town Clarke*

The general practice of selling land to the English caused some hard feeling among those Indians who received none of the purchase money. Naturally they felt dissatisfied with the proceedings; and only a few months after the sale to the town of Groton, a considerable number of them requested the

General Court to have a committee appointed, who should examine the subject in all its bearings. The petition is as follows: —

To the Honred Governer Deputy Governer and assistants together with the Honred hous of deputyes now sitting In Generall Court assembled In boston Sept^{br} (10th) (1684)

The petition of Cap^t Tom and Witt Nahaughton and Thomas Dublett (Indians) & Diuers other most humbly sheweth that whereas your servants haue been and are aproued freinds to the English and sence the warr [King Philip's] the Honred Generall Court was pleased to state for the Indians severall plantations, one of which we vnderstand to be at malbery, we doe vnderstand that no man is to buye Indian land without leau from your Honers, we se dayly that Thomas Woban and great James [som others *interlined*] appropriate to them selues the Indian land at malbery and sell it and y^t without order and keep all the pay to them selues, and chaleng the land of Groaton and Concord Chelmsford and bilerikye, now we beseech y^t your honers would be pleased to take so much nottes of the bisenes for vs as to appoint a committy to Inquire into bisenes y^t Justess may be dun for the Indians in this Case for many Indians are much disquieted about it, we haueing shrouded our selues under the wing of your honers protection, doe Rest hoping for a gracious answer and subscribe our selues your Redy servants to our power

Dat the (1st) of Sept^{br} 1684

CAP^t TOM

WITT NAHAUGHTON

THO^s DUBLETT

[and twenty-five other Indians, who signed by making their marks.]

[Massachusetts Archives, XXX. 287.]

The grant of land made in the spring of 1658, by the General Court, to Major Simon Willard, was in satisfaction of a debt due him from John Sagamore, an Indian living at Pawtucket, in the neighborhood of the present city of Lowell. The land lay in the south part of Groton, then known as Nonacoicus, and now included within the limits of Ayer. The entry in the General Court Records is as follows: —

In Answer to the petition of Majo^r Symon Willard The Court Judgeth it meete to graunt his Request viz a farme of five hundred acres on the south side of the Riuer that Runneth from Nashaway Courts Graunt [Lancaster] to Merremack betweene Lancaster & Groten to Major Sy- & is In satisfaction of a debt of forty fower pounds Jn^o mon Willard. Sagamore of Patuckett doth owe to him Provided he make ouer all his Right title & Interest in the execution obtayned agt the sajd Sagamore to the countrje wch was donne (IV. 281.)

The following Indian names, applied by the early settlers to streams, ponds, or places, in the original township of Groton and its neighborhood, are for the most part still in common use. The spelling of these words varies, as they were first written according to their sound and not according to their derivation. They have been twisted and distorted so much by English pronunciation and misapplication, that it is doubtful whether an Indian would recognize them in their foreign garb. Yet, even with this drawback, they furnish one of the few links in the chain of historical facts connecting us with pre-historic times in America. It is rare to find an Indian word in an early document spelled twice alike: —

Babittasset — the name of a village in Pepperell.

Badlacook — the name of a pond in the eastern part of the town.

Catacoonamug — the name of the neighborhood of Shirley, as well as of a brook in that town.

Chicopee — the name of a district in the northern part of the town, but now applied to a highway approaching it, called Chicopee Row.

Humhaw — the name of a brook in Westford.

Kissacook — the name of a hill in Westford.

Massapoag — the name of a pond, lying partly in Groton and partly in Dunstable.

Mulpus — the name of a brook in Shirley.

Nagog — the name of a pond in Littleton.

Nashoba — the old name of Littleton, now applied to a hill in that town, as well as to a brook in Westford.

Nashua — the name of the river running through the township.

Nissitisset — the name of a river in Pepperell.

Nonacoicus — the name of a brook in Ayer, though formerly applied to a tract of land. Sometimes the word is abbreviated to Coicus.

Nubanussuck — the name of a pond in Westford.

Petaupaukett — a name found in the original petition to the General Court for the grant of the town, and used in connection with the territory of the neighborhood; sometimes written Petapawage and Petapaway.

Quosopanagon — the name of a meadow "on the other side of the river," mentioned in the land-grant of Thomas Tarbell, Jr.; the same word as Quasaponikin, formerly the name of a tract of land in Lancaster, but now given to a meadow and a hill in that town, where it is often contracted into Ponikin.

Squannacook — the name of a river in the western part of the town flowing into the Nashua; formerly applied to the village of West Groton.

