

PHILIP'S WAR. — State of the Country. — Garrison Houses. — Expedition to Brookfield. — Proceedings of Government; and of the Town. — Lancaster burnt. — Christian Indians in Concord. — Feelings towards the Indians. — Abraham and Isaac Shepherd killed. — Groton burnt. — People remove to Concord. — Proceedings of Government. — Sudbury Fight. — Henschman's Letters. — Soldiers at Concord. — Christian Indian Soldiers. — War Taxes.

WE are now to record the events of a most interesting period in the history of New England, remarkable for the occurrence of the most distressing Indian war that ever desolated the country. Though Concord suffered little in comparison with many other towns, yet the part her citizens took in this war is deserving of particular notice.

At this time the number of warriors in the five nations of Indians in the immediate vicinity of the English settlements, as has been noticed in the commencement of this history, was estimated at about 1800; the whole number of English inhabitants in New England at 120,000; and the effective military force of the four United Colonies at 16,000; of which Massachusetts had nearly three fourths. She had twelve troops of cavalry of 60 men each. The county of Middlesex then contained 17 incorporated towns,¹ and its militia was embraced in one regiment. A majority of these towns were but recently settled by inhabitants living remote from each other, without even tolerably good roads to facilitate their intercourse.

Concord then contained a foot, and part of a horse company.² In 1654, an expedition had been undertaken by the United Colonies against Ninigret, principal Sachem of the Naraganset Indians, when 250 foot and 40 horsemen were raised and "sent forth under the Christian and courageous Major [Simon] Willard of Concord as commander in chief."³ Several of the Concord troops accompanied him; and this was the first time that our early settlers were engaged in war.

At Wamesit (Lowell), Nashobah (easterly part of Littleton), Okommokamesit (Marlborough), and several other places near the frontier, English settlements were incorporated Indian towns, containing in 1676 about 500 inhabitants, including women and children, who had ostensibly embraced Christianity, and were friendly to the whites. At length jealousies arose among the unfriendly Indians against these and against the English; and Philip, the bold chief of the Wampanoags at Mount Hope, determined to destroy their infant settlements, and exterminate the inhabitants. To aid him in this barbarous conspiracy, he endeavoured to obtain the alliance of all the neighboring tribes; and in most instances he effected his designs.

The government ordered that garrison-houses should be erected in the several towns, or that dwelling-houses already built should be fortified, which were to serve as a kind of fortress into which the inhabitants, by districts or companies, might collect at night, or in case of an attack. Houses were also erected for the accommodation of military watches, which were maintained in each town to perform patrol duty, and forewarn the inhabitants of danger.

We have no other means than tradition to ascertain the number or situation of the garrison-houses in Concord. The house now occupied by Dr. Hurd was originally one; another stood near John Flint's; another near Meriam's corner; two others within the present limits of Bedford; another near John Hosmer's; and another near Silas Holden's. An Indian fort was built near Nashobah Hill in Littleton, then in Concord. These were not all. The number and situation varied, at different times, for the subsequent twenty years.

Though several acts of hostility had been committed in Plymouth Colony, the Nipmuck Indians residing near the centre of the present limits of Worcester county, had not fully united with Philip in his blood-thirsty designs of extermination. And since some of these were Praying Indians, the government flattered themselves that they might be reclaimed and enlisted permanently on their side. Having professed friendship and promised fidelity to the English, a

1. Charlestown, Watertown, Medford, Cambridge, Concord, Sudbury, Woburn, Reading, Malden, Lancaster, Chelmsford, Billerica, Groton, Marlborough, Dunstable, Mendon, and Sherburne. Worcester County was not incorporated until 1731.

2. The former was organized in 1636, when Sergeant [Simon] Willard was appointed to exercise it. He was appointed Captain in 1646, and promoted to be Major in 1654. In 1662, the County Court made the following appointments in this company. Timothy Wheeler, Captain; Joseph Wheeler, Lieut.; William Buss, Ensign; Richard Rice, Thomas Bateman, and Thomas Wheeler, sen. Sergeants; William Buttrick, Samuel Stratten, and John Scotchford, Corporals. The Horse Company was organized Oct. 13, 1669, embracing some soldiers in the adjoining towns. Thomas Wheeler was appointed 1st Captain; Thomas Henschman, Lieut.; and Henry Woodhouse, Quarter Master. This was the second and western horse company in the county, and from it the present Concord Light Infantry descended.

