

“A DOLEFUL SLAUGHTER NEAR BLACK POINT”
The Battle at Moore’s Brook, Scarborough, Maine, June 29, 1677

by Sumner Hunnewell

The rediscovery of a 1677 casualty list of men wounded and killed in Maine’s last pitched battle of the King Philip’s War prompted the writing of this paper. Genealogists over the decades have equated the casualty list to those men of Essex County, Massachusetts, under Captain Swett, but no historian of the war ever wrote about the battle fully, and rarely had they discovered the names of the other men who traveled to Maine to fight there. This paper will give a face to the ordinary men who served under various commanders and found themselves far from home. It attempts to compare and contrast the Indians who fought alongside of or against the English as well as putting the battle in a broader historical context of land disputes in Maine between the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and New York.

THE ARMY ARRIVES

Three ships of war lay off the coast of Black Point on 29 June 1677. They had arrived the day before and in them were an ancient major, a newly commissioned captain, and men gathered from towns of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Traveling from Massachusetts by foot were English and Indians following their beloved lieutenant. Many were impressed, obligated to fight far from their home in the service of the government. Some had taken part in fighting southwards and westwards during the King Philip’s War. Others were culled from the refugees of Maine, finding themselves with no work in Massachusetts. In some cases, the town fathers who sent them thought that these youths were to be impressed for service locally, not along the war-ravaged coast of Maine where they found themselves now. The enemy they sought were the natives of the land who, after years of peaceful relations with the settlers, began settling disagreements with powder and shot and, at closer quarters, fire, war club, and tomahawk. Black Point was an important English rendezvous location throughout this war, the easternmost settlement in the province of Maine, while all else to the east was laid to waste.¹

1. William S. Southgate, “The History of Scarborough from 1633 to 1783,” *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, vol. 3 (Portland: Brown Thurston, 1853), hereafter Southgate, “Hist. of Scarborough,” p. 47; *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, Series II, 24 vols. (Portland: Maine Historical Society, 1869–1916), hereafter *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 3:63 [map facing]. Black Point could be roughly considered from the Black Rocks at Ferry Beach to the Spurwink River, encompassing the whole of the original patent to Cammock. Black Point, Blue Point, and Stratton Island were included in the land incorporated as Scarborough in 1658. The ships were described as “a light vessel and two shallops” or “three vessels” (Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 5 vols. in 6 [Boston: William White, 1853–54], hereafter *Mass. Bay Records*, 5:134; John Hull, “Diary of John Hull,” hereafter “Hull Diary,” *Archæologia Americana, Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, 7 vols. [Worcester, Mass.: The American Antiquarian Society, 1820–85],

King Philip's War in the colonies of Connecticut, Plymouth, and Massachusetts spilled over into Maine, but the attacks there were not (for the most part) orchestrated from without. Years of trading abuse, misunderstanding, and illegal actions by the settlers took their toll and few were spared. By mid-1677 when the ships were anchored off Black Point, peace was around the corner, but many would not live to see it.

Scarborough, of which Black Point was only a part, had seen enough of Indian warfare not to enjoy any of it. For two years now settlers were slain, fled for their safety, or taken captive. Houses and outbuildings had been burned and crops destroyed. The town was abandoned in the fall of 1676. Without a shot being fired, Captain Joshua Scottow's well-fortified garrison on the neck was given up to Mogg, one of the most influential of Maine's Indians of the time, known as both an ambassador and agitator during the war. The aged statesman, Henry Jocelyn, who once owned much of the land in Scarborough, had been taken prisoner. The garrison was looted but not destroyed and, after the reoccupation of the garrison by Massachusetts's Lieutenant Bartholomew Tippen and his men, settlers returned to the town. In March 1677 almost thirty families had returned to the town but their condition was poor. The Indians attacked again in May but in this latest battle for the fort Mogg and half a dozen of his confederates were killed in a frontal attack, Tippen firing the shot to kill him. The Indians, many of their leaders gone, withdrew from the town for awhile, wreaking havoc down the coast as they did so.²

hereafter *Archæologia Americana*, 3:243). Thomas Hammond of Cambridge petitioned the government two weeks after the battle, as he felt his servant's fine for not going when impressed was excessive, especially since he was impressed for 25 weeks before and used Hammond's own team for the country's service. He appealed the £4 fine levied against the unnamed servant, which is galling when one considers his master's wealth and the hindsight of the events at Black Point. Another impressed man from Medfield, Vincent Shuttleworth, also refused service and found himself fined £4. (Thomas Hammond to the Governor and Council, 12 July 1677, Massachusetts Archives 69:153; Fredrick Stam Hammond, *History and Genealogies of the Hammond Families in America*, 2 vols. [Oneida, New York: Ryan & Burkhart, 1902-4], 2:1-6; William S. Tilden, *History of the Town of Medfield, Massachusetts* [Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 1887], hereafter Tilden, *Hist. of Medfield*, p. 94; *Documentary Hist. of Maine* 6:170, 176-77; *Mass. Bay Records*, 5:144-45; John Romeyn Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York, Procured in Holland, England and France*, 15 vols. [Albany: Weed, Parsons and Co., 1853-87], hereafter *Colonial Hist. of N.Y.*, 3:264-65 [Edmund Andros, 18 April 1678]).

2. In Jan. 1677, over 500 families and an estimated 2300 people had been displaced and resided in towns in Massachusetts; many of these refugees were from Maine (*Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, 3[1832; reprint, Manchester, N.H.: John B. Clarke, 1870]:101-2). Although a member The Ancient and Honorable Artillery and receiving a promotion from lieutenant to captain soon after the outbreak of war, Joshua Scottow, one of the largest landowners in Scarborough, seems never to have taken any part in any military action during the war. (Sybil Noyes, Charles Thornton Libby, and Walter Goodwin Davis, *Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire* [Portland: Southworth Press, 1928-39], hereafter *Gen. Dict. Maine & N.H.*, pp. 614-15; Edward Rawson to Bryan Pendleton, Humphrey Warren, Joshua Scottow and George

But this was a morning in June, the enemy of the English had returned, and the alarm was given. A small band of Indians had been spotted moving half a mile away east of the ferry, which serviced Black Point and Blue Point. Having said their morning prayers, the soldiers marched forth, ninety to one hundred men. Twenty were under the command of Major Clarke, a man nearly 70, who stayed behind. Friendly Indians alongside English soldiers and their leader, Lieutenant Richardson, were in one party, probably at their forefront. English and friendly Indian soldiers from the remaining ships marched on under the command of Captain Swett. To protect what they called their own, garrisoned townsmen joined in rank, probably led by their town's savior and garrison commander, Lieutenant Tippen. As they marched with their backs to the sea, they traveled the pastured land of the neck. The lands to the left sloped down to the mouth of the river where, by water's edge, lay the now unused fishing stages and the evaporating pools. Beyond this, across the broken lands of the marsh, lay Winnock's Neck with its chalky bright clam heaps marking the feasting place for the local natives. The men marched through the fields past the blooming English roses that Henry Joceyn's brother, John Josselyn, wrote about during quieter days. The desolation of the cultivated land they walked through was complete: blackened fields, houses, and barns burned the year before.³

Munjoy, 16 Oct. 1675, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:96–97; Joshua Scottow to Gov. Leverett, 6 Nov. 1675, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:99–102). Bartholomew Tippen (or Tipping) was in command many times at the garrison and was a freeman of Boston (*Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:99–102, 141–42, 145–46, 148–49, 157–58, 162–64, 169, 171, 174–75; *Mass. Bay Records*, 5:129–30; Lucius R. Paige, "List of Freeman," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* [NEHGR] 3[1849]:241). Scottow relates that the Indian "Andrew" was killed in this attack on 16 May 1677. The historian Drake mistakenly assumes that the Andrew in King Philip's War and King William's War are one in the same (Joshua Scottow to Increase Mather, 30 Oct. 1683, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, hereafter *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, 4th ser., 7 [Boston, the Society: 1868]:631–32; Samuel G. Drake and H. L. Williams, *The Aboriginal Races of North America*, 15th ed. [New York: Hurst & Co., 1880], pp. 295, 300).