Tadmuck — the name of a brook and a meadow in Westford.

Unquetenasset, or *Unquetenorset* — the name of a brook in the northern part of the town. It is sometimes shortened into Unquety.

Wabansconcett — another word found in the original petition for the grant of the town, and used in connection with the territory of the neighborhood.

The following letter from the Honorable James Hammond Trumbull, whose authority in Indian philology is unquestioned, gives the meaning and derivation of the original name of the town: —

HARTFORD, Dec. 22, 1877.

MY DEAR DR. GREEN, — *Petaupauket* and *Petapawage* are two forms of the same name, the former having the locative post-position (-*et*), meaning "at" or "on" a place; and both are corruptions of one or the other of two Indian names, found at several localities in

New England. From *which* of the two your Groton name came, I cannot decide without some knowledge of the place itself. I leave you the choice, confident that one *or* the other is the true name.

"*Pootuppog*," used by Eliot for "bay," in Joshua, xv. 2, 5, literally means "spreading" or "*bulging* water," and was employed to designate either a local widening of a river, making still water, or an inlet from a river expanding into something like a pond or lake. Hence the name of a part of (old) Saybrook, now Essex, Conn., which was variously written *Paulapaug*, *Poattapoge*, *Potabauge*, and, later, *Pettipaug*, &c., so designated from a spreading cove or inlet from Connecticut River. *Pottapoug* Pond in Dana, Mass., with an outlet to, or rather an inlet from, Chicopee River, is probably a form of the same name. So is "Port Tobacco," Charles County, Md. (the "*Potapaco*" of John Smith's map), on the Potomac.

But there is another Algonkin name from which *Petaupauk* and some similar forms *may* have come, which denotes a swamp, bog, or quagmire, — literally, a place *into which the foot sinks*; represented by the Chippeway *petobeg*, a bog or soft marsh, and the Abnaki *potepaug*. There is a *Pautipaug* (otherwise, *Pootapaug*, *Portipaug*, *Patapogue*, &c.) in the town of Sprague, Conn., on or near the Shetucket River, which seems to have this derivation.

If there was in (ancient) Groton a pond or spreading cove, connected with the Nashua, Squannacook, Nissitisset, or other stream, or a pond-like enlargement, or "bulge," of a stream, this may, without much doubt, be accepted as the origin of the name. If there is none such, the name probably came from some "watery swamp," like those into which (as the "Wonder Working Providence" relates) the first explorers of Concord "sunke, into an uncertaine bottome in water, and waded up to their knees."

Yours truly,

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

The last suggestion, that the name came from an Algonkin word signifying swamp, or bog, is probably the correct one. There are many bog meadows, of greater or less extent, in different parts of the town. Two of the largest — one situated on the easterly side of the village, and known as Half-

Moon Meadow, and the other on the westerly side, and known as Broad Meadow, each covering perhaps a hundred acres of land — are now in a state of successful cultivation. Before they were drained and improved, they would have been best designated as swamps, or bogs.

A singing-book, entitled "Indian Melodies," was published at New York, in the year 1845, containing a tune called "Groton." The compiler of the work was Thomas Commuck, a Narragansett Indian, then living at Manchester, Wisconsin Territory. He asserts that all the tunes mentioned in the book, as well as their names, are Indian, which is a mistake. Groton is an old English word, in use more than eight hundred years ago, and its Latin form is found in Domesday Book.

There are several tunes called Groton, given in different singing-books, but the earliest one that I can find is in Jacob Kimball's "Rural Harmony," published at Boston, in the year 1793; and I am inclined to think that the author of the work wrote it himself. Mr. Kimball was born in Topsfield, Massachusetts, on February 15, 1761, and graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1780. He studied law with Judge William Wetmore, of Salem, and was admitted to the bar in the year 1795. Before this time he was a school-teacher and a noted composer of music. He wrote quite a number of tunes, and some of them were named after the towns where he taught singing. At one time he lived in Amherst, New Hampshire; and it is highly probable that he named the tune after this town. He died at Topsfield, on July 24, 1826.

Gibbet Hill, in the immediate neighborhood of the village, was so named at a very early day in the history of Groton. It is mentioned in the land-grant of Sergeant James Parker, which was entered in the town-records by Richard Sawtell, the first town-clerk, who filled the office from June, 1662, to January, 1664-5. The tradition is that the hill was so called from the fact that once an Indian was gibbeted on its summit. If this ever occurred, it must have happened before Richard Sawtell's term of office. The town was incorporated by the General Court on May 25, 1655, but no public records were kept before June 23, 1662.

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