3. Mather's Relation, p. 69. See Hoyt, Antiquarian Researches, p. 70.



mission was sent forth to meet these Indians at Quabaug (Brookfield). Capt. Edward Hutchinson was commissioned to negotiate a treaty; and Capt. Thomas Wheeler of Concord, with 20 or 25 of his company, was ordered to go with him as a guard, and to assist in the objects of the expedition. Two sons of old Robin Petuhanit of Grafton, Sampson and Joseph,⁴ and George Memecho, three Christian Indians, accompanied them as guides and interpreters. They marched from Cambridge to Sudbury, 28th July, 1675; and arrived at Brookfield 1st August, when they found the Indians were assembled about 10 miles distant. Four messengers were sent to acquaint them with the intentions of the English, but an alarm was raised, and the Indians assumed a warlike attitude. The messengers endeavored to convince the Sachems of their peaceful intentions; and they promised to meet the English the next morning a short distance from Brookfield. They doubted whether to proceed; yet, being urged to go by the inhabitants of Brookfield, they marched to the place assigned for holding the treaty. Finding no Indians there, the company continued their march, contrary to the advice of their guides, four or five miles further near to a swamp, when they were suddenly attacked by 200 or 300 Indians. Eight were killed by the first fire and three wounded, among whom were Capt. Hutchinson and Capt. Wheeler. Capt. Wheeler had two horses shot under him, and received a ball through his body. Seeing this, his son, whose arm was then fractured by a ball, dismounted, and placed his wounded father upon his own horse; and himself mounting another whose rider had been killed, they both escaped. The surviving English retreated to Brookfield, and had scarcely entered the town, before it was set on fire in various places by the pursuing enemy. All the houses (20) were consumed excepting one, in which the inhabitants and the company were gathered. In this distressing situation, Capt. Wheeler appointed Lt. Simon Davis of Concord and two others to take the command, being disabled himself; and gave orders to Ephraim Curtis of Sudbury, and Henry Young of Concord, to proceed to Boston to give information of these lamentable occurrences to the Council. After two unsuccessful attempts to proceed, in which they were driven back by the Indians and [Henry] Young was killed, [Ephraim] Curtis escaped. On his arrival at Marlborough, he met Major Simon Willard and Capt. James Parker of Groton with 46 men, who had been despatched to scout between Marlborough, Lancaster, and Groton. On hearing of the sufferings of the people at Brookfield, he altered his course, and rushed on immediately to their relief. He arrived late in the evening of the 4th of August, just in time to save the lives of a few of the English, who still survived; when the engagement was renewed with vigor, and continued most of the night. Towards the morning of the 5th, the Indians were compelled to retreat. They lost 80 men killed and wounded. The inhabitants of Brookfield suffered the total loss of their houses and property. Twelve or fifteen of the English fell in this hard-fought battle, of whom Samuel Smeadly, Henry Young, and some others, belonged to Concord.⁵

A part of the company remained there [Brookfield] on account of their wounds, nearly a month; the remainder came away about a fortnight after the battle. "The 21st of October, 1675, was kept in Concord, by Capt. Wheeler and those who returned with him, as a day of praise and thanksgiving to God for their remarkable and safe return, when the Rev. Edward Bulkeley preached a sermon to them from Psalm cxvi. 12: 'What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits towards me?'"⁶

Though important services had been rendered to the country by the Praying Indians, yet such a great and indiscriminate prejudice had arisen among the common people against all natives, that the very name of Indian had become hateful. Under these circumstances the government passed an order, 30th August, 1675, to confine all the Praying Indians to five towns; and none

4. Sampson was afterwards killed near Wachusett. Joseph was taken and sold as a slave to go to the West Indies. His wife and two children, taken captive with him, were redeemed by Rev. Mr. Eliot; and she was employed two years after to teach a school among the Indians at Concord. She is represented as being a very sober, Christian woman. — [Gookin's MS.](#)

5. The assertion first published by Rev. Mr. Fiske, and by many writers since, and recently with additions by the author of the History of Plymouth Colony, in relation to the conduct of Major Simon Willard at Brookfield, in Aug. 1675, is entirely destitute of truth. He was in commission, in February and March, 1676, and in a letter from the secretary of the colony now before me, dated Feb. 11, 1676, he was requested "to be in a readiness if he should have a full command over the forces to be sent forth from this colony." He also received, just before his death in April, the highest number of votes but two in the choice of eighteen gentlemen for magistrates. These honors would not have been conferred, had the other assertion, resting *entirely* on tradition, been true.

6. A narrative of this expedition, written by Capt. Wheeler was published, from which the foregoing facts are principally taken. It was reprinted, with notes, by John Farmer, Esq. in Vol. II. of the New Hampshire Historical Collection from the original edition in the library of the Essex Historical Society, where may also be found a copy of Mr. Bulkeley's Sermon above alluded to.



were allowed to go a mile from any town under forfeiture of their lives. The same day, 15 of the Christian Indians were unjustly seized at Marlborough, and carried to Boston, bound neck to neck. They were confined in prison nearly a month before their trial, which resulted in their honorable acquittal. This was done by a captain without authority, but was a most unfortunate occurrence for the country, and the cause of much of the subsequent trouble.⁷

In October, 1675, the government ordered that the militia of Suffolk and Middlesex be “put in a posture of war; and be ready to march at a minute’s warning to prevent danger;” and at the same time authority was given to Capt. Timothy Wheeler “to impress an able gunsmith to repair to Concord to be resident there for the fixing up of arms from time to time during the war for this and the towns adjacent.” “Committees of militia,” somewhat resembling the committees of safety in the revolution of 1775, were appointed in the several towns. The Hon. Peter Bulkeley was chairman of that committee in Concord. He and Joseph Dudley were appointed in November to “attend the forces that are now to go forth against the enemy, and to be ministers unto them.”