3. Southgate, "Hist. of Scarborough," p. 113n; John Josselyn, *New-England's Rarities Discovered* (1672; reprint, Boston: William Veazie, 1865), p. 146; Augustus F. Moulton, *Old Prout's Neck* (Portland: Marks Printing House, 1924), hereafter Moulton, *Old Prout's Neck*, p. 53. "Major Clark sent on shoar nineteen-twenty men" (John Curwin and John Price to Daniel Dennison?, 4 July 1677, Massachusetts Archives, 69:137–38, hereafter "Casualty List"). The historian Hubbard wrote, "having had good Experience of the Faithfulness and Valor of the Christian Indians about *Natick*, armed two hundred of them and sent them together with forty English," which is repeated or confused by most subsequent historians (only Bodge doubted these figures and surmised 40 English and 36 Indians) and is highly inaccurate. The number of men Massachusetts sent was 120 according to Gov. Andros of New York, whose intelligence came from Maj. Clarke. Gookin states there were 36 Indians. The number of men actually who took part in the battle were between 90 and 100, which included townsmen. Mather wrote 100. Later historians (Folsom, Williamson, Belknap, and Thornton) stated 90. A descendant of Capt. Swett and Maj. Gookin's grandson, Nathaniel, wrote a letter describing the battle but the author has had no fortune finding the original. (William Hubbard, *The History of the Indian Wars in New England . . .*, 2 vols. [Roxbury, Mass., W. E. Woodward, 1865], hereafter Hubbard, *History of the Indian Wars*, 2:234; Edmund Andros,

THE ANCIENT MAJOR

Major THOMAS CLARKE was a wealthy man who had suffered losses of his own along these coasts. He was well acquainted in commerce and warfare having been the senior partner with Captain Thomas Lake of a large trading post at Arrowsic (Georgetown), further eastward along the coast. For years their company had dealt peacefully with the natives. Although the outpost was well protected, less than a year before the Kennebec Indians forced their way in, taking the inhabitants unawares. Many were killed, including Lake, and the place was ransacked.⁴

Clarke was old by this time, near his allotted three score and ten, when he arrived at Black Point. He had received a commission on the same day of Swett's departure; his role was counselor to Swett and envoy from the government. Besides having men under his command, the government had given him authority to do as he saw fit. Circumstances would drive his actions.⁵

THE NEWLY COMMISSIONED CAPTAIN

Captain BENJAMIN SWETT came to this new land when he was a boy, settling in Newbury, Massachusetts, with his family. He was well educated and forthright. In his twenties, he married Esther Weare and entered military life. Swett was his own man and on more than one occasion (with dutiful respect) signed petitions to the Council in Boston regarding military affairs. As were many of his contemporaries, he was a strong advocate of self-determination and the ability to petition the government without retribution. Swett and his family left Newbury to settle in Hampton, New Hampshire, where he and his wife raised ten children. Here Swett grew in prominence among its citizenry. He became a leader of the community, holding a variety of offices. With the coming of the war, Swett would

March 1678 and 18 April 1678, *Colonial Hist. of N.Y.*, 3:254–57, 264–65; George Madison Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War* (Boston, Mass.: the author, 1906), hereafter Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, p. 42; Daniel Gookin, "An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England," hereafter Gookin, "Christian Indians," *Archæologia Americana*, 2:471, 482–83; Samuel A. Green, ed., *Diary of Increase Mather* [Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1900], hereafter *Diary of Increase Mather*, p. 48; George Folsom, *History of Saco and Biddeford* [Saco: A. C. Putnam, 1830], hereafter Folsom, *Hist. of Saco*, p. 160; Jeremy Belknap, *The History of New-Hampshire*, 3 vols. [Dover, N.H.: privately printed, 1812], 1:82; [John Wingate Thornton], "The Swett Family," NEHGR 6[1852]:55, hereafter Thornton, "Swett Family").

4. Thomas Clarke was born around 1607 (James Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England*, 4 vols. [Boston: Little, Brown, 1860–62], hereafter Savage, *Gen. Dict. N.E.*, 1:401; *Gen. Dict. Maine & N.H.*, pp. 148–49). According to Hubbard, "the Body of Captain Lake, preserved entire and whole and free from Putrefaction by the Coldness of the long Winter, so as it was when found by the Discretion of one that was near him when he was slain, easily discerned to be his, by such as had known him before" (Hubbard, *History of the Indian Wars*, 2:224). Mather paints a different picture when he says soldiers returned "the bones of Cap^l Lake & as much of his body as remained unconsumed" (*Diary of Increase Mather*, p. 48).

5. Gov. John Leverett and Council to Thomas Clarke, 22 June 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:173–74.

have many challenges; utmost was to protect his own town of Hampton. Chroniclers tell of the few skirmishes that occurred in his town, which was not visited by the wholesale slaughter or destruction shared by many towns of that time. Whether by Swett's diligence or the Indians' indifference, Hampton was spared for the most part until 13 June 1677 when four men were killed outside of town.⁶

Swett was not always there to help protect his town. During the war he had already served as an ensign in the Essex regiment under Captain Gardiner and fought at the famous Great Narragansett Fort Fight in December 1675. The ensign was soon promoted to lieutenant after Gardiner died during the battle. He probably took part in "The Hungry March" in the attempt to attack the Indians in the heart of the winter the month after, the soldiers in such need that they had to eat their horses. There must have been such a feeling of safety in Hampton that in the Spring of 1677, towards the end of the war, Swett was requested to go to Wells to bolster the garrison there.⁷

It may have passed through Swett's mind as he marched with his men at Black Point that exactly two months earlier, while at Wells, he had experienced Indian tactics of stealth over outright attack. Espying an Indian in the distance, Swett dispatched eleven men to pursue him whereupon they fell into ambush. Two were killed immediately and one was mortally wounded. Reinforcements were sent out, which resulted in the death of six Indians.⁸ Some satisfaction could be gained from this but it was a lesson hard learned.

Swett was a very competent soldier but he knew that many men left home and hearth never to return. No doubt this was a concern when he took friends aside before his departure from Hampton. If he were to die, he wished it to be known that he wanted his wife to live in comfort and to receive a double portion of his estate, a decision that was not common at that time.⁹

6. Thornton, "Swett Family", NEHGR 6(1852):50; Roland L. Warren, *Loyal Dissenter: The Life and Times of Robert Pike* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, Inc., 1992), pp. 49–55; Joseph Dow, *History of the Town of Hampton: From Its First Settlement in 1638, To the Autumn of 1892, Genealogical and Biographical*, 2 vols. (n.p.: Peter E. Randall Publisher, 1988), 2:987; Hubbard, *History of the Indian Wars*, 2:233–34. Benjamin was possibly the same bp. Wyomondham, co. Norfolk, 12 May 1624, son of John Swett (*Gen. Dict. Maine & N.H.*, p. 670).

7. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 182–84, 201–5.

8. Hubbard described Swett's earlier experience at Wells: "April 29 an Indian discovered himself near *Wells*, on purpose, as was judged, to draw out the English into a Snare. Lieutenant *Swett*, that commanded the Garrison at that Time left for securing the Town, sent out eleven of the Soldiers under his Command to lie in wait in some convenient Place; but as they passed along they fell into an Ambush of the Indians, who shot down two of them and mortally wound a third. The Lieutenant hearing the Guns, sent with all Speed upon the Enemy, and shot down five or six of them; but was prevented of doing any considerable Spoil upon them by the Folly of an Irishman that was in his Company, who gave the Notice of the Lieutenant's Approach, by calling out aloud, 'here they be, here they be'; for upon that Alarum they presently ran all away out of Sight, and too fast to be pursued." (Hubbard, *History of the Indian Wars*, 2:231–32).

9. *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, 9 vols. (Salem, Mass., 1911–75), hereafter *Essex Quart. Court Records*, 6:435.

The new captain must have felt very confident as he led his troops. All of his men might not have the experience of hardened soldiers but he had men in numbers. These were not a few soldiers garrisoned at Wells where the posture was defense. He now had a small army at his command of English and Indians, the latter skilled at discrete warfare, reputations unimpeachable when fighting alongside the English, while in the distance lay a small band of the retreating enemy.