About the last of November, the Nashobah Indians removed to Concord; and December 13th, Major [Simon] Willard, the Rev. Mr. [John] Eliot, and [Major Gookin](#), were appointed to order their settlement. They were placed under the care and superintendence of Mr. John Hoar, “the only man in Concord,” says [Gookin](#), “who was willing to do it.[?]” He was compensated by being exempted from impressment and taxation. They had pitched their wigwams on his ground near his house. This man was very loving to them, and very diligent and careful to promote their good, and to secure the English from any fear or danger by them.”⁸ The excitement generally was so great, that the Natick Indians had been previously carried to Deer Island for fear of being attacked by the English.

From this time depredations continued to be frequently committed by the unfriendly Indians on the frontier settlements; and notwithstanding the precautions of the government, the friendly Indians occasionally suffered unjustly from the enmity of the whites. Companies of soldiers were often sent for the relief of these suffering towns, in which Concord was usually represented.⁹

On the first of February, 1676, the Indians burnt the house of Thomas Eames of Framingham, and £330 12S. worth of property, and either killed or carried into captivity his wife and nine children. The next day orders were given to Major [Simon] Willard to raise a party of troops to scour the country between Groton, Lancaster, and Marlborough. Similar orders were given to [Major \[Daniel\] Gookin](#) in relation to the country between Marlborough and Medfield. Intelligence was brought to [Major Gookin](#), Feb. 9th, at 10 o’clock (evening), by Job Kettenanet, one of the Christian Indians who had been sent out as spies, that 400 of the enemy were at Menemese, and had already marched forth intending to burn Lancaster the next day. He immediately sent orders to Marlborough, Concord, and Lancaster, mustering forces for the defence of Lancaster forthwith; and 40 soldiers were collected and marched from Marlborough under Capt. Wadsworth by break of day. But notwithstanding they succeeded in getting possession of one of the garrisons, they could not prevent the Indians from carrying their threats into execution. Lancaster then contained about 50 families, out of which the Indians killed and captured forty persons. Among the latter were Mrs. Rowlandson and her children, the family of the minister. By the bold and successful exertions of Mr. John Hoar of Concord, in connexion with Tom Doublet, and Peter Conaway, Christian Indians of Concord, they were subsequently redeemed from captivity. Hubbard says the Indians burnt a house and murdered three persons in Concord, on the 19th of February, but who they were I know not.

About the 21st of February, says [Gookin](#) in the manuscript before quoted, “there befel another great trouble to the Christian Indians of Nashobah, who sojourned in Concord. The Council had

7. The assertion of many writers, that these Indians were suspected of treachery, does not appear true after reading [Gookin](#)’s MS account of this affair.

8. [Gookin](#)’s MS.

9. Soldiers often volunteered on these occasions. When they could not be obtained in this manner, they were impressed into service. Precepts were issued by the committees of militia in the several towns to the constable; and none were freed from his arbitrary will, except by a special act of the government. Nathaniel Pierce, with several others, of Concord, were pressed in September, 1675, went to Springfield, and continued in the service nearly a year, till they were thus liberated. Daniel Adams belonged to a party which went from Concord to Groton when that town was destroyed. He fired from Willard’s garrison and killed an Indian. It is impossible, however, to ascertain the names of all those who were engaged in this bloody war; but it is said that nearly all the able-bodied men bore arms in defence of their homes, at some time during this conflict.



by several orders empowered a committee, who, with consent of the selectmen of Concord, settled those Indians at that town, under the government and tuition of Mr. John Hoar. The number of those Indians was about 58 of all sorts, whereof were not above 12 able men, the rest were women and children. These Indians lived very soberly and quietly and industriously, and were all unarmed, neither could any of them be charged with any unfaithfulness to the English interest. In pursuance of this settlement, Mr. Hoar had begun to build a large and convenient work-house for the Indians, near his own dwelling, which stood about the midst of the town, and very nigh the town watch-house. This house was made, not only to secure those Indians under lock and key by night, but to imploy them and set them to work by day, whereby they earned their own bread; and in an ordinary way (with God's blessing), would have lived well in a short time. But some of the inhabitants of the town, being influenced with a spirit of animosity and distaste against all Indians, disrelished this settlement, and therefore privately sent to a captain of the army (probably Capt. Mosely), that quartered his company not far off at the time, of whom they had experience that he would not be backward to put in execution any thing that tended to distress the Praying Indians. For this was the same man that had formerly without order seized upon divers of the Praying Indians at Marlborough, which brought much trouble, and disquiet to the country of the Indians, and was a great occasion of their defection. This captain accordingly came to Concord with a party of his men upon the Sabbath day into the meeting-house, where the people were convened in the worship of God. And after the exercise was ended, he spake openly to the congregation to this effect, "that he understood, there were some heathen in the town committed to one Hoar, which, he was informed, were a trouble and disquiet to them; therefore if they desired it he would remove them to Boston." To which speech of his, most of the people being silent, except two or three that encouraged him, he took, as it seems, the silence of the rest for consent, and immediately after the assembly were dismissed, he went with three or four files of men, and a hundred or two of the people, men, women, and children at their heels, and marched away to Mr. Hoar's house; and there demanded of him to see the Indians under his care. Hoar opened the door and showed them to him, and they were all numbered and found there. The captain then said to Mr. Hoar, that he would have a corporal and soldiers to secure them; but Mr. Hoar answered there was no need of that for they were already secured, and were committed to him by order of the Council, and he would keep and secure them. But yet the captain left his corporal and soldiers there, who were abusive enough to the poor Indians by ill language. The next morning the captain came again to take the Indians, and send them to Boston. But Mr. Hoar refused to deliver them unless he showed an order of the Council; but the captain could show him no other but his commission to kill and destroy the enemy. Mr. Hoar said these were friends and under order; but the captain would not be satisfied with his answer, but commanded his corporal forthwith to break open the door, and take the Indians all away, which was done accordingly; and some of the soldiers plundered the poor creatures of their shirts, shoes, dishes, and such other things as they could lay their hands upon, though the captain commanded the contrary. They were all brought to Charlestown with a guard of twenty men. And the captain wrote a letter to the General Court, then sitting, giving them an account of his action. This thing was very offensive to the Council, that a private captain should, without commission or some express order do an act so contradictory to their former orders, and the governor and several others spake of it at a conference with the deputies at the General Court, manifesting their dissatisfaction at this great irregularity in setting up a military power in opposition to the chief authority of the country, declaring of what evil consequence such a precedent was, instancing the evil effects of like practices in England in later times, urging that due testimony might be borne against the same, by the whole court. The deputies seemed generally to agree to the reason of the magistrates in this matter, yet, notwithstanding, the captain (who appeared in the Court shortly after upon another occasion) met with no rebuke for this high irregularity and arbitrary action. To conclude this matter, those poor Indians, about 58 of them of all sorts, were sent down to Deer Island, there to pass into the furnace of affliction with their brethren and countrymen. But all their corn and other provision, sufficient to maintain them for 6 months, was lost at Concord, and all their other necessaries, except what the soldiers had plundered. And the poor Indians got very little or nothing of what they lost, but it was squandered away, lost by the removal of Mr. Hoar, and other means, so that they were necessitated to live upon clams as others did, with some little corn provided at the charge of the Honorable Corporation



for the Indians, residing in London. Besides, Mr. Hoar lost all his building and other cost, which he had provided for the entertainment and employment of those Indians, which was considerable.”

It appears from a manuscript letter of Mr. Hoar in my possession, that the English were very insolent to the Indians, and threatened to destroy them. One of the Lancaster soldiers, stationed at Concord, snapped his gun three times at one of them while standing at Mr. Hoar's door. It is believed, however, that this prejudice existed rather among the soldiers, who had witnessed the horrid barbarities of the Indians in other places, and who did not distinguish justly between the friends and enemies of the English, than among the citizens generally. By the influence of this class of men, the unfortunate occurrences detailed above were brought about.

About the middle of February, Abraham and Isaac Shepherd were killed near Nashobah in Concord village, while threshing grain in their barn. Apprehensive of danger, says tradition, they placed their sister Mary, a girl about fifteen years old, on a hill a little distance off to watch and forewarn them of the approach of an enemy. She was, however, suddenly surprised and captured, and her brothers were slain. She was carried captive into the Indian settlements, but with great heroism made her escape. While the Indians were asleep in the night, probably under the influence of spirituous liquors, she seized a horse, which they had a few days before stolen at Lancaster, took a saddle from under the head of her Indian keeper, mounted, swam across the Nashua river and rode through the forest to her home.¹⁰

On the 15th of February, a party attacked Joseph Parker of Chelmsford with his friends, who had been to visit Major [Simon] Willard. The latter part of this month they burnt Medfield, and killed 20 of the inhabitants; and on the 13th of March nearly all of Groton was reduced to ashes. Major Willard was engaged in this battle.¹¹ A company from Concord, and another from Watertown were also there. March 10th, says Hubbard, a man going after hay was killed in Concord.