THE BELOVED LIEUTENANT

Lieutenant JAMES RICHARDSON was the son of one of the first English settlers of Massachusetts and a founder of Woburn. The second-generation Richardsons formed many military ties. James, the youngest son, was the brother of Captain Josiah Richardson and James at 19 married Bridget Henchman, daughter of the famous Captain Thomas Henchman. He followed his brother and settled in Chelmsford, which over time had extended to include the Christian Indian village of Wamesit. In his thirties, he was entrusted to supervise the Indian settlement.¹⁰

Lieutenant James Richardson was distinguished in his military career and with his evenhandedness with the Christian Indians under his responsibility. On many occasions when the townsmen of the area would quickly blame the Indians and seek to do them harm, Richardson would juxtapose himself—sometimes to no avail—as the English settlers would wreak undeserved vengeance on the innocent. The friendly Indians either escaped from a hostile environment by flying into the wilderness or to the enemies of the English. Others were rounded up by the government and placed on Deer Island in the fall of 1675. On the island they lived a miserable existence until commanders with foresight realized the need to reinstate the use of Indian scouts. A few scouts' unwavering loyalty and bravery liberated their people in the spring of 1676. Employing some of the released natives, the government had ordered that a garrison be built at Pawtucket Falls (Lowell). Forty Indians and eventually the garrison were to be put under Richardson's command. These natives were severely limited in where they could live or travel in Massachusetts.¹¹

10. John Adams Vinton, *The Richardson Memorial* (Portland: Brown Thurston & Co., 1876), hereafter Vinton, *Richardson Memorial*, pp. 31–37, 42–44. James Richardson was bp. Charlestown, Mass., 11 July 1641, son of Ezekiel and Susanna (—) Richardson (Robert Charles Anderson, *The Great Migration Begins*, 3 vols. [Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1995], hereafter Anderson, *Great Migration Begins*, 3:1580–83. See also the treatment of the Richardson family in Walter Goodwin Davis, *The Ancestry of Sarah Hildreth, 1773–1857, Wife of Annis Spear of Litchfield, Maine* (Portland, Maine: The Anthoensen Press, 1958), pp. 25–37.

11. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 109, 300–1, 397, 399; Gookin, "Christian Indians," *Archæologia Americana*, 2:471, 482–83; Wilson Waters, *History of Chelmsford, Massachusetts* (Lowell: Courier-Citizen Co., 1917), hereafter Waters, *Hist. of Chelmsford*, pp. 116–18. Richardson's hay and barn were set on fire at different times and, although unwarranted blame was placed on the Indians by the townsmen, Richardson trusted the local Indians as it later came to light that Indians outside of the area had set them alight. The Indians were only allowed to live in four Indian towns and were only allowed to leave with a certificate from an English authority (*Mass. Bay Records*, 5:136–37).

It was fitting to call on Richardson to lead the expeditionary forces inland with a band of Indians and English. In the summer of 1675 at Brookfield he had proven himself an able leader as he and the other lesser officers repelled an attack on a garrison in which they took refuge while their commanding officer lay dying within. His bravery came second to his devotion to the Wamesit Indians. He had proven time and again to be faithful to them. Trust was given for trust and they loved him for it. He was a defender of them when falsely accused by the nearby settlers.¹²

Richardson impressed into service English soldiers from his own Middlesex County and gained help from the Wamesit Indians. In order to raise men for Richardson's force, the government allowed an incentive 20 shillings bounty for each enemy scalp and twice that for any enemy they could make their prisoner.¹³

As he took to the pathways to Maine, he left his wife and as many as seven children behind.¹⁴

THE FORCES UNDER CLARKE, SWETT, AND RICHARDSON

Swett and Richardson's men were hastily gathered from the surrounding counties in Massachusetts. Orders from the commanders went to the local militia or constables to fill their quotas.

ESSEX COUNTY

Essex was commanded to raise 24 men for the expedition.¹⁵ Many more heeded the call as every town sent a soldier representative.

Andover

Not all men pressed for service were freemen. DANIEL BLANCHARD was a servant of Christopher Osgood, a member of a prominent family in Andover. How he came to be indentured to Osgood, who was a militia lieutenant at the time, is not known, nor is it related to how he fared under his tanner master.¹⁶

Two first cousins, whose educated fathers helped settle Andover and found the church there, also joined the ranks. When JOHN PARKER prepared himself for battle, it was the day before his twenty-first birthday. His father was well off, owning a corn mill as well as being styled a tanner or carpenter. His cousin, JAMES PARKER, whose father may have been a scrivener, was 21. John had already seen

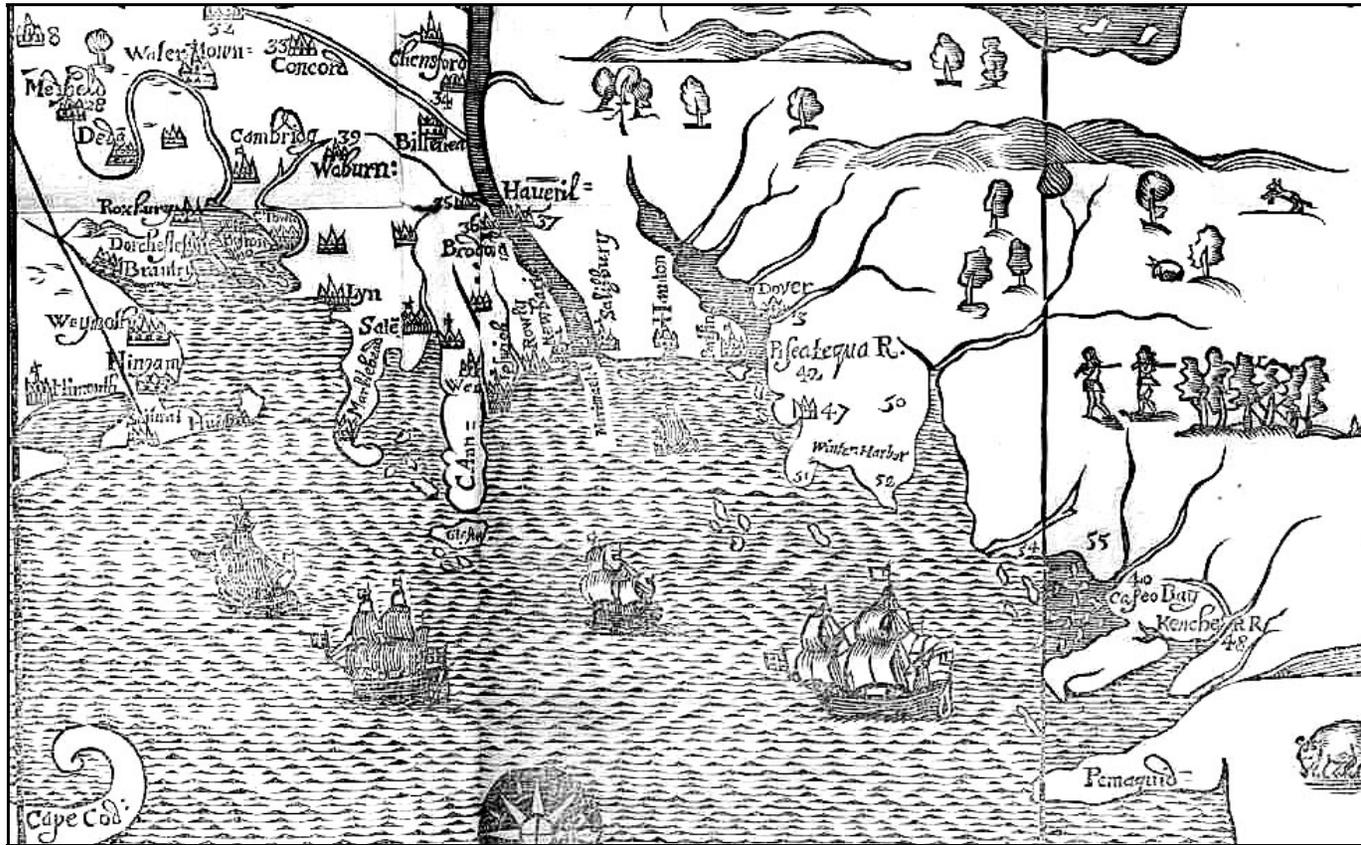
12. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 108–10; Gookin, "Christian Indians," *Archæologia Americana*, 2:471.

13. Maj. Gookin who commanded the forces for Middlesex County was charged with supplying Richardson his orders and his recruits (Edward Rawson to Daniel Gookin, 15 June 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:171).

14. Vinton, *Richardson Memorial*, pp. 43–44.

15. Letter, [1? June] 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:172.

16. "Casualty List." Daniel Blanchard (or Blackhead) may have been the son of Samuel and Mary (Sweester) Blanchard, who lived in Andover "after 1664" and married in 1654. However, Abbot says that Samuel Blanchard moved from Charlestown to Andover in 1686 and that two of his sons settled there. (Savage, *Gen. Dict. N.E.*, 1:196; Abiel Abbot, *History of Andover from its Settlement to 1829* [Andover, Mass.: Flagg and Gould, 1829], hereafter Abbot, *History of Andover*, p. 39).