March 14th, the Council ordered “that the committees of militia of Concord and Sudbury do forthwith impress so many carts as may be sufficient to bring off the goods and provisions belonging to the people left at Lancaster, unto Concord or any other towne, they desire to come unto; and for guarding the said carts it is ordered that Sargant Lamson, commander of the garrison soldiers at Lancaster, do send two files of soldiers, to guard the said carts up and down.” Besides the inhabitants of Lancaster, several of Groton and other frontier towns resided in Concord till after the peace. The proprietors of Groton held a meeting here, Dec. 12, 1677, when many of them bound themselves to rebuild their town. They commenced the next year.¹²

The government of the colony, justly apprehensive of the dangerous condition of the frontier towns, appointed a committee on the 15th of March, consisting of Capt. Hugh Mason of Watertown, Jonathan Danforth of Cambridge, and Richard Lowdon, to consider the best means to be provided for their safety. After consulting “the several towns in the county of Middlesex with reference to the best means for the preservation of our out-towns, remote houses, and farms,” they submitted the following propositions, March 28th, which were approved.

“1. That the towns of Sudbury, Concord, and Chelmsford be strengthened with forty men apiece, which said men are to be improved in scouting between town and town, who are to be commanded by men of prudence, courage, and interest in the said townes: and the parties in each towne are to ordered to keep together in some place commodious in the said towns, and not in garrison houses: and these men to be upon the charge of the country.

10. Hubbard. Foster's Century Sermon, p. 25.

11. Major Willard and his company remained there several days. They were ordered, on the 16th, if they had “issued that business of Groaten, at least done what you can, and no likelihood of your reaching or engaging the enemy, that you with your forces thereabout keep so scouting or ranging towards Marlborough, as may seasonably give present relief and further prevent what increase may be.” Colony Files.

12. The Reverend William Hubbard would write, in “Narrative of the Indian Wars”:

“2 Mar 1676

“They assaulted Groton (MA): The next day (overnight) Major Willard with seventy horse came into town: forty foot (soldiers) also came to their relief from Watertown, but the Indians were all fled having first burnt all the houses in town save four that were garrisoned, the meeting house being the 2nd house they fired. Soon after, Capt. Sill was sent with a small party of dragoons of eight files to fetch off the inhabitants of Groton, and what was left from the spoil of the enemy, having under his conduct sixty carts, being in depth from front to rear above two miles, when a party of Indians lying in ambush at a place of eminent advantage fired upon the front and mortally wounded two of the first carriers, who both died the next night... Soon after, this village was deserted, and destroyed by the enemy, yet it was a special providence that though the carts were guarded with so slender a convoy, yet there was not any considerable loss sustained.”



“2. That for the security of Billerica there be a garrison of a number competent at Waymesett [Lowell], who may raise a thousand bushels of corn upon the land of the Indians in that place; and may be improved daily in scouting and ranging the woods between Waymesett and Andover, and on the west of Concord river on the east and north of Chelmsford, which will discover the enemy before he comes to the towns, and prevent lurking Indians about our towns. Also they shall be in readiness to the succor of any of the three towns at any time when in distress; also shall be ready to joine with others to follow the enemie upon a sudden after their appearing.

“3. That such towns as Lancaster, Groton, and Marlborough, that are forced to remove; and have not some advantage of settlement (peculiar) in the Bay, be ordered to settle at the frontier towns that remain for their strengthening: and the people of the said towns to which they are appointed are to see to their accomodations in the said towns.

“4. That the said towns have their own 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 town of Middlesex, who are, upon any information of the distress of any town, forthwith to repair to the relief thereof; and that such information may be seasonable, the towns are to dispatch posts, each town to the next, till notice be conveyed over the whole country, if need be.”

Another subject is embraced in the report from which the above is extracted. The committee were instructed to consider the propriety of erecting a “line of stockadoes or stone worke” across the county, to include Chelmsford, Concord, Sudbury, and the other most populous places; but they deemed this inexpedient, on account of the length of way to be fortified, the difficulty of crossing ponds and rivers, the peculiar season of the year, and the scarcity of laborers. For these and several other reasons the project was abandoned. It would indeed have been a work of no small magnitude to erect such a barrier as would have been effectual against the incursion of savages. A line of garrison-houses was, however, erected on the frontiers of all these towns; and it is probable that in fixing upon the location of the Christian Indian towns before the war, reference might have been had to the safety of the English in case of danger. They served, says [Gookin](#), as a “wall of defence.”