Portion of William Hubbard's "Map of New England," in his volume, *The History of the Indian Wars in New England* (1677)

military duty as one of the ten men from Andover accompanying Captain Gardiner and Ensign Swett during the Swamp Fort campaign.¹⁷

JOHN PHELPS was 20 when he disembarked from the ship at Black Point. His father, a weaver, may have known Ensign Swett since both had lived previously in Newbury. His older brother or cousin, Samuel, was a soldier and fought alongside of John Parker and Swett at the Great Swamp Fight.¹⁸

Beverly

Beverly sent FRANCIS LAWRENCE and JAMES MANSLY. Accompanying them was BENJAMIN MORGAN, whose father helped found the church at Beverly ten years before. Benjamin's brothers, Moses and Joseph Morgan, were no strangers to the war. Moses was with Gardiner and Swett at the Great Swamp Fight and served at the Hadley garrison under Captain Turner.¹⁹

Gloucester

Gloucester was quiet during the war. From the fishing town, VINCENT DAVIS was drafted in 1675, one of the first eight men in the war to serve from Gloucester. He was one of the many who were ill clad for the war, wanting for warm clothing. After he was impressed he participated at the Great Swamp Fight under Swett. He continued in military service at Gloucester, having been paid in January.²⁰

17. Abbot, *History of Andover*, pp. 19–20, 39; Sarah Loring Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, (Comprising the Present Towns of North Andover and Andover) (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1880), hereafter Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, pp. 11, 102–4, 151, 170, 416, 574; Augustus G. Parker, *Parker in America 1630–1910* (Buffalo: Niagara Frontier Publishing Co., 1911), hereafter Parker, *Parker in America*, pp. 54–55; Savage, *Gen. Dict. N.E.*, 3:343–44; “Casualty List.” John Parker was b. 30 June 1656, son of Joseph and Mary (—) Parker. James Parker was b. 14 Aug. 1655, son of Nathan and Mary (—) Parker (*Vital Records of Andover to the End of the Year 1849*, 2 vols. [Topsfield, Mass.: Topsfield Historical Society, 1912], 1:292).

18. Savage, *Gen. Dict. N.E.*, 3:404; Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 167, 437; Abbot, *History of Andover*, p. 38; Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, pp. 118, 152, 170; “Casualty List.” John Phelps was b. 13 or 15 Dec. 1657, son of Edward and Elizabeth (Adams) Phelps (*Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849*, 2 vols. [Salem: Essex Institute, 1911], hereafter *Newbury VRs*, 1:401). It seems evident that Samuel and John were related. As restitution for the Swamp Fort battle, Samuel was entitled to land, which Edward, John's older brother, claimed in 1735.

19. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 166–67, 240; “Casualty List.” Benjamin Morgan was born before 1650, son of Robert and Margaret (—) Morgan of Beverly (Savage, *Gen. Dict. N.E.*, 3:233). Moses may have fallen at Black Point during this battle. His brother, Samuel, was given administration of his estate in April 1678 ([George Ernest Dow, ed.], *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts*, 3 vols. [Salem, Mass., 1916–20], hereafter *Essex Co. Probate Records*, 3:234). Although there were attacks on Black Point after this time, they were to kill cattle; no deaths were reported (Andrew Johnson to Joshua Scottow, 8 Oct. 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:196–97). Joseph's role is unknown other than he laid claim to one of the Narragansett townships (Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 423, 443, 446–47).

20. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 166–67, 449; “Casualty List.” “In all this troubled period, there is no record that any hostile Indian set his foot on our soil; nor is it known that more than one person belonging to the town fell in fight during the war” (John J. Babson, *History of the*

Gloucester also sent along NATHANIEL KNIGHTS.²¹

Ipswich

Ipswich's men came in force, at least five joining the expedition. JAMES FORD was a soldier of long standing and in his thirties during the war. He was an educated man and was probably a junior officer. During the war, Ford was found in the payrolls of Captains Paige and Brocklebank. Under the former, he was a cavalryman and participated in the Mt. Hope campaign early in the war. Under the latter he was sent to Swett as reinforcement in Narragansett country and probably took part in the "Hungry March" in early 1676.²²

THOMAS BURNHAM JR. was a carpenter and freeman around the age of 30.²³ His father was once shipwrecked on the coast of Maine. He was now an ensign, had taken part in the Pequot War a generation before, and served alongside John Wildes Sr. His younger brother, James, was a trooper under Captain Prentice. Thomas may have been a junior officer because of his age and station, but there is no record of him in any military lists up to that time. He left his wife and many children behind as he made his way to Maine.²⁴

Now in his early twenties, ISRAEL HONEYWELL was familiar with Black Point. His fisherman father made his livelihood in nearby Saco until his death by drowning while Israel was a baby. His brother, Richard, had started a family at Black Point and was probably at the garrison at the time. Israel seems to have been a laborer in Ipswich.²⁵

Town of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Including the Town of Rockport [Gloucester: Proctor Brothers, 1860], p. 206). Vincent Davis was perhaps the son of John Davis, who settled in Gloucester in 1656. John's son Jacob was also in this group of eight men. (Babson, *History of the Town of Gloucester*, p. 206; John J. Babson, *Notes and Additions to the History of Gloucester* [Gloucester: M.V.B. Perley, 1876], pp. 14, 16).

21. "Casualty List."

22. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 86, 157, 201, 207; "Casualty List"; Joshua Coffin, "Early Settlers of Essex and Old Norfolk," *NEHGR* 6(1852):254. In a letter to the Council while in Narragansett country on 12 June 1676, he wrote with authority requesting supplies for the troops, sending a man to Sudbury for convalescence, and sending two men to the Council (James Ford to the Governor and Council, Massachusetts Archives, 69:17). He seems to have been expected to be in Maj. Appleton's army for the Narragansett Fort Fight, but is identified as one of "Those th^t are wanting."

23. "Casualty List." Thomas Burnham Jr. was born in 1646, son of Thomas and Mary (Tuttle) Burnham (Roderick H. Burnham, *The Burnham Family* [Hartford: Press of Case, Lockwood & Brainard, 1869], p. 308).

24. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 82–83, 428, 474; Burnham, *The Burnham Family*, p. 311; Thomas Franklin Waters, *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, 2 vols. (Ipswich: The Ipswich Historical Society, 1905–17), 1:92, 94, 127, 161; Abraham Hammatt, *The Hammatt Papers: Early Inhabitants of Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1633–1700* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1980), pp. 41–42.

25. "Casualty List." Israel Honeywell was born before 1654, the son of Roger and Bridget (—) Hunnewell. Richard Hunnewell (the author's ancestor) was a soldier, his name appearing on surviving payrolls. He was in the garrison in July and Oct. 1676 and in Aug. 1677; he was identified

JOHN POLAND was 19 when he landed in Maine. He was the first son and namesake of his father.²⁶

Also in the party were JAMES BURBEE and SAMUEL POOLER.²⁷

Lynn

THADDEUS BRAND (or Bran), living on the outskirts of Lynn, may have been a farmer. He and his wife suffered the loss of two children before the children were yet five. Sorrow upon sorrow, he lost his wife less than a month after the birth of his youngest daughter. Realizing that he could not care for her, he gave her to Zaccheus Curtis Sr. and his family to bring up. Now Thaddeus found himself impressed for service, leaving his precious daughters in the care of neighbors until his return, the only man from Lynn.²⁸

Marblehead

The rough and tumble town of Marblehead sent more men than most. SAMUEL BEALE was the son of a miller and landowner. He had just turned 23.²⁹

Beale as well as THOMAS EDWARDS, RICHARD HURLS, PHILIP HUTTON, and JOSEPH MORGAN prepared themselves for battle.³⁰

as a corporal at the garrison. (James M. Hunnewell and Samuel Willet Honeywell, *The Descendants of Roger and Ambrose Hunnewell (Honeywell)* [Columbus, Ohio: Samuel Willet Honeywell, 1972], hereafter *Hunnewell Descendants*, pp. 1–2, 81–83; *Essex Quart. Court Records*, 6:409; Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 338–39; "Account of Narrative of y^e Voyage to Pembaquid", mss., Maine Historical Society, Collection 420 "Fogg", Vol. 8, "Scottow" file (hereafter "Voyage to Pembaquid").

26. "Casualty List"; Lloyd Orville Poland, *The Polands from Essex County, Massachusetts*, 3rd ed. (Chelsea, Michigan: BookCrafters, Inc., 1981), pp. 52–59. John Poland was b. Wenham, Mass., 6 Oct. 1657, son of John and Bethiah (Friend) Poland (*Vital Records of Wenham, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849* [Salem, Mass.: The Essex Institute, 1904], p. 72 [John "Powlings"]). It may be that he had been a soldier before, a "John Pollard" being on the rolls of Capt. Brocklebank (and in the same pay list as James Ford) the year before (Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, p. 207).