The month of April witnessed other horrible events to this county. Having destroyed most of the remote towns, the Indians looked to those remaining, and formed a determination to destroy them also. At this time they collected in great numbers, and approached nearest to Boston; and the colonists were called upon to make the most vigorous defence. On the 21st of April an alarm was spread abroad that a large number of Indians, said to be 1500, were about to attack Sudbury. They had already burned several houses,¹³ and the day before killed Thomas Plympton, and a Mr. Boon and his son, returning from the west part of the town, where the former had been to bring the two latter to a garrison-house.¹⁴ A company from Watertown, aided by several of the citizens, had attacked them on the east side of Concord river; where a severe battle was fought, and they were compelled to retreat across it. At this time several of the citizens of Concord immediately went to their relief. Arriving near the garrison-house of Walter Haynes,¹⁵ they observed several squaws, who, as they drew near, danced, shouted, powwawed, and used every method to amuse and decoy them. Eleven of the English pursued and attacked them, but found themselves, too late, in an ambuscade, from which a large number of Indians rushed upon and attacked them with great fury. Notwithstanding they made a bold resistance, it was desperate, and ten of them were slain. The others escaped to the garrison, where the neighboring inhabitants had fled for security, which was bravely defended.¹⁶ Of those who were killed at this time belonging to Concord, I have been able to ascertain the names of five only, – James Hosmer, Samuel Potter, John Barnes, Daniel Comy, and Joseph Buttrick.

Capt. Samuel Wadsworth of Milton was then at Marlborough, having been left there to strengthen the frontiers on the return of the army from the interior. Understanding the situation of Sudbury, he marched with 32 soldiers to its relief. Capt. Broclebank, whose quarters had been at Marlborough, also accompanied him as a convoy to Boston, where he was intending to

13. [Gookin](#)'s MS.

14. Tradition.

15. Ibid.

16. Tradition.



go to communicate with the Council. They marched in the night, and fell into an ambuscade early in the morning, when all but a few, who escaped to a mill, were slain. These unfortunate soldiers were buried the next day, principally by a company of Christian Indians, who had been organized and sent out the day before by direction of the English, under Capt. Hunting from Charlestown. Four dead Indians only were found.¹⁷

From this time, which was more propitious to the Indians than any other, their success gradually diminished. This battle was the turning point. The principal body of the Indians, however, tarried in the vicinity of Groton, Lancaster, and Marlborough, whence they could easily make incursions to annoy the English.

On the 22d of April, the Council ordered 40 troopers out of Suffolk, under command of Cornet Jacob Eliot; and the same number from Middlesex under [Major Gookin](#), to march forthwith to Sudbury to make discovery, whether, "the motion of the enemy be either toward Concord or Medfield," by visiting the bounds of those towns, and scouting through the woods. An attack on Concord had been expected,¹⁸ and this was one of the effectual means which were promptly taken to prevent it.

On the 26th, six cart-loads of provisions were sent by the government to Concord, and John Flint was appointed commissary to take charge of them. The commander-in-chief engaged to be there the next day, making that his place of rendezvous. The following original letter addressed to Gov. Leverett is deemed worthy of publication.

"Concord, April 29, 1676.

"Hon'd Sir. — By reason that I had not a guide to go with me, it was yesterday in the forenoon ere I reached this place, where I found a few men; but ere night, all the commanders, and most of the soldiers that yet appeare, were come up with the provision. This day we rendezvoused and find a great defect, an account of which is her inclosed. Upon receipt of the Hon. Major. Genl.'s letter, I have by advice of the commanders, as well for the ease of this town as the securing of as many as we can at present, ordered Capt. Sill to Chelmsford, Capt. Haughthorn to Bilrica, and Capt. Holbrook to abide here, and proportioned the horse accordingly; and am going myself to Chelmsford about some Indians to be ready in order to what is in my instructions, and shall wait for further orders as commander. I have not yet taken any of our provision, supposing it to be for us when in motion; but it is expected by the inhabitants that we should spend thereof. I crave directions herein. Some things is much wanting and desired by the captains to be sent for, viz., flynts, tobacco, liquor, pipes. There is but 29 that appeareth of my troop, and not above 7 carbines among them. I desire there may be a supply thereof; as also a saddle and case of pistols for myself; having here borrowed a saddle and left the tree and skinn that was pressed for me. Colours wanting also for the troop and one company, and a trumpeter. Not any appearance of the 30 Norfolkmen. It is desired that some more of the Indians may be sent to us, hearing them at Chelmsford are fortifying about a fishing-place there. A chyrurgeon with medicaments is much expected also a minister; the which I hope may be procured here. All the commanders, officers, and souldiers, express much cheerfullness and have hopes that the defects will be be made up; that we may be in a better capacity to serve the country. I shall not further enlarge, but to begg your honors prayers for us. Remaining, Hon. S'r. your. humble servant.