27. "Casualty list." A James Birdly of Ipswich was b. 10 Feb. 1659 (*Vital Records of Ipswich, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849*, 3 vols. [Salem: Essex Institute, 1910–19], 1:39).

28. "Casualty List"; *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849*, 2 vols. (Salem: Essex Institute, 1905–6), 1:60 [daughters' births], 2:432 [death of wife], 440 [daughters' deaths]; Joseph B. Felt, "Genealogical Items Relative to Lynn, Mass," *NEHGR* 5(1851):94. "Sarra & mary were the two children of deceased" (*Essex Co. Probate Records*, 3:156–58). The daughter Sarah seems to have been lost to recordkeepers and genealogists.

29. "Casualty List." This Samuel Beale is probably the same b. 15 July 1654, and bp. at Ipswich, son of William and Martha (Bradstreet) Beale (*Vital Records of Marblehead, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849*, 3 vols. [Salem: Essex Institute, 1903–8], 1:39; Coffin, "Early Settlers of Essex and Old Norfolk," *NEHGR* 6[1852]:208; *Essex Quart. Court Records*, 6:77).

30. "Casualty List." The author has found nothing or conflicting items for each of these men from Marblehead. There is a Thomas Edwards from Marblehead who in Oct. 1677 took someone to court and later in Dec. took the Oath of Fidelity. This may mean that this was a relative or that he survived the battle. (*Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. 30 [Boston: the Society, 1933], p. 855; *Essex Quart. Court Records*, 6:399). Thomas Edwards, a mariner, was also involved in two lawsuits, in 1690 and 1692 (*Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the*

Newbury

Newbury sent two men. MORGAN JONES was on the rolls under Major Appleton and he participated in the Great Swamp Fight. In 1676, he was a soldier at the garrison at Marlborough.³¹

CALEB PILSBURY was 24 and the fifth child of a well-to-do farmer and husbandman, who tradition tells hid his money under the eaves of his barn. Whether Caleb was new to warfare is unknown but unlikely. His younger brother William may have been garrisoned at Springfield, Salem, or both the year before.³²

Rowley

From Rowley came NICHOLAS RICHARDSON. Nicholas served earlier in the war under fellow townsman, Captain Samuel Brocklebank. He may have been in the company of James Ford of Ipswich and must have seen service during the Narragansett campaigns.³³

Salem

The generous town of Salem sent four men at least. NATHANIEL HUNN was married to a strong-willed wife, Priscilla, whose family were Quakers. Her wealthy father was stripped of his rank of sergeant before the war because of his religious beliefs. Nathaniel's father was a shoemaker and once a member of The Ancient and Honorable Artillery, but his son does not appear on any wartime records other than his participation here. Priscilla and Nathaniel had married five years before and now had two daughters and a son. Along with eleven other men in 1672, he was told by the town "not [to] frequent the Ordinaries, nor Spend their tyme and Estates in Tipling." No further record is found about this transgression of excessive drinking. Nathaniel's wife was not a stranger to trouble either and was censured by the church for "uncleanness" in 1675.³⁴

Massachusetts Bay 1630-1692, 3 vols. [New York: AMS Press, 1973], hereafter *Court of Assistants Recs.*, 1:331, 367). The name Joseph Morgan can be found in records, but they refer to Joseph of Beverly, brother of Benjamin who fought at Black Point (Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 423, 443, 446; *Essex Quart. Court Records*, 6:235; *Essex Co. Probate Records*, 3:126).

31. "Casualty List"; *Court of Assistants Recs.*, 1:51; Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 156-57, 217; *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. 29 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1933), pp. 85, 187, 268. The wife of a Morgan Jones of Boston ran a "Coffee house" but was not the same Morgan Jones (*ibid.*).

32. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, 365, 371; "Casualty List." Caleb Pilsbury was b. Newbury, 28 Jan. 1653, son of William and Dorothy (Crosbey) Pilsbury (*Newbury VRs* 1:408; David B. Pilsbury and Emily A. Getchell, *The Pillsbury Family* [Everett, Mass.: Massachusetts Publishing Co., 1898], pp. 4, 7, 10). Coffin mistakes the year of birth as 1654 (Joshua Coffin, *A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport and West Newbury* [n.p.: Peter Randall, 1977], p. 314).

33. "Casualty List." James Ford is credited under Brocklebank on 24 April 1676 and Nicholas Richardson two months later (Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 206-7).

34. "Casualty List." *A Volume Relating to the Early History of Boston Containing the Aspinwall Notarial Records from 1644 to 1651* (Boston: Municipal Printing Office, 1903), pp. 249-50; George Valentine Massey II, "Priscilla Kitchen, Quakeress, of Salem, Mass., and Kent County, Del., and Her Family," *NEHGR* 106(1952):38-50, at 39, 41; Joseph B. Felt, *Annals of Salem*, 2nd

PETER PATTEE hailed from Virginia and was married as well, but his wife and child did not accompany him to the northern climes. He was in his thirties and a maker of shoes, having moved to Salem in 1675.³⁵

JAMES VERIN was not a stranger to Maine like many of his companions. He lived with his family along the coast in the Sagadahoc area, now a desolate casualty of the war. He may have found refuge in Salem where many of his kinsmen lived, *Verin* being a prominent name in the town. James and his older brother John were garrisoned together at Hatfield under the command of Captain Turner the year before. Later in the year, James was garrisoned at Hadley, further down the Connecticut River valley.³⁶

The fourth man in the Salem party, ANTHONY WALDRON, may have been a refugee from Maine. A man of this name made his mark on a petition to the government, one of a score of men from Falmouth requesting the removal of their timorous lieutenant in the late winter of 1676.³⁷

Topsfield

In his thirties, JOHN WILDES JR. had come from Topsfield. His carpenter father, a man of good standing in the town, had fought in the Pequot war a generation earlier. His younger brother, Jonathan, was a soldier who seems to have taken part in the Narragansett campaign. He died a year before John Jr. went to the Eastward. John was not new to war. He served under Captain Turner as a corporal alongside his brother-in-law, Edward Bishop. They both served under Captain Poole as well. It seems likely that he was a junior officer in the campaign to Maine. John's mother, Priscilla Gould, died when he was young. Sometime after his father's subsequent marriage to Sarah Averill, trouble started within the Gould family. John had difficulty with his stepmother and told his maternal aunt in his youth that "he believed his mother wiles was a witch & told her storys of his mother." As with Swett, John Jr. felt it important to take care of his estate in the event that he, like his brother, should never return.³⁸

ed., 2 vols. (Salem: W. & S. B. Ives, 1845-49), 2:213; *Town Records of Salem, Massachusetts, 1659-1690*, 3 vols. (Salem: Essex Institute, 1868-1934), 2:145; Richard D. Pierce, ed., *The Records of the First Church in Salem, Massachusetts 1629-1736* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1974), p. 134; Savage, *Gen. Dict. N.E.*, 2:499; *Essex Co. Probate Records*, 3:315-16. Nathaniel Hunn was born around 1650, son of Nathaniel and Sarah (Keene) Hunn of Boston. His surname was not "Kun" as Felt relates. Also, Hunn and the men subsequently described by Felt were not killed or wounded in attempting to recover Salem ketches stolen by the Indians the following month (July 1677).

35. Marie Lollo Scalisi and Virginia M. Ryan, "Peter Pattee Of Haverhill, Massachusetts: A 'Journeyman Shoemaker' and His Descendants," NEHGR 146(1992): 315-21; "Casualty List."

36. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 239, 241, 361; "Casualty List." James Verin was born in the mid- to late-1650s, son of John and Eleanor (—) Verin (John B. Threlfall, "The Verin Family of Salem, Massachusetts," NEHGR 131[1977]:108-10).

37. "Casualty List"; The Several Inhabitants of Falmouth to the Governor and Council, 2 Feb. 1676, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 4:351-54; *Gen. Dict. Maine & N.H.*, p. 710.

38. George Francis Dow, *The History of Topsfield* (Topsfield, Mass.: The Topsfield Historical Society, 1940), pp. 40, 143, 327-28, 338; *Essex Co. Probate Records*, 3:165-66; Bodge, *Soldiers*

NORFOLK COUNTY

Norfolk County, closest to Maine, may have sent more men than history tells.³⁹

Hampton

Only one man from Swett's town of Hampton was recorded to have accompanied him. STEPHEN BROWN was a teenager probably living with his widowed father, a first settler and prosperous landowner in Hampton. It may have been a short-lived but merry meeting for Stephen and John Parker of Andover. Stephen's older sister had married John's oldest brother. Some (if not all) of Stephen's brothers were soldiers during the war and now it was his turn to play the man.⁴⁰

MIDDLESEX COUNTY

Middlesex County provided men to scout up the coast with Richardson or sail with Clarke and Swett to Black Point.

Billerica

Billerica sent at least one man. THOMAS DUTTON was 27 when he took up his arms and traveled to Maine under the command of Major Clarke. He was the oldest of nine children, his father and mother moving from Reading to Woburn when he was a child. At the outset of the war, he was living with his mother, father, and brother in Billerica, where he was a husbandman.⁴¹

Chelmsford

Along with Lieutenant Richardson, only one other soldier from Chelmsford is identified. JACOB PARKER was about 24 when he went with the scouting party along the coast. His father was learned man and one of five brothers to settle Chelmsford. Also, his father was the first town clerk and held that position as well as selectman (sometimes both) for nearly 10 years. His uncle was Captain James Parker of the outlying town of Groton, which was attacked and abandoned in 1676. The eldest brother in a large family, the teenaged Jacob must have taken

in *King Philip's War*, pp. 240–41, 259, 423–44. John Wildes Jr. was born about 1645, son of John and Priscilla (Gould) Wildes (Walter Goodwin Davis, *Massachusetts and Maine Families in the Ancestry of Walter Goodwin Davis (1885–1966)*, 3 vols. [Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1996], pp. 619–28).

39. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 475–76. Norfolk County at that time consisted of Portsmouth, Haverhill, Great Island, Hampton, and Salisbury.

40. Stephen Brown was a son of John and Sarah (—) Brown of Hampton, N.H. (Asa W. Brown, "The Hampton Brown Family," *NEHGR* 6(1852):232; *Gen. Dict. of Maine & N.H.*, p. 115). Stephen Parker was born in 1659, the son of John and Sarah (Walker) Parker (Parker, *Parker in America*, p. 55).

41. Rev. Henry A. Hazen, *History of Billerica, Massachusetts, With a Genealogical Register*, (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1883), genealogical register, p. 45. Thomas Dutton was the son of Thomas and (possibly) Susannah (—) Dutton (*ibid.*). Savage says he was born in 1648 but in his 1678 petition Dutton writes that he is "now above 28 years of age" (Savage, *Gen. Dict. N.E.*, 2:84–85; Thomas Dutton to the General Court, 1 Oct. 1678, Mass. Archives 69:209–10, hereafter "Dutton Petition").

on a greater role in the family when his father died. In 1674 he was counted among the able-bodied men to protect Chelmsford.⁴²

Concord

Four young men were impressed from Concord. The leaders of the militia thought that their impressments meant a tour to guard against the enemy at nearby Chelmsford, but once at that town they were added to ranks of soldiers finding themselves miles away at the Eastward, probably under the command of Lieutenant Richardson. JOHN BALL was only 16 as he and three of his townsmen traveled to Chelmsford. His father was a second-generation settler, living in present-day Bedford. Members of his uncle's family were either killed or captured during the attack on Lancaster in the winter of 1676.⁴³

SAMUEL STRATTON was 16 as well, the eldest boy of six surviving children at the time. His father was a farmer and a second-generation settler, coming from Watertown to Concord before Samuel's birth. In 1675, a year after his mother died, his father married Hannah Wheat.⁴⁴

JOHN WHEAT, a yeoman, must have been the leader of the band of four at the age of 27. He had good reason to keep an eye on Samuel Stratton. John's sister, Hannah, married Samuel Stratton's father, making Samuel his nephew. John's mother, father, and uncle were among the first settling families of Concord, their homestead situated north of Mill Brook. His father was an unusual man, a prosperous one to be sure, owning well-tilled lands, orchards, and pastures, but he kept his family close under his watchful eye. John's brother saw military service in the Narragansett Fort Fight as well as serving under Captains Syll and Wheeler. There is no earlier record of John or his other older brother having taken part in the war.⁴⁵

42. Savage, *Gen. Dict. N.E.*, 3:350; Waters, *Hist. of Chelmsford*, pp. 8–9, 89–90, 754; Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 122–26, 474. Jacob Parker was born in 1651 or 1652, the son of Jacob and Sarah (—) Parker (*Vital Records of Chelmsford, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849*, [Salem: Essex Institute, 1914], hereafter *Chelmsford VRs*, p. 108).

43. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, p. 353; Savage, *Gen. Dict. N.E.*, 1:107; Lemuel Shattuck, *A History of the Town of Concord, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, from Its Earliest Settlement to 1832* (Boston: Russell, Odiome & Co., 1835), hereafter Shattuck, *Hist. of Concord*, p. 362; *Concord Registers, Concord, Massachusetts: Births, Marriages, and Deaths: 1635–1850* (Boston: Beacon Press, n.d.), hereafter *Concord Registers*, p. 26; *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:176–77. John Ball was b. 15 Aug. 1660, son of Nathaniel and Mary (Mousall? or Wayne?) Ball (Frank D. Warren and George H. Ball, *The Descendants of John Ball of Watertown, Massachusetts 1630–1635* [Boston: Spaulding Moss Co., 1932], p. 11). Taken captive, Mary Rowlandson published the well-known account of this attack on Lancaster and the long sufferings of the settlers taken with her (Mary White Rowlandson, *A True History of the Captivity & Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson . . .* [New England and London: n.p., 1682]).

44. Savage, *Gen. Dict. N.E.*, 4:221; Harriet Russell Stratton, *A Book of Strattons*, 2 vols. (New York: The Grafton Press, 1908–18), 1:161–62. Samuel Stratton was b. 5 March 1661, son of Samuel and Mary (Frye) Stratton (*ibid.*).

45. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 273, 360; Silas C. Wheat, *Wheat Genealogy: A History of the Wheat Family in America*, 2 vols. (Brooklyn: Silas C. Wheat, 1903–60), 1:42–56. John Wheat was b. 19 Nov. 1649, son of Moses and Tamzen/Thomasine (—) Wheat (*ibid.*).

THOMAS WOOLLEY may have been as young as Ball and Stratton or as old as Wheat when he traveled to Chelmsford. His father was a weaver, whose family had lived in Concord for over 20 years.⁴⁶

SUFFOLK COUNTY

Suffolk County had always provided men for expeditions to the Eastward and this time would send more of her sons.

Boston

When a man was impressed, it was not uncommon for him to hire someone else to serve in his place. Sergeant William Coleman of Boston chose Joseph Dill but Dill in turn recruited Zackery Crispt to go. However, when Crispt was found, he had hired himself out to Captain Henchman. To take his place, Crispt paid JOHN HARKER from Boston as a substitute. Harker was credited as a soldier under Captain Holbrook the year before. At 34, Harker walked away with 30 shillings in his pocket, a richer man on a fateful journey.⁴⁷

Medfield

Medfield, attempting to recover from near destruction the winter before, sent two men. JOHN MASON may have been in the military for two years before his call to go to the Eastward. It seems likely that he participated with James Ford in the attack on Mt. Hope, King Philip's stronghold. He is credited for maintaining the garrison at Wrentham during the winter of 1675–76. Later Mason was employed as a soldier under Captain Brattle. Closer to home, his father and two younger brothers were killed during the devastating raid on Medfield. His family's homestead, livestock, and stored crops were destroyed, a fate shared by his uncle as well.⁴⁸

BENJAMIN ROCKWOOD (or Rocket), who was nearly killed while serving in the military before, was 26 when he disembarked from one of the ships at Black Point. The Rockwoods survived the attack on Medfield but their house perished by fire.⁴⁹

46. Thomas Woolley was the son of Christopher and Ursilla (Wodell) Woolley. His parents were married in 1646 and he was probably born after 1650, as his siblings appear in town records up to that time. Gould suggests that he was born around 1660. (Shattuck, *Hist. of Concord*, p. 389; *Concord Registers*, 6; Irene Cynthia Gould, "Christopher Woolley of Concord, Mass., and Some of His Descendants," NEHGR 75[1921]:29–30).

47. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, p. 281; William Coleman to John Richards, 18 June 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:175–76. John Harker was b. 30 Aug. 1643, son of Anthony and Mary (—) Harker (*A Report of the Record Commissioners Containing Boston Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, 1630–1699* [Boston: Municipal Printing Office, 1908], p. 16; Anderson, *Great Migration Begins*, 2:861–63).