D. Henchman."

May 5th, the court addressed a letter to the Indians, requesting them to meet the English at

17. It will be perceived that these statements differ somewhat from Hubbard, and particularly in the date. He places it on the 18th, while [Gookin](#) in the MS from which I have extracted, says it was the 21st. I had been led to adopt the same date previous to seeing that MS. Judge Sewall's MS Journal says: "Friday about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, April 21, 1676, Capt. Wadsworth, and Capt. Broclevank fall – about 50 men slain 3 miles off Sudbury – the said town burnt – except garrison-houses." The Middlesex Records, in speaking of the settlement of James Hosmer's estate, have this expression: "Being slayene in the engagement with the Indians at Sudbury on the 21st. of the second month [April] in the year 1676." The order of the Council on the 22d of April affords presumptive evidence that the unfortunate loss of the Concord party was on the same day, though Hubbard does not positively assert it. The Roxbury Records say: "Samuel Gardner, John Roberts, Nathaniel Seaver, Thomas Hawley, sen., Wm. Cheaver, Joseph Pepper, John Sharp, Thomas Hopkins, Lieut. Samuel Gardner, slain by the Indians at Sudbury under command of Samuel Wadsworth, April 27, 1676.["] This was probably the day of entry, or a mistake for the 21st.

18. Tradition has handed down the following anecdote. A consultation among the Indian chiefs took place about this time on the high lands in Stow, and, as they cast their eyes toward Sudbury and Concord, a question arose which they should attack first. The decision was made to attack the former. One of the principal chiefs said, "We no prosper, if we go to Concord - the Great Spirit love that people - the evil spirit tell us not to go - they have a great man there - he *great pray!*" The Rev. Edward Bulkeley was then minister of the town, and his name and distinguished character were known even to the red men of the forest.



Concord or Boston, to find out their wishes, and try to effect a peace. Concord was now a distinguished military post, and the centre of many of the operations against the enemy.¹⁹

The detachments of soldiers for the relief of the frontier towns were frequent and heavy in May. Early in that month 80 from the troops of Essex, Suffolk, and Middlesex, were ordered to repair to Concord for the country service. On the 20th, 270 garrison soldiers from the same counties, were ordered to be stationed at the following "frontier towns for the better security of them from the incursions of the enemy." Concord 20, Sudbury 30, Chelmsford 20, Billerica 20, Andover 20, Haverhill 20, Bradford 10, Exeter 20, Medfield 30, Dedham 20, Milton 10, Braintree 15, Weymouth 15, Hingham 20. These soldiers were to be maintained at the cost of the several towns, and to be under the direction of the committees of militia.

[Maj. Daniel Gookin](#) succeeded Major [Simon] Willard after his death in April, in command of the military forces in Middlesex; Thomas Clark was commander in Suffolk, and Daniel Denison in Essex; all of whom were in Concord, May 30th. The following letter was addressed to Gov. Leverett.

"Concord, June 2, 1676.

"Hon. Sir, — I did hope with this to send up all the returns but have yet received only Capt. Pool's here enclosed. The Major Gen'l was even wearied out about them; and two capt. beside myself still labouring under the toile. My Lt. gave his, as he tells me, to the Maj. Gen.: the rest I shall dispatch. The reason of our stay here for two days Mr. Clark who is now going to Boston will make known, and what is now in hand, being by the unanimous advice of a council of war, and hopefull. Capt. Holbrook's return, received while writing, is also inclosed by

S'r, Y'r Hon.'s humble servant,
D. Henchman."

Capt. Joseph Sill²⁰ commanded one of the companies which were at Concord several months, and was frequently sent out on scouts. His list was returned with those stated in the above letter.

Letter from the Council to Capt. Henchman, dated June 10, 1676:

"Capt. Henchman, — The bearer, John Hunter, with ten Indians was intended a scout for Concord, but, through his much importunity and our persuasion of his capacity and intention upon the service, he is dispatched to the enemy, and in lieu of him and his party we send ten Indians to Concord, for the scout service, and if possible to attempt something upon Philip. In marching upward with him are several sachems, but few fighting men, and having planted at Pacacheog and Quabadge, they will scarce depart thence. Deal kindly with Hunter, and as much as may be, satisfy him. His spleen seems to be such against Philip, that we are persuaded of his resolution against him."

About this time Capt. Henchman and his company left Concord. In a letter to the Council, dated Marlborough, 11th June, he says,

"Some Indian scouts sent out this day have brought in Capt. Thom, his daughter, and two children, being found about ten miles to the soudest [*sic*] of this place. There was more of them, viz: two that were gone a fishing, so not lighted of. This company with some others at other places, of which James Prenter²¹ is one, did as they say leave the enemy by times in the spring with an intent to come in to the English, but dare not for fear of our scouts. These prisoners say that many of the enemy hereing [*sic*] that there was like to be a treaty with Samuel did intend to go in to him. Mr. Scott also coming from Concord yesterday informs me, that one of the old squaws there doth not question but that if shee [*sic*] may have liberty to go to Samuel, he and his company will come in to the English."