48. Tilden, *Hist. of Medfield*, pp. 93, 95, 429; Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 81, 265, 366–67. John Mason was born 3 Nov. 1655, son of Thomas and Margery (Partridge) Mason (*Vital Records of Medfield, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850* [Boston: New-England Historic Genealogical Society, 1903], hereafter *Medfield VRs*, p. 69; Savage, *Gen. Dict. N.E.*, 3:170).

49. Tilden, *Hist. of Medfield*, pp. 93, 95, 471–73; Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, p. 453. Benjamin Rockwood was b. 8 Sept. 1651, son of Nicholas and Joan (—) Rockwood (*Medfield VRs*, p. 88).

Milton

DANIEL DIKE from Milton had been credited at being at the garrison of his hometown earlier that winter. That winter also found him in court in Boston where he confessed he stole ten pounds while on a ship bound for Piscataqua. He was jailed and forced to repay treble the amount stolen, charges for prosecution, and court fees. One of the men on the court who passed judgment was Major Clarke.⁵⁰

THE “FRIENDLY” INDIANS

Some of the Christian Indians in Massachusetts lived in communities like those of their English counterparts but apart from them. Early in the seventeenth century the missionary efforts of the Congregationalist John Eliot and others bore fruit as Indians made their confessions of faith. These were known as “praying” or “friendly” Indians, and as new converts they struggled with their newfound faith. *Powwows*, men who had power over others, power to heal or power to bring death, renounced their pagan practices. Individuals tried to live a godly life and understand this new English God, while great personal loss and persecution were about them. During military campaigns throughout the war they distinguished themselves in service to the English and against other native groups.⁵¹

Although the Governor and Council requested that 200 Indians be raised for the foray into Maine, there were not that many native men, women, and children left in the Christian Indian communities in Massachusetts. Major Gookin’s census of the Indians in November 1676 shows that there were about 117 men in total, with some 30 more already in the service of the English to the Eastward. Major Gookin was to make sure that Richardson’s party had 25 men, this included Wasemit Indians as well as some English from the surrounding towns. Some of the Wasemit Indians had accompanied Captain Hunting to Maine in the fall of 1676 and there were not more than fifteen from four villages, including Wasemit, that survived. Another fifteen or so accompanied Hunting, but from whence they came is not clear. Combining the Indians in the vicinity of Wasemit, Natick, and

50. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip’s War*, p. 450; *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 30:781. There are others of this family name found in Milton from that time but nothing is known of Dike’s parentage. A Richard Dike died in 1678 and a Mary Dike was married in 1695. John Dike was discharged from attending training due to old age. (*Milton Records* [Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1900], pp. 114, 218; *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 30:1019).

51. “The Daybreaking, If Not The Sun-Rising of the Gospell With the Indians in New-England,” *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, 3rd ser., 4[Cambridge: Charles Folsom, 1834]:19; “The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth Upon the Indians in New-England,” *ibid.*, 4:56; “The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England,” *ibid.*, 4:96; “The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day,” *ibid.*, 4:116; John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England, Made During the Years 1638, 1663* (Boston: W. Veazie, 1865), hereafter Josselyn, *Two Voyages to New England*, pp. 104–5.

perhaps other Indian towns, 36 Indians went, some with Richardson by land or Swett by ship.⁵²

Of the names of these natives, none of the Wasemit Indians are known, while only three are known from the village of Natick.

When John Eliot came to preach, the Speen family had great power, laying claim to all of Natick. This they gave up to create a town in 1650. Among the converted were John Speen and Robin Speen. The Speens as well as many of the other Natick Indians had military experience with the English. James Speen was a scout under Major Savage. Thomas Speen was also a soldier whose wife and children were murdered by the English in August 1676. Some of the wiser commanders respected their unique skills as scouts and did not fall to prejudicial hatred that many of the colonists and some military leaders harbored. ABRAHAM SPEEN, who now found himself at Black Point, had his trials. Two years before, as he and a companion were traveling through Marlborough, they found themselves rounded up with some Hassanamesit Indians, all accused of a murder in Lancaster. He and the others spent time imprisoned in Boston. Weeks later, the government released many of the prisoners, having found no evidence of wrongdoing against most of them.⁵³

Another of Eliot's converts was Ponampam, whose confessions of his coming to faith in Christ were published in 1653. One of his relations, NATHANIEL PENUMPUM, as well as JOHN NUCKWICH were among the other native representatives of the forces.⁵⁴

52. Gookin calls James Richardson "their Lieutenant," but it is not likely that he was lieutenant over all 36 Indians that took part in the expedition (Gookin, "Christian Indians," *Archæologia Americana*, 2:516, 532-33). Indians from Natick took part in the expedition and these were probably a part of Swett's "English & Indian forces now Raysed & to Goe forth on the Se'vice of the Country agt the Eastern Indian Ennemy" (Order of Edward Rawson, 21 June 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:172-73).

53. William Biglow, *History of The Town of Natick, Mass., From the Days of The Apostolic Eliot MDCL, to the Present Time, MDCCXXX* (Boston: Marsh, Capen, & Lyon, 1830), hereafter Biglow, *Hist. of Natick*, p. 23; Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 402-3; Gookin, "Christian Indians," *Archæologia Americana*, 2:466, 513-15; "Casualty List." Mr. Nowell, chaplain with Maj. Savage, wrote of the Indians soldiers, "They have behaved themselves like sober honest men since they abode with us, which hath made me look after them more carefully."

54. Charles Hudson, *History of the Town of Marlborough* (Boston: T.R. Marvin & Son, 1862), pp. 89-91; Biglow, *Hist. of Natick*, p. 29; "Casualty List"; "Tears of Repentance: Or, A Further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New-England," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, 3rd ser., 4:240-44. The relationship of the name *Ponampam* and surname *Penumpum* is a presumption on the author's part but not without grounds. Job Pohpono appears on a 1684 land sale. "Job alias Pompomemay of Natick" appears on a land deed two years later. Israel Pomhamun appears as a proprietor of Natick in May 1719. (Middlesex County, Mass., Deeds, 16:511, 1712-1714). Nothing has been found on John Nuckwich.

TOWNSMEN

Of the Scarborough townsmen who could have participated, there are seven that can be identified positively.⁵⁵

JOHN MCKENNEY may have been a captured Scottish soldier, indentured to Massachusetts after the battle of Dunbar where Cromwell had routed the Scots sympathetic to Prince Charles. By 1664 he was in Scarborough and there he settled having received a grant of land in 1668. Although he got into a row with Captain Scottow, the owner of the garrison, McKenney supported the captain while others in the town spoke against him. McKenney and his family fled the war and became refugees in Salem.⁵⁶

The Libbys were a large farming family and the patriarch, John, had four sons in the garrison: JAMES LIBBY, SAMUEL LIBBY, HENRY LIBBY, and ANTHONY LIBBY. All were probably planters like their father. Anthony was also a carpenter. James, Samuel, and Henry were in their thirties while Anthony was in his late twenties. They lived with or near their father about two miles from the garrison, but this was all gone now, burned by the Indians at the start of the war. When Mogg took the garrison in October 1676, all but Henry were living near it. Most of the Libby family took refuge in Boston. However, all four brothers returned to Black Point as soldiers. Henry and perhaps the others volunteered to accompany Lieutenant Tippen to regain the fort taken by Mogg but they were not allowed. Instead Henry and possibly his brothers were impressed to go with Captain Moore and were later left at the Black Point garrison where conditions were

55. Bodge provides a list of soldiers who were paid over the next nine months and it is reasonable to believe that some of these men were at the garrison at the time based on many facts. Samuel Libby, who either died during the battle or at Boston by 10 July, was paid on 24 July. Henry and Anthony Libby were to be released from service by consent of the Council on 10 July, but they were paid in August and September, respectively. Similarly, Andrew and John Brown were to be released at the same time and they were paid in October. John Markany [McKenny] was shot "through th^e brest & back" during the battle but was found on the payroll in September of the same year, which does not allow time for much convalescence; it also shows that he was more than likely garrisoned there rather than impressed for the mission. Sgt. Andrew Johnson and Corp. Richard Honywell [Hunnewell] were soldiers at Black Point in Aug. 1677 and each was paid in Jan. and March 1678, respectively. (Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, p. 339; Charles T. Libby, *The Libby Family in America, 1602-1881* [Portland: B. Thurston & Co., 1882], hereafter Libby, *Libby Family*, p. 24n; Andrew Brown Sr. to the Governor and Council, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:184-85; "Voyage to Pemmaquid").

56. Charles Edward Banks, *History of York, Maine* (1931; reprint, 2 vols., Portsmouth, N.H.: Peter E. Randall Publisher, 1990), 1:206-9; Testimony of John Libby, Sr., et al., 18 July 1676, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:113-16; Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 333-34; O. Herbert McKenny, Jr., *A Story of Many Maine McKenny Families* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1995), pp. 2-4; "Casualty List." John McKenney may have been born about 1630. A "John Mackane" is found in a list of prisoners ("Scotch Prisoners Sent to Massachusetts in 1652, by Order of the English Government," NEHGR 1[1847]:379).

mean, the garrisoned men becoming sick (some dying) for want of good clothing.⁵⁷

ANDREW BROWN Jr. and JOHN BROWN, both in their twenties, were at the garrison at the time of arrival of Clarke, Swett, and Richardson. The Brown family settled in Scarborough where the progenitor, Andrew Sr., was a large landowner, receiving 500 acres in 1651. Far from the safety of the coastal garrison in Scarborough, the family's house and cattle were destroyed. Andrew, his wife, and family of nine children were in hard straits, living as refugees in Boston, making due but finding no way to make a livelihood for two years. Andrew Jr. and John had been impressed in November 1676 to go to the Kennebec with Captain Moore and were released to the Black Point garrison afterwards.⁵⁸

THE SOKOSIS AND AMMOSCOGGINS, NATIVES OF MAINE

Evangelism had traveled to Saco and to the Sokosis who lived there. In the early 1640s, a Congregational minister had made his way to the fishing settlement and others followed. However, there was no attempt at conversion of the native population. This occasioned one Indian of the town in which the soldiers now found themselves to admit years later that her fealty to the French was due to their desire to teach the Indians Catholicism.⁵⁹

One native that heeded the Congregationalists' calls was a powwow named Squando. While Indians in Massachusetts who were converted to Christianity either rejected powwows or acting as powwows, Squando seems to have found a place in his life for both the new and old ways before the outbreak of the war. He had visions of where he saw God and his conviction led him to keep the Sabbath, give up strong drink, and attend worship services; these he tried to impress upon his men about him. However, it is only through the outbreak of the war that we hear of him, there being no public record before that time.⁶⁰

57. *Mass. Bay Records*, 5:129–30; Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 336–37; John Start, Thomas Bigford, and Henry Libby to the Governor and Council, 8 Jan. 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:148–49. James and Samuel were born between 1636 and 1647, Henry in 1647, and Anthony about 1649; they were sons of John and Mary (—) Libby. On 10 July 1677, John Libby stated that his sons had been at the garrison for nine months. (Libby, *Libby Family*, pp. 24–25, 28).

58. *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:184–85; *Gen. Dict. Maine & N.H.*, pp. 113–14; Walter Goodwin Davis, *The Ancestry of Sarah Miller 1755–1840, Wife of Lieut. Amos Towne of Arundel (Kennebunkport) Maine* (Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1939), pp. 50–54. Andrew was born about 1658 and John between 1658 and 1662. The name of their mother is unknown. Their sister, Elizabeth, would later marry fellow soldier Matthew Libby.

59. *New England's First Fruits: with Divers other Special matters Concerning that Country* (New York: Joseph Sabin, 1865), p. 17; Folsom, *Hist. of Saco*, pp. 81–83; Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 2 vols. (Hartford: Silas Andrus and Son, 1855), 1:357. The gathering of guns by the English early in the war and refusal to sell shot were important factors also (*Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:91–93, 118–19).

60. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, 4th ser., 7:631–32. "Sqand doth inform them [Indians at Taconnet] that god doth speak to him and doth tell him that god hath left our nacion to them to destroy and the indenys do tak it for a truth all that he doth tell them because they haue met with no afron

Squanto's active participation as a leader against the English of Maine was precipitated by a senseless act against his family. Often what comes down as fancy or fable is based in truth and such is the case of Squando's wife and son. During a summer day in 1675, some sailors on the Saco River, who believed or out of maliciousness claimed that Indian children could swim naturally, decided to put it to the test with horrific results. A canoe, in which the wife and baby son of the Sokosis sagamore were traveling, was upset (near Cow Island, tradition says). The baby's mother brought up the child from the river's depths but he soon died. With this loss, Squando, a friend of the settlers and a convert to the Christian faith, became one of the most dangerous men in Maine.⁶¹

Some of the English at the time felt that this senseless act was not sufficient for the destruction soon to be waged upon the scattered settlements on the southern coast of Maine. In the accounts of the time, Squando was feared and derided. He and his men led successful raids against many, if not all, of the coastal towns. And because of the ruthless nature of his attacks, of ambush or singling out families, he was called a murderer, liar, diabolical miscreant, and Minister of Satan. His return of a captured Falmouth girl, Elizabeth Wakely, in June 1676, in contrast to his battling against the English, was described as "A strange Mixture of Mercy and Cruelty." However, a short-lived treaty between the English and Indians was signed at Cocheco (Dover) on 3 July and it was common for prisoners to be redeemed at such times.⁶² As a leader of the Sokosis and Ammoscoggins, his

now." (Francis Card's Declaration, 22 Jan. 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:149–51). The treaty was the first document in which Squando is named and styled "Sagamore." It was signed along with seven other Indians, including Samuel Namphow, the leader of the Wamesits. (Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War*, pp. 303–5).

61. Josselyn states that natives "can swim naturally, striking their pawes under their throat like a dog, and not spreading their Arms as we do." He does not attribute this to children; however, regarding children he states, "What other ceremonies they use more than dying of them with a liquor of boiled Hemlock-Bark, and their throwing of them into the water if they suspect the Child to be gotten by any other Nation, to see if he will swim, if he swim they acknowledge him for their own." (Josselyn, *Two Voyages to New England*, pp. 100, 110; Daniel E. Owen, *Old Times in Saco* [Saco: Biddeford Times, 1891], p. 35). Mather writes: "when inquiry was made of another *English man* (thought to be more discreet then the former) he confirmed what the other had said, and that some rude *English* did purposely overset a *Canoo* wherein was an *Indian* Lad; and that although a *Squaw* dived to the bottome of the River and fetched him up alive, yet that the Lad never came to himself again. It is greatly to be lamented that the heathen should have any ground for such allegations, or that they should be scandalized by men that call themselves Christians." (Increase Mather, ed., *The History of King Philip's War* [Albany: the editor, 1862], hereafter Mather, *Hist. of King Philip's War*, p. 141). Hubbard relates a similar story, identifying the wife and child as Squando's, but makes the offhand comment that his son might have died anyway "if no such Affront had been offered." (Hubbard, *History of the Indian Wars*, 2:135). "If Squando or any for him appeare yow may acquaint him that the Gouno^r was wholly Ignorant of any Injury offered to him or his child at Saco." (Governor and Council to Daniel Dennison and Joseph Dudley, 10 July 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:187–89).

62. Hubbard, *History of the Indian Wars*, 2:104, 178, 201; Mather, *Hist. of King Philip's War*, pp. 90–91.

successes far outweighed his failures in battle. Mogg's bold attack would not be repeated with disastrous results. Squando would not lay siege to the garrison so well fortified, with an army perched upon the neck of land to defend it. His plan would be more subtle and deadly.

The enemy lay all around him but he and his men knew the land well. It was Squando who prepared for these new English forces. The number of his men may have been less than the number of English who went out to meet him.⁶³ History provides no names of his compatriots.

(to be continued)

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63. Bodge believed that the Indians who attacked were from the Kennebec and Androscoggin. Squando held sway over the Ammoscoggin Indians but it seems that there was enmity between many of the different Indians groups. A letter written by William Hathorne on 22 Sept. 1676 tells of the captured Pigwacket sagamore's statement after the destruction of Arrowsic that "Kennebeck Indians kill all" (*Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:123-24). Contrast this with the Kennebec Indians' own comments after the battle at Moore's Brook that "we have drove Away all the damrallscocon engins from us for they will fight and we are not willing of their company" and "we do understand that Squando is minded to cheat you he is mind to get as many prisners as he can and so b-ing them to you & so make you believe that it is Kenebeck men that have don all this spoul . . ." (Moxes et al. to the Governor, 1 July 1677, *Documentary Hist. of Maine*, 6:177-79). Mather states, "There were near 100 soldiers, it is questioned whether there were so many of the Enemy" (*Diary of Increase Mather*, p. 48). Moulton without authority puts the number at 500 (Moulton, *Old Prout's Neck*, p. 53).