There had been a company of 80 Christian Indians, friends of the English, who had acted as spies, messengers, scouts, and soldiers during the war, whose officers were Capt. Andrew Pittimee, one of the owners of Concord Village; Quannahpohkit, *alias* James Rumney Marsh; John Magus; and James Speen. On the 1st of June, they petitioned for the release of "Capt Thom, his son Nehemiah, his wife and two children, John Uktuck, his wife and children, Waanum and her child," who were prisoners of war. The women and children were released,

19. "May 12th, goodwife Devens, and goodwife Kether, upon ransom being paid, came into Concord; and upon like ransom presented, John Morse of Groton, and Left. Carter of Lancaster were set at liberty; and more without ransom, as Goodman Emery, and his little boy."

Rev. Mr. Cobbet's letter in the Mather papers.

20. This officer was afterwards sent to the Eastward against the Indians. See Belknap, Hist. N. H. vol. i, p. 75.

21. Is he not the same who is mentioned by Thomas, in his History of Printing?



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but the others were executed. “Capt. Thom,” say the minutes of their trial, “was not only an instigator to others, over whom he was made a captain, but also was actually present and an actor in the devastations of some of our plantations.”²² Companies were sent from this town towards Connecticut river in pursuit of Philip; and after traversing the country in various directions for nearly two months without finding him, they proceeded towards Rhode Island, where, with the assistance of some other troops who joined them, they killed and captured 150 Indians.²³ These and other instances of success encouraged the English, and calmed the fury of the savages. After a year’s absence Philip, reduced to a miserable condition, returned to his native place, near which he was killed, Aug. 12, 1676. One of his own men, whom he had offended, and who had deserted to the English, shot him through the heart. His death put an end to this most horrid and distressing war.

About 3000 warriors were combined for the destruction of New England, and the war terminated with their entire defeat, and almost total extinction. About 600 of the English inhabitants, the greatest part of whom were the flower and strength of the country, either fell in battle or were murdered by the enemy. Twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed and about 600 houses burned.²⁴

A tax was made this year for the support of the war from which the following items are extracted.²⁵ In consequence of the losses sustained by Concord and Sudbury, their taxes were abated, Concord having £50 abated in May, 1676, and Sudbury £40.

Boston	300 0 0
Charlestown	180 0 0
Watertown	45 0 0
Cambridge	42 2 0
Concord	33 19 1
Sudbury	20 0 0
Lancaster	11 16 0
Woburn	25 16 0
Marlborough	17 13 0
Chelmsford	14 18 0
Billerica	14 7 0
Groton	11 10 0

On the 22d of Jan. 1677, the government made allowance to the people distressed by the war in Massachusetts; and allotted to the selectmen of the several towns in proportion to their losses, out of the “Irish Charity,” in “meal, oatmeal, wheat, malt at 18s. per ball, butter 6d. and

22. Strict regard was paid to the rights of friendly Indians by the government. On the 6th of August, 3 squaws, and 3 children, were killed while picking whortleberries on a hill in Watertown, now in Lincoln. Two persons were executed for this murder.

“Sept. 21, 1671, Stephen Gobble [Goble] of Concord was executed for the murder of Indians. Three Indians for firing Eame’s house and murder. The weather was cloudy and rawly cold, though little or no rain. Mr. Mighil prayed. 4 others set on the gallows — two men and 2 impudent women; one of which laughed on the gallows, as many testified.”

“Sept. 26, 1676, Sagamore Sam goes, and Daniel Gobble [Goble] is drawn in a cart upon bed-clothes to execution. One-ey’d John, Maliompe, Sagamore of Quaboag, gen’l at Lancaster &c. Jethro (the father) walked to the gallows. One-ey’d John accuses Sag. John to have fired the first gun at Quaboag and killed Capt. Hutchinson.” Sewall’s MS. Journal.

23. Hubbard.

24. Trumbell, vol. i, p. 350; Holmes’s, Annals of America, i. 384.

25. Colony Records.



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cheese 4*d.* per pound.” In the list accompanying this order the following towns appear.²⁶

Towns.	Families.	Persons.	Amount.
Charlestown	29	102	15 6
Watertown	19	76	11 8
Cambridge	14	61	9 3
Concord	18	72	10 16
Sudbury	12	48	7 8
Woburn	8	43	6 9
Billerica	1	4	0 12
Boston	125	432	66 6

TO CONTINUE READING:

CHAPTER V. — Year 1684 important. — Bloods' Farms annexed to Concord. — The Fifty subsequent Years. — Lovewell's Fight. — Cuba Expedition. — French War. — Notices of various Services in the War. — Divisions in the Town and Incorporation of new Towns. — Emigration to other Places.

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26. The whole list is published in the N.H. Hist. Coll. vol. iii. pp. 102, 103.